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SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

Published in the UNITED PROVINCES

For the week ending the 7th January, 1922.

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I.—POLITICS.

The Near East.

1. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 4th January, 1922, expresses the hope that France will not be persuaded by England into cancelling its separate treaty with the Kemalist Government. The British Government can restore peace in the Near East, if only it does not favour Greece at the expense of Turkey and restores Smyrna, Adrianople, and Constatinople to Turkey. — AJ, 4th January, 1922.

Afghanistan.

2. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of the 24th December, 1921, expresses regret that an incorrect message was issued in the august name of the King-Emperor to the effect that friendly relations had been established with Afghanistan, though as a matter of fact the Amir had entered only into neighbourly relations, and wonders whether the present agreement will prove more lasting than the Rawalpindi pact of 1919. Much the same view is taken by the *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 3rd January, 1922. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* (Bareilly) of the 24th December, 1921, and other papers publish the speech delivered by His Majesty the King of Afghanistan on the occasion of the departure of Sir Henry Dobbs from Kabul in which he said that the treaty was neighbourly and not friendly, but could become so if England did justice to Turkey. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 5th January, 1922, says that in view of the Amir's recent pronouncement regarding the *Khilafat* and *Swaraj* movements, the Government of India should halt in its present repressive policy. — AL KHALIL, 24th December, 1921. NAJAT, 3rd January, 1922. ROHILKHAND GAZETTE, 24th December, 1921. HINDUSTANI, 5th January, 1922.

The Prince.

3. The *Maarif* (Azamgarh) for December, 1921, takes strong exception to the Prince not having visited the shrine of Khwaja Sahib at Ajmere. The Moghul Emperors used to make pilgrimage to the shrine on foot from Delhi to Ajmere. The Prince did not even make a passing reference to it, though he mentioned other objects of historical interest in his Ajmere speeches. — MAARIF, for December, 1921.

Lord Reading.

4. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 3rd January, 1922, says that as in spite of such numerous arrests Lord Reading could not prevent the *hartal* of Indians at Calcutta, he is totally unfit for the Viceroyalty of India. — AL BASHIR, 3rd January, 1922.

Pandit Malaviya.

5. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 3rd January, 1922, says that Pandit Malaviya is an arch-enemy of Islam and a mere agent of Lord Reading and Muslims will look with the greatest suspicion on any Round Table Conference manouvred by him. If the conference is really going to be a serious affair, the Muslim leaders should hold a preliminary conference of their own to present their irreducible — AL BASHIR 3rd January, 1922.

ADARSHA, 26th December, 1921.

terms of peace to Mahatma Gandhi. In its wit and humour column, the *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 26th December, 1921, contains the following note :—"The relations of Malaviyaji who were arrested in Allahabad have been released on account of his interview with Lord Reading."

ADARSHA, 26th December, 1921.

Round Table Conference.

6. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 26th December, 1921, says that Lord Reading will be committing a blunder of the first magnitude if he fails to bring about a compromise when Mr. Gandhi is ready for it, provided the triple objects of the non-co-operation movement are discussed in the Round Table Conference. The people need not be disheartened, as there is yet hope for peace. The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of the 31st December, 1921, says that if no compromise takes place, it is quite possible that the non-co-operation movement may assume a violent form. Mr. Gandhi should attach due importance to this factor. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 1st January, 1922, says that if India is not to be cut adrift from her British moorings, Government must halt in its mad career of repression and ask Colonel Wedgewood to bring about a Round Table Conference. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 1st January, 1922, says that there is yet hope for the holding of the Round Table Conference to relieve the present situation, as Mr. Gandhi has definitely stated that there is nothing in the proceedings of the Congress which precludes such a consumation. The terms of negotiations as published by Mrs. Das are just and reasonable. It is to be hoped that the Viceroy will consider them and convene the peace conference soon.

ABHYUDAYA, 31st December, 1921.

HINDUSTANI, 1st January, 1922.

AJ, 1st January, 1922.

ANAND, 1st January, 1922.

The Congress.

7. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of 1st January, 1922, says that there is nothing in the *Khilafat* Presidential address to show that Hakim Ajmal Khan has any sense of proportion in politics. It is a mere empty dream of the Hakim to indulge in tall talk of emancipating Asia and restoring in it Islamic predominance. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of 3rd January, 1922, views with disfavour the tendency to minimise the importance of non-violence in evidence in the recent session of the Congress. While profuse symathy was expressed for the Moplahs, there was no word of condemnation against their excesses. The *Maarif* (Azamgarh) for December, 1921, in approving of the decision of the Congress Working Committee to publish the Congress proceedings in the vernaculars, accuses the Government of neglecting (intentionally or otherwise) the vernaculars during the 150 years of British rule in India. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of 6th January, 1922, asks Government to note from the support given to Mr. Hasrat Mohani's resolution in the Muslim League regarding the independence of the country and the methods to attain it, that a very large proportion of the people prefer death to existence under the existing system, the evils of which have become acute and can only lead to an outburst of popular discontent.

PHAKKAR, 3rd January, 1922.

MAARIF, for December, 1921.

ADARSHA, 6th January, 1922.

LEADER, 1st January, 1922.

Civil disobedience.

8. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of 1st January, 1922, says that though Government's recent campaign of repression has forced the pace of the Congress, the latter should have thought twice before passing the resolution regarding civil disobedence, as it is well-nigh impossible to preserve a non-violent atmosphere in the country and *swaraj* can be attained within a short time by constitutional means also. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 31st December, 1921, utters a note of warning to sound carefully the strength and spirit of the masses before launching the scheme of mass civil disobedience. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 1st January, 1922, predicts a roaring success for the civil disobedience campaign under the new dictatorship system and warns Lord Reading to be wise in time. The same paper of the 5th January, 1922, is impatient with the slowness of Mr. Gandhi in launching on general civil disobedience, and says that the Working Committee of the Congress should clearly define the limits of self-defence lest non-violence be interpreted as cowardice.

AJ, 31st December, 1921.

HINDUSTANI, 1st and 5th January, 1922.

UTSAH, 20th December, 1921.

Non-co-operation.

9. The *Utsah* (Jhansi) of the 20th December, 1921, says that if India is to be kept within the British Empire, her demand for *swaraj* should be conceded in the interest of peace, as the non-co-operators are determined to carry on their struggle at all costs till they reach their goal. The *Hindu Gazette* (Saharanpur) of the 24th December, 1921, appeals for the removal of the curse of untouchability and of the ban on widow remarriage, both of which are doing great harm to Hindu polity. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of the 29th December, 1921, exhorts people to

HINDU GAZETTE, 24th December, 1921.

SWARAJYA, 29th December, 1921.

come forward to sacrifice themselves at the altar of liberty in the right non-violent spirit.

The Liberals.

10. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 3rd January, 1922, says that the Moderates have, in order to further their personal interests, concealed from the foreign officials the true state of Indian feeling with which they were fully acquainted and have thus brought about the inauguration of a policy of fruitless repression. They should now be distrusted both by Government and Indians. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 1st January, 1922, says that the signing of the Congress creed by Pandit Malaviya and the attendance of only 167 delegates at the Liberal Federation shows that the Federation might not meet next year, and it was premature on its part to assure the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani of his continued tenure of Ministership. The same paper of the same date, says that Mahatma Gandhi's satisfaction at the changed attitude of the Moderates is premature, as the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani, who prizes his Ministership above everything else in the world, has been pulled up and his paper, the *Leader*, has also changed its tone. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 31st December, 1921, says that the methods of the Moderates for the attainment of *swaraj* are quite ineffective, inasmuch as they involve no risk and self-sacrifice, and that if the Liberal Federation has any life, it is because of such selfless workers as Mr. Shastri and Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. The same paper of the 1st January, 1922, takes Sri Sivaswamy Aiyar and Mr. Dwarka Das Jamna Das to task for making too much in the Liberal Federation meeting of occasional outbreaks of violence in connection with the non-co-operation movement and minimizing official mistakes. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 31st December, 1921, writes in its wit and humour column :—" If the Moderates do not give up Government slavery even now, they will have a very bad time of it, and on the attainment of *swaraj* they will be sentenced to transportation.

AL BASHIR, 3rd January, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 1st January, 1922.

AJ, 31st December, 1921 and 1st January, 192 2.

VARTMA N, 31st Decem ber, 1921.

Babu Bhagwan Das.

11. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of the 29th December, 1921, urges on Lord Reading to consider the case of Babu Bhagwan Das of Benares, who has been most unjustly convicted. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 7th January, 1922, also takes the same view.

ANAND, 29th December, 1921.

LEADER, 7th January, 1 922.

Repression.

12. In its wit and humour column, the *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 26th December, 1921 contains the following note :—" The Superintendent of Police of Hazara (North-West Frontier Province) is after all a brother of Dyer and O'Dwyer, it is because of this that he has notified that anyone who attends the Ahmedabad Congress will be turned out of the district. Lord Reading should see that Indians are not ejected in this way." The same paper of the some date complains of excesses on the part of the police in Benares in connection with the arrest and incarceration of volunteers. The entry of policemen into zenanas and wresting of ornaments from the persons of females and seizure of property of others than the offenders under distress warrants are quite unjustifiable acts. Why does Government not stop such proceedings? The *Hindu Gazette* (Saharanpur) of the 24th December, 1921, remarks that British officials in India to-day have surpassed the renowned Tana Shah in the matter of hyper-sensitiveness to criticism—in spite of Lord Reading's loud protestations for toleration of honest criticism. This is evidenced by the Government having taken a sweeping action against the leaders. The *Qaum Parast* (Bareilly) of the 28th December, 1921, lodges an indignant protest against the practice of summoning of newspaper editors against their will as witnesses in political trials. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 30th December, 1921, has an article of biting sarcasm suggesting the stupid blindness of the Government which regards the widespread misery and poverty of the country as indications of prosperity and mistakes complete *hartals* for hearty welcome. The paper also writes in a highly caustic vein of the crooked policy of the Government and the futility of repression. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 30th December, 1921, wonders whether the recent expression of gratitude to the Calcutta Civil Guards by the Governor of Bengal was in appreciation of their atrocities on the seekers of liberty. The same paper asks the public not to crowd streets on the occasion of the parade of volunteers, to avoid giving provocation to authorities, the volunteers to carefully observe their pledge and not to court arrest in a light spirit of fun and show, and the authorities not to overstep the bounds of their duties. Surely the burning of

ADARSHA, 26th December, 1921. and 5th January, 1922.

HINDU GAZETTE 24th December, 1921.

QAUM PARAST, 28th December, 1921.

OUDH PUNCH, 30th December, 1921.

AJ, 30th December, 1921 and 1st January, 1922.

flags, the threat to burn Gandhi caps, discourteous treatment towards *Sewa Samiti* volunteers, the charging of horses on crowds, the use of water hoses, inconvenience to passers-by and shopkeepers on the pretext of dispersing crowds and entry into zenanas in the name of distress warrants do not form part of their duties and are purely unjust and oppressive acts. The same paper of the 1st January, 1922, says sarcastically that there is no freedom in Egypt and India except that of military arbitrariness. The same paper of the 4th January, 1922, contradicts the *Pioneer's* statement that the office of the local Congress Committee was not broken open, and says that it is the spirit behind this "ordinary manner" of search that is responsible for the unrest in the country.

II—Administration.

HAQIKAT, 30th December, 1921.

Treatment of political prisoners.

13. The *Haqikat* (Lucknow) of the 30th December, 1921, says that though it has heard a rumour to the effect that the District Magistrate had some prisoners of the Hardoi jail lashed and that one or two of them succumbed to their injuries, it would reserve comment until the rumour is authenticated.

PRATAB, 2nd January, 1922.

The *Pratab* (Cawnpore) of the 2nd January, 1922, says that brutal treatment is accorded to political prisoners in jail. They are not treated as men. The food which they are given is full of particles of stone. Their clothing consists of filthy blankets swarming with lice. The methods by which they are forced to work are horrible. To-day the volunteer organization of the peaceful populace is proscribed, but the Civil Guard of the Anglo-Indians which is oppressing the children of the soil to its heart's content is lawful. Government says that preferential treatment is meted out to political prisoners. But the treatment accorded to leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai and others has a different tale to tell. We do not want any favour for political prisoners, we only want that Government should treat them as men and provide them with adequate food and clothing so that their health may not suffer in any way. We daresay that if such a treatment had been accorded to European prisoners in any country they would have raised a tremendous hue and cry. Inhuman treatment is meted out to political prisoners in the Lucknow Central Jail. Some of them have been fasting for several days. The political prisoners in Allahabad are also subjected to most revolting treatment. Mr. Desai has been given two blankets swarming with lice, a broken plate, an old pair of shorts, and a shirt. He is ill, still he is left alone. It is also heard that two political prisoners of Allahabad who were members of the Provincial Congress Committee have been beaten. As a protest against such barbarous and uncivilised treatment of political prisoners fourteen political prisoners including Pandit Moti Lal and Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi have refused to receive any special treatment.

III.—National Poems.

MEDINA, 28th December, 1921.

The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 28th December, 1921, has a poem which says that India would be avenged for the Jallianwala Bagh and would make the blood of the enemies flow with the aid of the *charkha*.

QAUM PARAST, 28th December, 1921.

The *Qaum Parast* (Bareilly) of the 28th December, 1921, has a poem in which it is said that Indians would destroy the enemies of Islam and gain *swaraj* through suffering and non-co-operation.

HINDU GAZETTE, 24th December, 1921.

The *Hindu Gazette* (Saharanpur) of the 24th December, 1921, publishes poems on the years 1921 and 1922. The former has been a year of great misery for the world. For India, specially in the political sense, the year has been full of trouble. May the year 1922 bring relief and happiness to India.

PREM. 23rd December, 1921.

The *Prem* (Brindaban, Muttra) of the 23rd December, 1921, publishes a poem by "Prem Pratap," saying that the English have usurped the rights of Indians and refuse to restore them, that they send Indians to jail and have shot thousands of them with machine-guns, that they have impoverished the country by their trade, and that no justice is done in their law courts.

UTSAH, 27th December, 1921.

The *Utsah* (Jhansi) of the 27th December, 1921, publishes a poem by Bahadur, who urges women to starve themselves to death and men to fill the jails to meet the Government's policy of repression.

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ALLAHABAD:
The 7th January, 1922.

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I.—POLITICS.

Ireland.

1. The Irish treaty, remarks the *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 11th January, 1922, is a matter of pride to Britain and it can now look up in the face the civilised nations of the world. — LEADER, 11th January, 1922.

Turkey and the Near East.

2. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 3rd January, 1922 views with suspicion Lord Curzon's new found solicitude for Muslim interests and England's offer of arbitration between Turkey and Greece. There can be no conference until guarantees are forthcoming that Anatolia and the Holy places would be evacuated and a substantial indemnity paid to the Turks. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 8th January, 1922 has a strongly worded article on the subject of England's broken pledges to Muslims and the harm done by her to them. The world situation has now so changed that the British are powerless and will have to meet the Muslim demands. Referring to the impending dissolution of the triple entente, the *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 9th January, 1922 says that, in view of the shabby treatment accorded to France, Mr. Lloyd George will hardly be able to find a new ally now. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 12th January, 1922 says that M. Briand has scored in the Cannes Conference as he has been successful in deferring consideration of the Turkish question and Mr. Tchitcherin will now be able to reach Angora in time and an offensive will soon be launched against Greece. Lord Curzon has always proved the evil genius of the British Cabinet and it is high time that he walked out of it. It was he who had sown the seeds of unrest which are now bearing such bitter fruit in India. The British Government would be well advised not to help the Greeks any more as the Afghan Embassy in London is argus eyed, and if British money, material or men are used against the Afghan contingents in Asia Minor and the promises of Sir Henry Dobbs are not fulfilled the Afghans will know how to avenge themselves against the British in the South and East of Asia and a flank move always proves fatal. — NAJAT, 3rd January, 1922. MANSUR, 8th January, 1922. MEDINA, 9th January, 1922. HINDUSTANI, 12th January, 1922.

AJ, 6th January, 1922.

Mesopotamia.

3. Referring to the quartering of an Air Force in Mesopotamia for the maintenance of peace there, the *Aj* (Benares) of the 6th January, 1922 says that maintenance of peace is but another name for the military occupation of the country in order to prevent it from regaining its freedom. India, Egypt and Mesopotamia, says the paper sarcastically, only know too well how liberally they are governed by England.

VARTMAN, 9th January, 1922.

The Prince.

4. In its wit and humour column, the *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 9th January, 1922 says :—"All people have felt alarmed at the news that the Prince has been sent to Mandalay, for convicts are sent there. Such audacity on the part of Lord Reading! He sent the worthy son of our King-Emperor to Mandalay."

AZAD, 5th January, 1922.

Lord Lytton.

5. The *Azad* (Cawnpore) of the 5th January, 1922 welcomes the appointment of Lord Lytton as Governor of Bengal.

VARTMAN, 8th January, 1922.

Pandit Malaviya.

6. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 8th January, 1922 has the following in its wit and humour column :—"Now Malaviyaji has no anxiety. The Prince of Wales has touched the walls of the (Hindu) University. It was this which delayed the matter. Now Malaviyaji will surely be a candidate for admission into the Lucknow district jail."

UTSAH, 7th January, 1922.

Round Table Conference.

7. The *Utsah* (Jhansi) of the 7th January, 1922 thinks that it is the Government itself which has closed the door of peace by its policy of repression and refusal to consider the triple demands of the people. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 9th January, 1922 refers to the utter futility of holding the Bombay Conference on the 14th instant. Government has given absolutely no indication of a change of heart and in supreme disregard of popular feelings continues to send the leaders to jail.

MEDINA, 9th January, 1922.

PRATAP, 9th January, 1922.

The Congress.

8. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 9th January, 1922 thoroughly approves the pledge prescribed by the Congress for being signed by the volunteers, which, if adhered to, will keep the non-co-operation movement non-violent. *Al Aman* (Bijnor) of the 7th January, 1922 protests against the action of Hakim Ajmal Khan in ruling out the independence resolution in the open session of the *Khilafat* Conference, and says that if he does not change his views he also will be classed along with the moderates among the yesterdays. The *Swadesh* (Gorakhpur) of the 7th January, 1922 says that the last Congress, despite the absence of a large number of leaders who had been imprisoned by Government, was a success and fully expressed the determination of the country to attain *swaraj*. It is satisfactory that the Congress did not depart from the policy of non-violence and appointed Mr. Gandhi as dictator with proper safeguards. The resolution on the change in the creed of the Congress shows that the country is moving forward apace not only towards freedom, but complete independence.

AL AMAN, 7th January, 1922.

SWADESH, 7th January, 1922.

MEDINA, 5th and 9th January, 1922.

Mr. Mohani and complete independence.

9. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 5th January, 1922 advocates the use of non-violent means alone for the attainment of *swaraj*. Mr. Hasrat Mohani's address at Ahmedabad has evoked similar comments from other Muslim papers also. The same paper of the 9th January, 1922 suggests that a special session of the Congress should be held to consider the question of complete independence which was rather summarily dismissed at the last Congress. Complete independence is the only effective answer to the policy of grab and imperialism which is responsible for the perpetual subjection of Eastern nations and for the instances of ruthless oppression which are so profusely in evidence in India. The same paper advocates a complete boycott of Anglo-Indian newspapers which are always bent on mischief and not only set Hindus against Muslims, but also mislead Government. They are trying to make capital out of Mr. Hasrat Mohani's views. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 6th December, 1921 says that the mooting of the independence question in the Muslim League and the support given to it

HAMDAM, 6th December, 1921.

indicates the depth of Muslim feeling on the *Khilafat* question. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 8th January, 1922 says that India will gain *swaraj* earlier than Egypt as she understands non-violence much better. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 10th January, 1922 wants Government to take a lesson from the Irish national movement which in several respects resembles that in India. The Irish movement ultimately got violent. There is the same danger in India. If anything the danger is greater here, for the relations between Englishmen and Indians are, generally speaking, strictly those of the rulers and the ruled. There is not much cordiality. There is therefore the danger of Mr. Gandhi's party being forced into the background and Mr. Hasrat Mohani's party coming to the front. In its wit and humour column the same paper writes:—"Maulana Hasrat could have no peace without making the agitation violent. But it would have been much better if simultaneously he had made public the formula of making bombs which people have long forgotten—cry, victory to liberty." The same paper of the 11th January, 1922 says that it is nothing but barefaced shamelessness on the part of the *Daily Chronicle* to misrepresent the rejection of Maulana Hasrat Mohani's resolution on complete independence in the Congress as the happy result of the Prince's visit to the country and to ignore the significance of the attitude of the national body which showed that the Indians still had no feeling of hatred either towards the British nation or the British Empire. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of the 10th November, 1921 publishes a contributed article in which the writer, Dr. Satyabrat, puts in a plea for complete independence for India without the British Empire, as otherwise she cannot fulfil her noble mission of raising humanity to a higher level of civilisation. He urges Indians not to be deterred in their struggle by any prospect of compromise, but to be prepared for all possible self-sacrifies and sufferings for the attainment of their goal. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 5th January, 1922 protests against Maulana Hasrat Mohani's presidential address in the Moslim League as tending to weaken Hindu-Muslim unity. His advocacy of violence as one of the methods for the attainment of *swaraj* was ill-advised and is calculated to secure the discomfiture of the country at the hands of the bureaucracy. In its wit and humour column, the *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 11th January, 1922 has the following:—"Maulana Hasrat Mohani should raise armies for complete independence. Because Mr. de Valera has resigned from the Irish Congress, Maulana Hasrat too should break away from the Congress and earn a name." The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 11th January, 1922 doubts the accuracy of the interpretation sought to be put by Mr. Hasrat Mohani in the columns of the *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of his presidential address and takes exception to his views of the Moplahs. Even Mr. Gandhi has found it necessary to disapprove Mr. Mohani's views.

MANSUR, 8th January, 1922.
ADARSHA, 10th and 11th January, 1922.
SWARAJYA, 10th November, 1921.
AJ, 5th January, 1922.
VARTMAN, 11th January, 1922.
LEADER, 11th January, 1922.

Liberal Federation.

10. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 10th January, 1922 says that Mr. Govinda Raghava Iyer was more critical of the non-co-operators than [illegible] Government and Mr. Kunzru's address was more in line with the changed times than Mr. Iyer's. Mr. Kunzru has shown rare courage and independence in exposing the shortcomings of Government. The Federation has favoured complete provincial autonomy, but wants to defer its introduction until after the expiry of the term of the present Councils. Is it because the moderates are in possession of the Councils and are enjoying princely salaries as Ministers? Well, the nationalists are prepared to overlook even this petty selfishness of the moderates provided the latter work with the Congress in future.

HAMDAM, 10th January, 1922.

Repression.

11. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 11th January, 1922 takes exception to Sir Harcourt Butler's defence of the present policy as expressed in his speech at Agra. The Liberal Federation's suggestions 'that the law relating to intimidation might be made more effective never meant that the Government had no option but to apply the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It was the impending visit of the Prince to these provinces which made the situation "acute and critical" for Government and necessitated drastic action. People also refuse to believe that eminent leaders of the non-co-operation movement like Pandit Moti Lal Nehru were the ringleaders of a gang of desperate ruffians and that their incarceration

LEADER, 11th, 12th and 14th January, 1922.

was necessary to prevent bloodshed. We hope the Criminal Law Amendment Act will be withdrawn. It has proved futile, for the number of persons ready to defy authority and to seek imprisonment has multiplied. The new policy could have been worked in a more considerate manner than it has been. The same paper of the 12th January, 1922 publishes and comments on a letter of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, M.L.C., describing the manner in which a batch of about 40 "political" prisoners, including Messrs. Desai, Krishna Kant Malaviya and Govind Malaviya, were huddled together in a van (where there was practically only standing room for them) on being transferred from Allahabad to Agra Jail. The same paper of the 14th January, 1922 publishes a letter of one "K. S. G." who is disappointed at not hearing the news of the reduction of sentences passed on Babu Gur Narain and Maulvi Muin-ud-din who were convicted for the same offence and were sentenced for the same period by the same Magistrate who convicted the two Malaviyas. If the Government's clemency (in reducing the sentences of the two Malaviyas) was meant to oblige Pandit Malaviya, he would spurn it and would not tolerate that justice should be made a respecter of persons and their status. The public thinks that this action of the Government is calculated to divide the classes and masses who have united themselves against the Government. Sentences passed on all persons under the Criminal Law Amendment Act (1908) should be reduced.

MEDINA, 9th January, 1922.
YUGANTAR, 31st December, 1921.

The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 9th January, 1922 characterises as satanic the caning of certain political prisoners in the Faridpur Jail (Bengal) for refusing to salute certain officials. The *Yugantar* (Gorakhpur) of the 31st December, 1921 characterises the flogging of two boys of tender ages in Muzaffarpur, and of some school boys in Ballia and Shahjahanpur as a lunatic proceeding on the part of officials.

OUDH PUNCH, 6th January, 1922.

The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 6th January, 1922 has a rambling article written in a vein of biting sarcasm, and suggesting that the ways of the bureaucracy are crooked and that sycophants are liked neither by the Government nor the people.

II.—Administration.

LEADER, 14th January, 1922.

The Punjab affairs.

12. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 14th January, 1922 says that the release of all Sikh prisoners is an acknowledgement of mistake by the Government. The existence of repressive laws leads to abuse of power by the executive. Government divesting itself of the keys of the Gurdwara treasury indicates its recognition of the strength of the Gurdwara Reforms movement. A very large body of the public and lawyers think the sentences passed upon Lala Lajpat Rai and others to be invalid and unjust. Babu Bhagwan Dass' case is also similar for his conviction has been declared illegal by Dr. Subramania Iyer. Other provinces should imitate the Punjab Government's action remitting sentences of rigorous imprisonment passed upon Lala Lajpat Rai and others.

AJ, 8th January, 1922.

The *Aj* (Benares) of the 8th January, 1922 protests against the Punjab Government's warning to pensioners against joining *Satyagraha* in any form as an unjustifiable interference with individual liberty, specially when the bureaucracy can interpret the boycott of foreign cloth even as a form of *Satyagraha*.

PRATAP, 9th January, 1922.

Referring to the demand and forfeiture of security from several papers in the Punjab and other places, the *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 9th January, 1922 exhorts journalists to bear the blows of the bureaucracy unflinchingly, for if they adhered to the path of duty they were sure to bring about the discomfiture of the bureaucracy and the emancipation of their country.

PHAKKAR, 8th January, 1922.

Victoria Memorial.

13. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 8th January, 1922 wonders why the Indian Princes should so liberally subscribe to the Victoria Memorial fund, when they are quite unwilling to do anything to relieve the sufferings of their own subjects.

III.—National Poems.

OUDH PUNCH, 6th January, 1922.

The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 6th January, 1922 has a poem in which the following line occurs:—

I swear by mother earth, only a short time hence
I will drive the enemy to London with kicks.

The *Haqiqat* (Lucknow) of the 8th January, 1922 has a poem saying that Muslims should give up Government service and practise non-co-operation and fill the jails and be strictly non-violent if they want *swaraj*. HAQIQAT, 8th January, 1922.

The *Yugantar* (Gorakhpur) of the 31st December, 1921 publishes a poem on *swadeshi* by *Trishool*, important lines of which are translated below :— YUGANTAR, 31st December, 1921 and 7th January, 1922.

They rob us, throwing dust into our eyes by some trick or other.
Foreigners looting us have become prosperous.
Crooked people have become devourers under the guise of benevolence.
We have nourished the serpent on milk.
It is hissing in the sleeves and is about to bite.

The same paper publishes a poem by *Bismil*, in which the following line occurs :—

The sighs of the denizens of the garden will reduce thee to ashes,
O thou who setteth fire to my nest.

The same paper of the 7th January, 1922 publishes a poem by *ek Rashtriya Atma* on *swadeshi*, in which the following lines occur among others :—

When all wealth will be drained away by bad administration
How will the poor motherland then save her honour.
If the fearless, unbridled, crooked policy will make you dance (at its own sweet will), then
How will the poor motherland save her honour.
Alas! the foreign industrial policy will swallow all the wealthy.
How will the poor motherland save her honour.

R. N. MARSH-SMITH,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD :
The 7th January, 1922.

PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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Published in the UNITED PROVINCES

CENTRAL REGISTRY
20 FEB 1922
INDIA OFFICE

For the week ending the 21st January, 1922.

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I.—POLITICS.

Anglo-French relations.

1. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 19th January, 1922, thinks that M. Briand's resignation, which has upset Britain's and United States' plans, was due to the Anglo-French pact. In important French political circles Britain is still distrusted, and hence pro-British Premiers become unpopular. His resignation may delay several important settlements, but not that of the Near Eastern question. LEADER, 19th January, 1922.

Washington Conference.

2. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 12th January, 1922, says that the Washington Conference has resulted in the establishment of a triple alliance between England, Japan and America which will only aim at world domination in the name of peace to the detriment of weak and subject nations. AJ, 12th January, 1922.

Turkey and Muslim States.

3. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 13th January, 1922, appeals to Indian Muslims to collect at least 50 lakhs of rupees to save Angora from the wicked barbarians of Europe. MEDINA, 13th January, 1922.

The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 14th January, 1922, publishes M. Abdul Bari's appeal for funds in aid of the sufferers of Constantinople. The same paper of the 15th January, 1922, is deeply pained to note that not only have the costly furnishings in the House of God at Mecca and the Prophet's mausoleum at Medina disappeared, but the Sheriff has also been reduced to such straits that he wanted to sell a portion of the Hedjaz Railway which is really the common property of the entire Muslim world. The same paper of the 20th January, 1922, publishes the Angora Day and Angora fund appeals which are going the round of the Muslim press. HAMDAM, 14th, 15th and 20th January, 1922.

Al Bashir (Etawah) of the 10th January, 1922, says that Lord Reading's professions of sympathy for Indian Muslims can carry weight only if Thrace, Smyrna and Constantinople are restored to Turkey. The same paper of the same date says that there is no time now for compromise with Indian Muslims regarding the Turkish homelands as Kemal's sword has already become the arbiter there. The only demand made by Indian Muslims has been regarding the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*, and they want that England should have nothing whatsoever to do with Arab affairs. AL BASHIR, 10th January, 1922.

Al Bureed (Cawnpore) of the 12th January, 1922, warns Indians against contributing even a single pie to the AL BUREED, 12th January, 1922.

funds of the British Red Crescent Society whose mission to Turkey is bound to be employed for pro-British political propaganda. The same paper of the same date says that London is anxious to come to terms with Angora not with a view to humour Indian Muslims but in order to outstrip Paris and Rome.

SWARAJYA, 12th January, 1922.

Egypt.

4. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of the 12th January, 1922, makes the following comments among others on the British policy in Egypt :—"Britain has always outstripped other nations of Europe not only in its policy of spoilation but also in trying to get credit for honest intentions and to cover exploitation by professions of philanthropy. The British have never failed, relying on their crooked diplomacy, to show and prove to the world that their spoilation and their unfair and unjust actions are just and right, beneficial and necessary for oppressed countries and indispensable for the peace of the world, and have thus increased their burden of sin day by day. But now the world has become wary and it has become fully aware of its (Britain's) crooked policy. Nobody has any faith in its word now, but blinded by its self-interest it does not refrain from its actions. Accordingly the record of the British occupation of Egypt is full of acts of dishonesty and breach of promise." The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 19th January, 1922, reviews the political situation in Egypt. It is highly unfortunate that the Premier has played into the hands of reactionaries like Lord Curzon and Mr. Churchill and gone back on the Milner pact. The Egyptian Nationalist movement cannot be curbed by a show of military strength which England from all accounts to hand is attempting in Egypt. The Nationalists in Egypt are more united than in India, for the Moderates there hold more advanced views than they do here. They in Egypt, however, have a good deal to learn from the non-co-operation movement in India. It is a pity that Indians cannot do anything to help the Egyptians beyond expressing sympathy. The British Cabinet cannot afford to ignore *ad infinitum* the situation in the East, and the situation in Ireland is likely to introduce complications in view of Mr. de Valera's influence.

HAMDAM, 19th January, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 14th January, 1922.

The Philippines.

5. Referring to the party which opposes the grant of independence to the Philippines, the *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 14th January, 1922, says that rulers are worse than leeches, inasmuch as they do not renounce subject countries (even when they have thoroughly fattened on them) until the latter rise in rebellion against them.

MEDINA, 13th January, 1922.

Mr. Manni Lal.

6. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 13th January, 1922, strongly protests against the Ceylon Government's order of internment against Mr. Manni Lal.

LEADER, 19th and 21st January, 1922.

Bombay Conference.

7. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 19th January, 1922, says that Mr. Gandhi's Bombay speech shatters all hopes of the success of a Round Table Conference. Postponement of general civil disobedience may not win the support of constitutionalists. The threat of civil disobedience has been held out to extract from the Government Mr. Gandhi's irreducible minimum. The latter's statement amounted to a rebuff to the members of the conference. The Bombay meeting has proved the futility of a Round Table Conference and has shown the uncompromising attitude of non-co-operators. Sir S. Nair and Pandit H. N. Kunzru did well in making their position clear. Constitutionalists should stoutly oppose this revolutionary programme which will lead to anarchy. The same paper of the same date supports Sir S. Nair, and thinks that his speech should make Mr. Gandhi introspect. The latter's impossible terms could not justify Sir Sankaran in approaching the Government. Mr. Gandhi's uncompromising attitude led Sir S Nair to speak so strongly against this revolutionary movement and to call for the maintenance of law and order. All constitutionalists should be on the side of law and order, and merging all their differences should try to save the country from anarchy. They want an all-India leader badly, and Sir S. Nair should take the lead in actively fighting this movement. The same paper of the 21st January, 1922, referring to the discussion in the Assembly of M. Ishwar Saran's motion, remarks that the Government by arresting eminent non-co-operators gave critics an opportunity

to say that it was not so much anxious to check intimidation as to crush this movement. The unpopularity of the Criminal Law Amendment Act necessitates its immediate withdrawal and the introduction of a new and better measure for dealing with cases of real intimidation. Sir William Vincent rightly remarked that it was no use holding a Round Table Conference at present for no one could convince the Mahatma that his demands were unreasonable. An overwhelming majority of members were anxious for maintenance of peace and order; and the debate has strengthened Government's position. When civil disobedience is started, even those who are dissatisfied with the Government's present policy will support the Government. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 18th January, 1922, says that so long as the elementary human rights of speech, writing and association are not safe there is little probability of lasting peace in the country. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 15th January, 1922, is of opinion that no terms of peace which do not give Indians free control over the army and the purse should be accepted. The *Sudharak* (Agra) of the 9th January, 1922, says that Mrs. Annie Basant and Mr. Jamna Das Dwarka Das who joined the Moderates to serve their own ends have weakened and lowered the position of the Liberals and that they participated in the Liberal Federation as if they held a brief for Government.

AJ, 18th January, 1922.

ADARSHA, 15th January, 1922.

SUDHARAK, 9th January, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

8. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of the 19th January, 1922, takes exception to the view of Mr. Gandhi that Indians should aspire to Dominion status only. We should be content with nothing less than complete independence. *Al Aman* (Bijnor) of the 19th January, 1922, says that the English will not be successful in their new game of trying to set Hindus against Muslims by making some trifling concessions to each in regard to the *Khilafat* and *swaraj* demands respectively and thus exciting mutual distrust and jealousy. The *Purusharth* (Bara Banki) for January, 1922, says that if the weapons of non-co-operation and civil disobedience will not be properly used, they will recoil over the heads of the people themselves with disastrous effect. Non-co-operation should have been postponed for five years to educate the people thoroughly in its cardinal principle of non-violence and should have been practised only if Government had failed to grant *swaraj* during the period. The *Qaum Parast* (Bareilly) of the 11th January, 1922, has an article by a correspondent who in rather strong and violent language asks Government to acquire the popular point of view. The *Hindu* (Dehra Dun) of the 20th December, 1921, publishes a pronunciamento by 300 Hindu divines of Farrukhabad to the effect that those Hindus who co-operate with the cow-killing Government will be regarded as apostates and cow-killers. The editor asks the Hindu divines of other important Hindu religious centres of India to issue similar *fatwas*. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 12th January, 1922, publishes an appeal by Mr. Agha Muhammad Safdar, Secretary, Provincial Congress Committee (Punjab), for enlistment as volunteers. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 15th January, 1922, has the following in its wit and humour column:—"Why is Mr. Hasrat Mohani not arrested? He has gone one better than the Ali Brothers in extremism. Perhaps Government is waiting for a propitious moment for his arrest. O my dear Government, you should not fall into the snares of Indian Pandits for telling you the propitious moment." The same paper of the 20th January, 1922, says that the purpose of British domination in India is to perpetuate slavery and exploit the country. Referring to the capital punishment inflicted on one J. G. Morris, the *Aj* (Benares) of the 12th January, 1922, notes that it is the first occasion that a European has been hanged for the murder of an Indian, and remarks that this is perhaps the result of the judicial and forensic antecedents of the Viceroy. The paper pleads for the abolition of capital punishment and for the Viceroy taking such measures as to establish brotherly relations between Englishmen and Indians. The same paper of the 16th January, 1922, characterises the Viceroy's condemnation, of the boycott of the Prince's visit being an insult to the Prince and the British Nation (in spite of the fact that the non-co-operators had made their position perfectly clear from the very beginning), as a misrepresentation of their attitude which has culminated in the creation of racial hatred and in the establishment of the Civil Guards. The paper refers to the conduct of the "loyal" Ulsterites in boycotting the British

SWARAJYA, 19th January, 1922.

AL AMAN, 19th January, 1922.

PURUSHARTH for January, 1922.

QAUM PARAST, 11th January, 1922.

HINDU, 20th December, 1921.

MANSUR, 12th January, 1922

ADARSHA, 15th and 20th January, 1922.

AJ, 12th, 16th and 18th January, 1922.

National Anthem and indulging in open sedition in consequence of the Irish treaty and asks if that is not an insult to the British Nation. Why were meetings not banned there and volunteers and leaders not incarcerated? This differential treatment within the same Empire is due to the fact that India is a weak and subject country, while Ulster is strong and free. The same paper of the 18th January, 1922, deplores the Madras riots, condemning them as ignominious blots on the non-co-operation movement, even though they may have been the outcome of provocation and impresses upon the people the imperative necessity of cultivating self-restraint for the success of their movement.

ADARSHA, 17th January, 1922.

Sir Harcourt Butler's Agra speech.

9. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 17th January, 1922, most strongly and vehemently opposes the suggestion that there would have been bloodshed if leaders had remained free. On the other hand, people will not forget their incarceration till eternity. The *Utsah* (Jhansi) of the 14th January, 1922, says that the deeds of the United Provinces Government, including as they do the arrest and imprisonment of the largest number of volunteers and respected leaders in these provinces and the refusal to accept any resolutions of the Legislative Council belie the claims of the Governor that he was a lover of reforms and hated revolution.

UTSAH, 14th January, 1922.

AVADHBASI, 17th January, 1922.

Repression.

10. The *Avadhbasi* (Lucknow) of the 17th January, 1922, remarks that repression will defeat its own object and weaken the strength of the bureaucracy. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 13th January, 1922, says that the general public is losing confidence in the administration of justice by such flagrant examples of injustice as was perpetrated in the cases of Messrs. Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, and wonders that the bureaucracy does not even take notice of the fact.

AJ, 13th January, 1922.

II.— Administration.

AL AMAN, 19th January, 1922.

Punjab affairs.

11. The *Al Aman* (Bijnor) of the 19th January, 1922, says that how much so ever Government might try to disguise the fact, there is no doubt it has suffered a serious defeat in the matter of the Sikh prisoners. Referring to the Punjab Government's warning against civil disobedience, the *Aj* (Benares) of the 12th January, 1922, says that it shows that the O'Dwyerian spirit is still alive in that province and that the bureaucracy is incorrigible. When the wrongs of the people are not redressed by ordinary methods of agitation, they are obliged to have recourse to non-co-operation and civil disobedience. The disastrous consequences of these methods, says the paper, can only be averted by the wrongs being redressed and not by threats. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of the 12th January, 1922, says that the Punjab Government has only given evidence of its petty mindedness in threatening civil resisters with forfeiture of pension. This denial of wages in their old age to those who had served it in their youth will only lower its prestige. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 19th January, 1922, reproduces an article from the manuscript *Swarajya* (Allahabad) of the 13th January, 1922, which referring to the Punjab Government's warning against civil disobedience says that it shows that the spirit of Dyer and O'Dwyer is still animating the bureaucracy and every honest Indian should consider rest as *haram* until he has destroyed this spirit. The mean threats of Government can no longer deter Indians from the performance of their obligations.

AJ, 12th January, 1922.

AL BUREED, 12th January, 1922.

VARTMAN, 19th January, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 13th January, 1922.

PURUSHARTH for January, 1922.

Garhwal affairs.

12. The *Purusharth* (Bara Banki) for January, 1922, is opposed to the establishment of police in Garhwal as the district is free from crime and the police will only oppress the simple people. The same paper urges the Government to construct the proposed railway line in Garhwal in such a manner as to connect Kotdwara with Lansdowne, Banghat Deva Prayag and Karan Prayag, so that a large area of Garhwal could derive benefit from it in times of scarcity and famine.

HAMDAM, 18th January, 1922.

Treatment of political prisoners.

13. The editor of the *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 18th January, 1922, says that he was not allowed to see Pandit Moti Lal on Sunday, and urges that visitors should have free access to political prisoners on Sundays. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 13th January, 1922, publishes a contributed article in which the writer says that political prisoners are accorded special treatment in all civilised countries and

NAJAT, 18th January, 1922.

wonders why in India they are required to perform hard labour and are treated with vindictiveness. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 16th January, 1922, complains that political prisoners in the Naini Jail are made to twist ropes and grind corn.

ADARSHA, 16th January, 1922.

14. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 16th January, 1922, is grieved to note that the police insulted Muslim divines assembled in conference in Central Provinces by calling them hooligans and tearing off the religious pronunciamentos distributed by them.

Police treatment.

MANSUR, 16th January, 1922.

15. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 20th January, 1922, animadverts on the highly unsatisfactory state of the Court of Wards department (especially in Kheri district) in connection with the British Indian Association's action on the Raja of Oel's complaint and urges that Court of Wards should be made a transferred subject.

Court of Wards.

HAMDAM, 20th January, 1922.

16. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 19th January, 1922, says that it would be better if the Local Government were to trace the alleged political fanatic who assaulted the Superintendent of Police at Hardoi.

Hardoi assault.

HINDUSTANI, 19th January, 1922.

17. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 10th January, 1922, says that *Aman Sabhas* are now no good as they have been successful in stopping neither *hartals* nor civil disobedience. In some places their existence has given a positive impetus to agitation and much unrest has been generated by realization of subscriptions for them under official pressure. It is a pity that Government is wasting money over such a thankless work.

Aman Sabhas.

AL BASHIR, 10th January, 1922.

18. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 15th January, 1922, strongly urges the total stoppage of the export of all food grains. The *Advocate* (Lucknow) of the 20th January, 1922, remarks that in the evidence before the Fiscal Commission the Marwari Association has brought to light the treatment received by Indian import and export merchants at the hands of European manufacturers. We ask where is the cause for grievance or occasion for surprise. In our opinion it is all patriotism and due to feelings of white nationality. It is for Indians to take lessons from such revelations and act on the moral which they point to.

Economic questions.

HAMDAM, 15th January, 1922.

ADVOCATE, 20th January, 1922.

III.—National Poems.

The *Swarajya* (Unao) of the 12th January, 1922, publishes a poem by Muhummad Ilias Khan exhorting people to become volunteers and fill the jails.

SWARAJYA, 12th January, 1922.

The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 16th January, 1922, publishes a poem in which the writer describes the sufferings of Islam at the hands of its enemies and the desecration of its Holy places. Indians who stood by the enemies of Islam in their distress are rewarded with the Rowlatt Bill and the Punjab horrors. Those whom you saved yesterday from death are thinking of ruining you (*lit.* cutting your throat) to-day.

MANSUR, 16th January, 1922.

The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 15th January, 1922, publishes a poem in which the writer says that the wicked powers of Europe have combined to destroy the Ottoman *Khilafat* and Indians should sacrifice their lives and pursue their present methods to checkmate these infidels who are the enemies of Islam.

NAJAT, 15th January, 1922.

R. N. MARSH-SMITH,

Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD:

The 21st January, 1922.

PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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CONFIDENTIAL] No. 4 of 1922

SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

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I.—POLITICS.

The Near East.

1. The *Haqiqat* (Lucknow) of the 23rd January, 1922, says that when Lord Curzon cannot even completely restore Smyrna to Turkey it is idle to expect him to do justice to her claims regarding Thrace and other territories.

HAQIQAT, 23rd January, 1922.

Afghanistan.

2. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 23rd January, 1922, says that the Bolshevik Ambassador at Kabul has sent a report to Moscow to the effect that on the occasion of the National day celebrations the Afghan soldiers recited in the presence of the Amir and the foreign representatives poems saying that the British were despoilers of other people's lands, property and cattle and that Bolshevik aid for Islam was providential. When the Bolshevik Ambassador was leaving the gathering he was lustily cheered by the Kabul soldiery. History bears witness to the fact that Eastern Monarchs have not unfrequently been deposed by their armies. Amir Aman Ullah has (on account of the recently concluded Anglo-Afghan treaty) become unpopular with the Bolsheviks and the demonstration by the army is significant of its anti-British attitude. The same paper of the same date referring to the statement of a contemporary that the Amir was preparing to invade India as his cousin had been arrested at Benares by the United Provinces Government, says that whatever truth there may be in the report, there is no doubt that the Amir will be influenced by the arrest and the Afghan soldiers who have been infected with the Bolshevik virus will put strange interpretations on it.

NAJAT, 23rd January, 1922.

Sir Harcourt Butler.

3. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 28th January, 1922, publishes a contributed article entitled "Is Sir Harcourt Butler progressive." The writer refers to His Excellency's past record as a member of the Government of India and to his opposing an Executive Council for these provinces. The writer reviews in some detail His Excellency's administration in these provinces, and doubts if it can be called progressive. The fact is that few civilians can make good semi-constitutional Governors. It is the province's misfortune that it has at its head one who is more of an administrator than of a statesman, and it is time for the liberals and other progressive men in this province to bestir themselves and ask with one voice that the next Governor shall be a person selected from among the rank of public men of either this country or England.

LEADER, 28th January, 1922.

HAMDAM, 24th and 26th January, 1922.

Maulana Abdul Bari.

4. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 24th January, 1922, is sorry to note that Sir William Vincent has accused M. Abdul Bari of favouring violence, and points out that the Maulana has always been preaching non-violence, though as a Muslim divine he has never failed to point out the tenets of Islam on the subject. The National volunteers also have on the whole remained marvellously non-violent in spite of the tremendous provocation offered by the police. The same paper of the 26th January publishes a note by Maulana Abdul Bari on the subject.

LEADER, 23rd January, 1922.

Babu Bhagwan Das.

5. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 23rd January, 1922, says that in releasing Babu Bhagwan Das the Government has cared not for its prestige but for justice.

AL BUREED, 20th January, 1922.
AL AMAN, 22nd January, 1922.
MANSUR, 24th January, 1922.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

6. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of the 20th January, 1922, and *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of the 22nd January, 1922, advise Government not to take action against Hasrat as he is not at all preaching violence. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 24th January, 1922, is also of the same opinion.

LEADER, 26th January, 1922.

Debate on repressive policy.

7. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 26th January, 1922, referring to United Provinces Council debate on Government policy and the resolution adopted on the subject, remarks that persons against whom Government has taken action were not guilty of intimidation, but were dangerous to Government. The Legislative Councils should have been first consulted. The Governor abused his power when he disallowed Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's motion of adjournment. The framing of the second part of the resolution is not happy, for if the release of prisoners is guided by considerations of "public interest," you substitute expediency for justice. The weakness of the amendment lies in its giving to Government wide discretion which may be abused and thus defeat the very object of the resolution.

MANSUR, 24th January, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

8. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 24th January, 1922, urges the supersession of the Moslem League by the *Jami'at-ul-Ulema*. The same paper has rather a strong article pointing out that other subject countries have sooner or later won their freedom and India also is bound to be free in due course, and warning Englishmen that by prolonging the present struggle they are only laying the axe at the root of the British Empire. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 17th January, 1922, says that Indian Muslims should take a lesson from the example of the Sikhs who have got their religious grievances remedied by showing a sterling spirit of sacrifice and patriotism. Muslims have not been able to get their *Khilafat* grievances redressed simply because they are not a living race. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 21st January, 1922, has a poem referring to Government's injustice and urging Indians to enlist as volunteers and to remain strictly non-violent. The same paper has an article by Said Ansari urging the establishment of *Dar-ul-Qara* Muslim courts like the one at Cawnpore.

AL BASHIR, 17th January, 1922.

MEDINA, 21st January, 1922.

AJ, 20th and 25th January, 1922.

Repression.

9. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 20th January, 1922, says that repression will fail and urges Government not to allow the present opportunity for peace to slip by. Surely non-co-operators have not gone further than the Irish in their methods and demands. The non-co-operators too should not impose any humiliating terms on the Government. The same paper of the 25th January, 1922, says that if legal procedure had been properly and strictly followed several of the political prisoners convicted would have been acquitted, and instances the case of Pandit Satya Narain Pande of Benares who, though not a volunteer or office-bearer of the Congress, was convicted on the bare evidence of a constable for being a member of the assembly in which Dr. Shakur was arrested. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 17th January, 1922, says on the authority of Raymond that Government allowed four hundred Hindu sepoys to be starved to death before the Calcutta Black Hole tragedy, and refers to the warnings of the *Hindu* and the *Indian Social Reformer* against transporting Moplah prisoners in wagons. The disregarding of the latter led to the prison-van tragedy with all its horrors. The paper asks whether, in view of these facts, Government can claim to be

PHAKKAR, 17th and 24th January, 1922.

civilised and that it does not kill Indians knowingly. The same paper of the 24th January, 1922, writes in its wit and humour column that if the volunteer Prem Prakash of Amritsar wrote his message with the blood of wounds inflicted upon him it was no serious matter, that though Dyer left the country his spirit was still there, and that so long as *swaraj* was not attained this spirit of ogre rule would continue. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 26th January, 1922, asks the Madras Government not to enact the farce of framing emergency measures, which will only give a fillip to the abuse of power. The *Sudharak* (Agra) of the 23rd January, 1922, advises the Government of India and the Provincial Governments to give up their hostile attitude towards the Vernacular Press. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 21st January, 1922, says that officials are abusing the law in the name of "law and order" and are becoming guilty of disgraceful and barbarous acts which are an outrage on civilisation. Only a Government which is bent on ruining weaker races for its own material profit can be guilty of such acts. This means that "civilisation" is now only another name for commercial loot.

ADARSHA, 26th January, 1922.

SUDHARAK, 23rd January, 1922.

MEDINA, 21st January, 1922.

Bombay Conference.

10. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 20th January, 1922, deplores Sir Shankaran Naiyar's attack on Mr. Gandhi, and says that it is unbecoming of a gentleman. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of the 24th January, 1922, says that as neither of the combatants have been defeated or exhausted, talk of a truce is premature.

AJ, 20th January, 1922.

AL BUREED, 24th January, 1922.

Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill.

11. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 23rd January, 1922, deplores the defeat of Dr. Gour's motion in the Assembly. The conservatism shown in voting against it by members of the Democratic party proves the lack of a true spirit of nationalism in the country.

LEADER, 23rd January, 1922.

II.—ADMINISTRATION.

Gwalior State.

12. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 23rd January, 1922, in reviewing the Gwalior State Administration Report of 1919-20, refers appreciatively to His Highness the Maharaja's solicitude for guarding his subjects against oppression and high-handedness, and remarks that if this is the temper of administration in the State, it need not fear criticism in the press in British India in spite of Government of India's solicitude for Native States being immune from press criticism.

LEADER, 23rd January, 1922.

Railway.

13. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 26th January, 1922, complains that the anthorities of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway have dismissed all the watermen on intermediate stations on the metre gauge line in utter disregard of the requirements of the passengers during the coming hot weather.

VARTMAN, 26th January, 1922.

R. N. MARSH-SMITH,

Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD:

The 28th January, 1922.

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For the week ending the 4th February, 1922

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I.—POLITICS

Enver Pasha.

1. The Muslim press doubts the news of the arrest of Enver Pasha. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 29th January, 1922 is pained and surprised at the news, and urges that Afghanistan should be asked to clear the mystery surrounding the report. HINDUSTANI, 29th January, 1922.

The Near East.

2. *Al Aman* (Bijnor, Nagina) of the 30th January, 1922 says M. Poincaré's recent speech shows that as a result of Lord Curzon's heroic efforts France, which was previously ready to evacuate Syria, is now determined to retain it. Britain also is not now going to amend the Sevres treaty beyond establishing an allied instead of a Greek mandate over Smyrna. On the other hand the British will continue to finance Greece and thus enable her to gather strength for another tussle with Turkey. AL AMAN, 30th January, 1922.

The Middle East.

3. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 27th January, 1922 urges the Government of India to ask the Ruler of Hedjaz to remove the sufferings of Muslim pilgrims and also to allow Indian representatives to take up the question with him. HAMDAM, 27th January, 1922.

East Africa.

4. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 3rd February, 1922 says that Mr. Churchill's speech at the East African Dinner is disappointing and will produce in the minds of Africans and Asiatics an impression which would render the task of ruling them difficult. It was high time for power-mad imperialists to realise that subject races are no more willing to occupy a subordinate position in their own country at Britain's bidding. Mr. Churchill's observations on the Indian question in East Africa were unfortunate. Has the spirit of the Imperial Conference resolution been faithfully carried out in what Mr. Churchill has called the final decision. What do the India Office and the Government of India propose to do now? LEADER, 3rd February, 1922.

Sources of Government Information.

5. The *Sudharak* (Agra) of the 30th January, 1922 says that in view of the changed conditions in the country Government will have to radically alter its ways, and will have to give a wide berth to the sycophantic minority in the matter of getting information as to what is happening in the country. The Government will have SUDHARAK, 30th January, 1922.

to depend either on *Aman Sabhas* or on repression to meet the present situation. The two cannot in any case go together.

MEDINA, 28th January, 1922.

The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 28th January, 1922 says that as evidenced by the Finance Member's reply to the debate regarding repression in the local Council, the Government is grossly misinformed regarding the political situation in the districts and is bound to be sadly disillusioned in the near future.

PRATAP, 30th January, 1922.

Debate on repressive policy.

6. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 30th January, 1922 says that the arguments advanced on behalf of Government against Munshi Ishwar Saran's resolution regarding the policy of repression cannot hold water, that most of the charges against the Government in connection with that policy are wholly true and that the Bombay Conference and the debates in the Councils have made it plain to the world that the non-co-operators are quite blameless in the present struggle.

AJ, 26th January, 1922.

The *Aj* (Benares) of the 26th January, 1922 says that the rejection of Mr. Jafar Husain's resolution regarding the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in the Legislative Council and the acceptance of Thakur Mashal Singh's amendment thereto which was diametrically opposed to the principle of the resolution show that nothing can be expected from such Councils. The latter will only delay the advent of *swaraj*. It is to be hoped that other members of the Council will follow the example of Pandit Radha Kant Malaviya in resigning their seats and will join the agitation for getting only such Councils established as will really voice public opinion and help in the attainment of real *swaraj*.

ADVOCATE, 29th January, 1922.

Repression.

7. Referring to the name of Mr. Sherwani of Aligarh having been struck off the rolls of the High Court, the *Advocate* (Lucknow) of the 29th January, 1922 remarks that the Viceroy has kept the door open for non-co-operators. The Chief Justice of Allahabad also says that he has left the door open for Mr. Sherwani. What more proof do our readers require to establish the identity of this High Court with the executive?

AL AMAN, 27th January, 1922.

Referring to Government's refusal to stop in its mad and fatal career of repression, *Al Aman* (Bijnor) of the 27th January, 1922 says that the English have been guilty of a greater misrule in India than in the United States, Ireland and Egypt. Some statesmen in fact are of opinion that the British Empire is the worst among the civilised Empires of the world and India is the worst governed portion of that Empire. Sir William Vincent calls the non-co-operators rebels, but only those men can be rebels who disobey God's laws or the just laws of the rightful Government of their country. Will Sir William style as rebels those Frenchmen who freed their country from the Bourbons or those Englishmen who beheaded their monarchs to rid their country of autocracy? When such is the tradition of the British nation, under what law or principle can the salaried agents of the British Government style as rebellious a movement designed to relieve India from the yoke of a bureaucratic domination which has been responsible for the misdeeds of Amritsar and Smyrna.

PHAKKAR, 31st January, 1922.

The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 31st January, 1922 tries to show by quoting historical references how the Europeans have almost exterminated the aboriginés of America and Australia under the belief that the Whites have been created to rule the world and the blacks to suffer and slave. The wave of liberty in Ireland, Russia and Egypt has awakened Indians too, who have shown a determination which has puzzled even Lord Reading. If they hold on in their struggle for some time more, the position of the Whites and Indians will be reversed.

AL KHALIL, 24th January, 1922.

Al Khalil (Bijnor) of the 24th January, 1922 says that signs are not wanting that the work of striking unarmed volunteers is unnerving the police, and it may by and by refuse to do this work. Even if Government want to foment disturbances by violent acts against non-violent workers and thus to get an excuse for introducing martial law, the results may not prove to its advantage as no one knows when the army also may get demoralised and refuse to fire on unarmed people.

AJ, 29th and 30th January, 1922.

The Press.

8. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 29th January, 1922 is pained to note the severity with which action against the *Motherland* (Patna, Bihar) has been taken, and in reviewing the history of the Press Act (a moribund measure which is being freely employed,

specially in the United Provinces, to muzzle the Press) refers to the shady ways by which Lord Minto brought pressure to bear on Lord Sinha (the then Law Member) and the late Mr. Gokhale and forced them to support the passing of the measure. The same paper of the 30th January, 1922 refers to the difficulties of journalists and asks Government to make allowances for them just as it does for its officials and not to look upon them as unmitigated rogues who deserve no quarter. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 28th January, 1922 says :—An Anglo-Indian journal praises the inhumanities of the police in dispersing meetings. This shows that in spite of their claim to civilisation Anglo-Indians are still as barbarous as their ancestors . . . Government's policy has given some policemen an opportunity for *loot*. Now we should style the Government as "based on *loot*" instead of as "based on law." MEDINA, 28th January, 1922.

Political prisoners.

9. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 3rd February, 1922 thinks that the release of Lala Lajpat Rai and Messrs. Santanam and Gopi Chand is an admission by the Punjab Government of the untenability of the definition of "public meeting" as used in the Seditious Meetings Act which the trying Magistrate thought fit to accept. The re-arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai under Criminal Law Amendment Act shows that this Act is being used beyond the purpose of checking intimidation. It is highly impolitic to prosecute people any more for technical breaches of the law. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of 1st February, 1922 regrets that there are many obscure political prisoners who are as innocent as Bhagwan Das, but who do not possess powerful advocates like his to bring their case to the notice of the Government. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 29th January, 1922 urges that the cases of political prisoners convicted under sections 107, 108 and 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and 143 and 188 of the Indian Penal Code should also be reconsidered, as there has been an abuse of the provisions of these sections. The *Kartman* (Cawnpore) of the 1st February, 1922 has the following in its wit and humour column :—"The case of Deshbandhu Das is (like) the tail of Hanumanji. Certainly so! That is why the sentence is not being pronounced for fear of the Lanka of the bureaucracy being set fire to. Rawan, by punishing Hanuman, got his own home reduced to ashes. Hence O Lankeshwari (the gate-keepress of Lanka), beware!" LEADER, 3rd February, 1922. HAMDAM, 1st February, 1922. AJ, 29th January, 1922. VARTMAN, 1st February, 1922.

Peace proposals.

10. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of the 26th January, 1922 says that in view of the imperialistic ideals of the British Government, which it wants to support and attain by brute force, it is impossible that it should free India from bondage and hence there is no hope of efforts at peace being successful. The *Avadhbasi* (Lucknow) of the 31st January, 1922 does not view with favour the continued efforts of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (as indicated by his interviewing the Viceroy and also nationalist leaders) for a conference. *Al Aman* (Magina, Bijnor) of the 30th January, 1922 is not sanguine about the success of the peace conference proposed by Mr. Chakradewa in the *Bombay Chronicle*, and says that he has made the basic mistake of allowing a majority of official members. SWARAJYA, 26th January, 1922. AVADHBASI, 31st January, 1922. AL AMAN, 30th January, 1922.

II.—ADMINISTRATION.

Delhi University.

11. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 30th January, 1922 is against the proposed Delhi University. It would result in a wasteful expenditure of money on higher education which the country does not require for the present. Primary and secondary education and industrial education are the urgent needs of the country. AJ, 30th January, 1922.

Complaints against police.

12. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 26th January, 1922 publishes a letter over the signatures of Vishwa Nath Sharma Azad, Gokul Das and Gyan Chand complaining that two sub-inspectors abused and beat them with a cane on the 22nd January, 1922 when they were engaged in picketing a liquor shop in Chamrautia. AJ, 26th January, 1922.

The Chakrata case.

13. The English *Garhwali* (Dehra Dun) of the 28th January, 1922 is much dissatisfied with the result of the Chakrata shooting case in which all the five accused have been discharged. The statement of the accused could have been taken under section GARHWALI, 28th January, 1922.

164, Criminal Procedure Code. Many now say that the decision in the case was a foregone conclusion. Let us wait and see how fares the European accused in what may be called the Gandhi capped boy shooting incident.

ADVOCATE, 3rd February, 1922.

14. The *Advocate* (Lucknow) of the 3rd February, 1922 strongly opposes the plea for an increase in postal rates put forward in the annual report of the department for the year 1921.

Post and Telegraph.

III.—National Poems.

PRATAP, 30th January, 1922.

The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 30th January, 1922 publishes a poem by "Kusum" saying that Indians can have no dealings with an administration which enslaves them, tyrannises over them, represses liberty of thought and speech, sends patriots to jails, supports brute force, causes massacres (as at Jallianwala Bagh), exploits the country and enacts black acts.

R. N. MARSH-SMITH,

Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

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I.—POLITICS.

The Near East.

1. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 4th February remarks that while the attitude of France and Italy has been different towards the Angora Government, England has not so far even recognised the latter. The attitude of England towards Turkey is also shown by Lord Curzon's proposals at the Cannes Conference. How then can England hope to win the good-will of Indian Muslims. *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of the 3rd February, the *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 3rd February, and the *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 5th February are similarly suspicious of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon's intentions regarding Turkey. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 7th February publishes a strong article by Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haq of Patna denouncing Mr. Lloyd George's anti-Turkish policy and warning him of the disastrous effects on the Empire if Muslims' discontent is not pacified in time. The paper has an article by another writer who expresses similar views.

HAMDAM, 4th February, 1922.

AL AMAN, 3rd February, 1922.

NAJAT, 3rd February, 1922.

MEDINA, 5th February, 1922.

NAJAT, 7th February, 1922.

Egypt.

2. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 2nd February says that social boycott was mainly responsible for the change in the British attitude towards Egypt.

HINDUSTANI, 2nd February, 1922.

Mr. Manni Lal.

3. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 10th February strongly protests against Mr. Manni Lal ("who is being hounded out of every place that he visits as an undesirable without any charge being proved against him") not being free from molestation even when he sets his foot on Indian soil at Rameshwaram.

LEADER, 10th February, 1922.

Lord Northcliffe.

4. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 5th February warns people against Lord Northcliffe's efforts to set Hindus and Muslims by the ears by posing as a champion of the *Khilafat*. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 2nd February also takes a similar view.

HINDUSTANI, 5th February, 1922.

AJ, 2nd February, 1922.

AJ, 2nd February, 1922. PHAKKAR, 7th February, 1922.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

5. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 2nd Februray says that the release and the subsequent arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai was a cruel jest. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 7th Feburary writes in its wit and humour column that if the lion of the Punjab had been let loose he would have made a clean sweep of the white sheep.

LEADER, 6th and 8th February, 1922.

Peace proposals.

6. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 6th February remarks on the futility of the letter written by Mr. Gandhi to the Viceroy, and says that the spirit behind the letter thoroughly justifies the view which Sir Sankaran took of Mr. Gandhi's impossible attitude. The same paper of the 8th February remarks that Mr. Gandhi is not ready to give up any of the aggressive activities of his movement and hence the path of peace must remain obstructed. The Government may entirely reverse its present policy and set all the non-co-operators who have been imprisoned free and may even declare that it will allow the non-co-operators the fullest liberty of action and immunity for preaching subversive doctrines they like, and still Mr. Gandhi will launch civil disobedience wherever and whenever he thinks that the people are ripe for it. It is a crushing reply which the Government of India have given to the misleading manifesto which Mr. Gandhi had issued in which he sought to fasten the responsibility for his inaugurating a campaign of mass civil disobedience on Government. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 5th February counsels both Government and Mr. Gandhi to meet half-way and establish peace before the Prince of Wales reaches Delhi.

AJ, 5th February, 1922.

LEADER, 8th February, 1922.

Gorakhpur tragedy.

7. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 8th February remarks that the doctrine of defiance of constituted authority is bearing fruit, and if the mad outburst in Gorakhpur, as also the spirit of lawlessness that is abroad in every part of the country, does not open the eyes of the law abiding section, then they must indeed be blind to the grave portents of the time. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 7th February condemns the Chauri Chaura outrage.

HAMDAM, 7th February, 1922.

AL BASHIR, 7th February, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

8. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 7th February says that policemen are resigning in such large numbers simply because of the ungentlemanly behaviour of Superintendents of Police, high prices and loss of illicit income and prestige owing to non-co-operation. The Government should remedy the grievances of policemen instead of penalising those who point out to them the disadvantages of police service. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 7th February has a strongly worded article denouncing the machinations of the heartless bureaucracy, the pervesity of the Anglo-Indians and the activities of the self-styled representatives of the Indian Legislatures. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of the 2nd February has rather a strong article reviewing the incidents which led up to the non-co-operation movement. The latter is responsible for bringing about a popular awakening to an extent which would have been incredible some time ago. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 6th February refers to the probable disastrous consequences of the inauguration of mass civil disobedience and says that the people have been forced to brave all risks for the sake of emancipation from venomous slavery which has utterly degraded and demoralized them and for the sake of their existence as a free nation. They have determined to bring the machinery of administration to a standstill, even at the cost of their lives. They want to mend it or end it in order to establish the happy era of *swaraj*.

MEDINA, 7th February, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 2nd February, 1922.

PRATAP, 6th February, 1922.

MEDINA, 5th February, 1922.

Repression.

9. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 5th February says that every method of repression is tried to retain India simply because it is regarded as a rich booty and the present satanic system exists only for economic exploitation. We can save our natural wealth from the commercial loot of foreign brigands only when India is freed. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 31st January, 1922, advises Lord Reading to check the anti-non-co-operation lawlessness of his subordinates, as otherwise the prestige of British justice will disappear from India. The *Prem* (Brindaban, Muttra) of the 3rd February, 1922, publishes a note from one Misri Lal Chatterji complaining of game shooting by two soldiers in tahsil Chhata (district Muttra)

AL BASHIR, 31st January, 1922.

PREM, 3rd February, 1922.

which resulted in two persons receiving injuries from gun-shot, these persons being members of a crowd which had assembled to protest against game shooting there. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 6th January publishes a letter from Dr. Kamta Prasad Saxena, District Congress Committee, Etah, stating that the Collector himself beat some volunteers at Jalesar on the 16th January and the Superintendent of Police behaved in the same manner the next day. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 1st February warns Government against the inadvisability of confiscating pensions of retired officials for participation in non-co-operation, specially while it refuses to accept the recommendation of the Congress sub-committee to dismiss the guilty Punjab officials and stop their pensions for the atrocities they pepertrated during active service. The same paper of the 6th February says that at the present time there is no administration of justice, but a mockery of justice in the matter of dealing with non-co-operators, and that incarceration of "obnoxious" persons appears to have become the guiding principle of administration.

PRATAP, 6th Jannary, 1922.

AJ, 1st and 6th February, 1922.

II.— ADMINISTRATION.

Udaipur Mewar (Rajputana).

10. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 6th February publishes a letter from its special correspondent saying that as the old Maharana was very punctilious regarding the honour of Mewar, the English could not interfere with its internal affairs, but now that they have transferred most of the powers to the pliable Maharaja Kuar, they are having things their own way and a very serious situation has arisen. The awakening in Mewar is being sought to be crushed in an exceedingly inhuman fashion. It is said that in Basi, Parsauli, etc., even women have been subjected to inhuman artrocities. Brahmachari Hariji and hundreds of his associates have been placed in solitary cells, heavily ironed. Recently 50 mounted and 50 foot soldiers have been dispatched to Mandalgarh and the Agent to the Governor General also is touring through Mewar. All this is being done to force the Maharana to leave Mewar in spite of the wonderful devotion of the populace to his person. It is a pity that though the Maharana did not effect even a single political arrest during forty years of his reign, his son has filled the jails with political prisoners within a few months. Terrorism cannot kill political awakening in the land of Rana Pratap and the Maharaj Kumar should stay his hand in time lest he alienate the sympathies of his still loyal subjects for ever.

PRATAP, 6th February, 1922.

Political prisoners.

11. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 5th February asks the Local Government to see that Jail Superintendents are actually carrying out its orders regarding special treatment of political prisoners, including ordinary volunteers. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 7th February, *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of the 7th February, and *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 7th February protest against the maltreatment of the Ali Brothers. The *Shakti* (Almora) of the 31st January complains that political prisoners in the Almora District Jail are harassed in order to make them offer an apology. The *Bharat Bhandhu* (Hathras) of the 9th February says that on the 4th January three political prisoners in the Sultanpur Jail were confined in solitary cells and later on flogged for shouting *Mahatma Gandhi ki jai.*

HAMDAM, 5th February, 1922.
NAJAT, 7th February, 1922.
AL AMAN, 7th February, 1922.
Al Bashir, 7th February, 1922.
SHAKTI, 31st January, 1922.
BHARAT BANDHU, 9th February, 1922.

Meerut grain looting.

12. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 6th February in referring to the Council debate on Meerut grain looting animadverts on the attitude of the Hon'ble Home Member. In the absence of any contradiction the public has drawn its conclusion that the so-called unitary system of Government is more or less of convenience on the part of the reserved half, the transferred half being consulted by it at some stages and being cooly ignored at other and more important stages even of the same matter. If this impression is wrong, the Government have only to thank the Home Member's ignorance for it.

LEADER, 6th February, 1922.

East Indian Railway strike.

13. Referring to the official statements regarding the trouble at Tundla, the *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 11th February remarks that the fact that "these authoritative statements should result in further augmenting the strike situation is proof positive that

LEADER, 11th February, 1922.

these statements have been received with utter disbelief by the men on strike," and suggests a Round Table Conference of a few representatives of the strikers and the Railway Company to do justice between the European engine driver and the Indian fireman. The Railway Companies should issue strict directions to their Eurasian and European employees to treat Indians even of the "coolie" class with proper courtesy and punish promptly all departures from right conduct.

HAMDAM, 2nd February, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 2nd February, 1922.

Official publications.

14. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 2nd February protests against the discontinuance of the Urdu Gazette. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 2nd February urges the publication of Administration Reports and Council Proceedings in the provincial vernaculars.

NAJAT, 30th January, 1922.

Transportation.

15. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 30th January reproaches Government for not abolishing transportation to the Andamans in spite of the recommendation of the Jail Commission.

III.—National Poems.

NAJAT, 27th January, 1922.

MEDINA, February, 1922.

The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 27th January has a poem saying that Indians are now no longer deterred in their march towards freedom even by the unerring bullets of Dyer, and that Gandhi's whirlwind will sweep away all tyrants in its wake. The *Medina* (Bijnor) for February has a poem in which the following lines occur :—

I would say that the world is relieved of dead weight
The day the fowler scuttled away bag and baggage from India.

PREM, 3rd February, 1922.

The *Prem* (Bindraban, Muttra), of the 3rd February publishes a poem by Bharat Bhooshan Awasthi, saying that they (the English) have plundered India by means of trade.

R. N. MARSH-SMITH,

Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

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I.—Politics.

India in the Commons.

1. Referring to the debate on Sir W. Joynson Hicks' amendment to the address, the *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 19th February remarks that Mr. Montagu has been the saviour of India. Mr. Montagu did well in pointing out to those who think that the British can be driven by soul force or by physical force and who refuse to accept the solemn undertakings given by the British Sovereign and Parliament that disloyalty to the King-Emperor and attempts to mar the welcome to the Prince of Wales could not but prejudice British good-will towards Indian aspirations.

LEADER, 19th February, 1922.

The Near East.

2. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 10th February says that the counsels of the anti-Muslim politician M. Venezelos carry more weight with Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon than the wishes of a hundred millions of their fellow subjects of Islamic persuasion. The same paper of the 11th February advises England to give the upper portion of the Bagdad railway to Turkey instead of to France, as the latter might prove a formidable rival. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 9th February condemns the action of the London Muslim League in reviving the old discredited methods of begging by appealing to Lord Curzon in regard to the Turkish settlement. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 12th February reminds Indian Muslims of the persistently anti-Turkish attitude of England during the past and warns them not to be taken in by any offer of make-believe concessions, but to insist on the *status quo anti bellum* for Turkey.

HAMDAM, 10th and 11th February, 1922.

MEDINA, 9th February, 1922.

MANSUR, 12th February, 1922.

The Middle East.

3. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 11th February says that the Muslims of Palestine will never consent to their country being treated as a Crown colony. The same paper of the 14th February demands the evacuation by the English of Mesopotamia as it forms part of the holy Jezerat-ul-Arab.

HAMDAM, 11th and 14th February, 1922.

Indianisation of services.

4. Referring to Mr. Jamna Das Dwarka Das' resolution in the Assembly, the *Aj* (Benares) of the 15th February doubts if the mere Indianisation of services would bring in a new heaven and a new earth. It would be a mere change of masters if the

AJ, 15th February, 1922.

services are Indianised, but the spirit behind the present system is allowed to continue. The English official in India is in fact not so much of a bully as the subordinate Indian official. What we really want are officials who would feel that they are the servants and not the masters of the people. It is not the non-co-operators alone who think the present system ungodly. The late Mr. Gokhale also held the view. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 18th February agrees with the view of Mr. Jamna Das Dwarka Das and remarks that the amendment accepted by the Assembly at the instance of Sir W. Vincent should not lead to the shelving of the question. May we expect the Government of India to do their very best ?

LEADER, 18th February, 1922.

LEADER, 15th and 17th February, 1922.

Civil disobedience.

5. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 15th February remarks that the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Congress indicate the dawn of reason. The Working Committee ought to have dropped mass civil disobedience altogether. May it be hoped that no fresh offensive will be taken on the part of the Government at the present juncture ? It should wait and see if the resolutions are faithfully followed by the non-co-operators in the country and are ratified by the All-India Congress Committee. The situation has been so altered that if the Government contemplated taking any decisive action, it has to pause and reconsider the whole situation. For civil disobedience has for the time being been postponed and the defiance of notifications by means of processions and meetings has been prohibited. The same paper of the 17th February, 1922 is not sure whether Mr. Gandhi's present policy will have any long lease of life. It may be, after all, a mere change of tactics. The Working Committee's resolutions cannot disarm suspicion ; they imply nothing more than a truce. A truce is not peace, though it may open the way for it. It has still to be seen whether Mr. Gandhi's followers carry out the resolutions recently passed in letter and in spirit. The enemies of the reforms—the Sydenhamites—are also gathering strength in India and in England and are trying to force the hands of the Government for the adoption of a really repressive policy. Accordingly we think that the need for vigilance on the part of constitutionalists and the Government is not over. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 16th February has a long article on the subject of the postponement of civil disobedience. The latter movement was based on an insufficient recognition of the facts of human psychology and the Chauri Chaura and Bareilly outrages have come as eye-openers at the right time. The leaders now fortunately realise the need of caution and of the foundation being strong and stable. The conditions laid down by Lord Reading in his Calcutta speech have now been fulfilled to the very letter, and he now has ample opportunity to give proof of that "sympathy" and "justice" of which so much fuss has been made. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 9th February, in view of the Chauri Chaura outrage, urges the need of the abandonment of civil disobedience and of concentrating on the constructive programme of the non-co-operation movement. The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of the 22nd/29th January is convinced that mass civil disobedience is a leap in the dark. We disapprove of any action which may be likely to result in mob violence or disturbance of the public peace.

HAMDAM, 16th February, 1922.

AJ, 9th February, 1922.

NORTHERN STAR, 22nd/29th January, 1922.

SWARAJ, 9th February, 1922.

MEDINA, 13th February, 1922.

SHAKTI, 14th February, 1922.

PRATAP, 13th February, 1922.

Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum.

6. The *Swaraj* (Unao) of the 9th February has a rather strongly worded article on the Viceroy's reply to Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 13th February strongly denounces the repressive activities of Government and says that Mr. Gandhi was perfectly justified in complaining to the Viceroy against his policy of ruthless repression accompanied by acts of inhumanity against peaceful Congress and *Khilafat* workers. The *Shakti* (Almora) of the 14th February and the *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 13th February try to make out that the official reply to Mr. Gandhi's ultimatum is mere sophistry and camouflage. The choice before the people is not between anarchy and law and order, but between repression and freedom.

LEADER, 19th February, 1922.

Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

7. The Indian Government, remarks the *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 19th February, did well in staying their hands and giving Mr. Gandhi a chance of reforming his movement and proving his *bonâ fides*. That they, particularly Lord Reading, should

have kept their head cool in spite of tremendous pressure from England and also from familiar quarters in India, and should have quickly adapted themselves to the new situation augurs well for the future. The situation cannot radically improve unless there is response from Government to every real move on the side of non-co-operators for calling halt to strife.

Non-co-operation.

8. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 10th February, 1922 has a contributed article in which the writer says that Englishmen often contend that if they were to leave India there would be internal disorder and bloodshed. But they also are resorting to the selfsame bloodshed to preserve peace and order. If preservation of peace and order is synonymous with bloodshed, the demands of Indian Congressmen are fully justified. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 9th February says that foreign propaganda is necessary to combat the efforts of Reuter cum bureaucracy in the direction of concealing the woeful state of India. The *Shakti* (Almora) of the 7th February exhorts hillmen to take their due share in the non-co-operation movement. In its wit and humour column, the *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 13th February says that the Prince of Wales is very kind hearted and far sighted and that is why his staff makes over all money received in presents to hospitals, for it must be obvious that incidents like Bareilly shooting will become the order of the day and wounded persons in hospitals will bless His Royal Highness for his benevolence. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 16th February says that the English have educated the Indians only to maintain their supremacy.

OUDH PUNCH, 10th February, 1922.

MEDINA, 9th February, 1922.

SHAKTI, 7th February, 1922.

ADARSHA, 13th February, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 16th February, 1922.

Repression.

9. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 15th February fails to understand the mentality which would not take up the noble work of the uplift of the country (as provided for by the non-co-operation movement) for fear of isolated cases of rowdyism by miscreants and also says that brute force may subdue the body but it cannot rule the spirit. The same paper of the 13th February says that the Associated Press Agency deserves condemnation for its use of the words "malicious" and "disgraceful libel" in its statement regarding the indecent treatment of arrested volunteers in Benares, which indicates its official partizanship. The allegations made in the statement are one-sided and are intended to prove the local officials to be paragons of virtue. The same paper of the 10th February, 1922 urges that the cases of men like Muhammad Siddiq Mistri of Benares in which there has been an abuse of legal powers should also be reconsidered. The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of the 22nd——29th January thinks that the passing of the Rowlatt Act at a time when Indians were hoping for *swaraj* is a proof conclusive that the idea of a "revolution" is a mere bogie set up to achieve a definite political purpose. The Government created troubles and difficulties in which Indians are involved at present and still it declares itself an aggrieved party! To be weak is in itself a sin. Those who wish to live must struggle and struggle relentlessly. Civilised humanity declares British rule in India to be detrimental to the best interests of Indians and destructive of their happiness. Insults against the Indian nation are frequent and repression continues with increased vigour. Indian leaders have been shut up in jails and the public press has been annihilated by a vindictive and alien administration.

AJ, 15th, 13th and 10th February, 1922.

NORTHERN STAR, 22nd——29th January, 1922.

Provincial Congress Committee.

10. "Justice" writes from Agra to the *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 18th February animadverting on the miscarriage of justice caused by the conviction of the members of Provincial Congress Committee for the trivial fault of having, it was alleged, passed a resolution which, it is heard, was neither on the agenda nor on the register but on a detached paper bearing no signatures and on no better evidence than that of a Police Superintendent. The Government must not in their zeal for the maintenance of the peculiar orphan called law and order forget that there is a third and by far the most numerous party of peaceful citizens which must not be alienated by the exercise of despotic powers creating the impression that the Government had turned bankrupt in wisdom and statesmanship and making them feel the hollowness of its justice. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of the 9th February also takes the same view.

LEADER, 18th February, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 9th February, 1922.

AJ, 12th February, 1922.

11. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 12th February condemns the Chauri Chaura atrocities, attributes mob fury to the unpopularity and cruelty of the sub-inspector and the absence of leaders who are in jail and urges alteration in the Congress programme in the light of this sad experience of Gorakhpur and the establishment of peace and contentment by Government, as the vigour of the non-co-operation programme is being relaxed. The same paper of the 16th February heartily supports Messrs. Azad Subhani, Kamal Husen and Chandra Kanth Malviya who have started a relief fund for those who have suffered from the Chauri Chaura outrage. The Police Association have also done well in organizing relief operations, but it is not right to call the policemen who were so brutally murdered as "martyrs." The accounts of the tragedy that are pouring in point to police excesses—though no amount of police high-handedness can justify the foul outrage. The Association does well in trying to improve the lot of policemen. But the latter's grievances in the matter of pay, etc., do not justify their unsympathetic attitude towards the people which is so notorious. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 10th February has the following in its wit and humour column:—

The Chauri Chaura outrage.

VARTMAN, 10th and 16th February, 1922.

"Gandhi ji should not grieve the least over the outbreak of disturbances, for they are the concomitants of 'civilized Government' and the civilized Government always brings about disturbances." In its wit and humour column, the same paper of the 16th February says that the bureaucracy does not allow Gandhi to proceed to Chauri Chaura for fear of exposures which might give him a handle for declaiming against lawless repression. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of the 12th February points out that the Chauri Chaura tragedy has proved the inability of the people to maintain non-violence and of the police to maintain order and advises Government to summon a Round Table Conference immediately instead of engaging in hair-splitting discussions regarding the success or otherwise of the non-co-operation movement. British soldiers cannot be found in sufficient numbers to garrison every Indian village and town and ugly rumours are afloat regarding the Indian sepoys. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 12th February urges a searching scrutiny of the statute book with a view to the removal from it of laws whose enforcement can cause provocation sufficient to lead to mob violence.

AL KHALIL, 12th February, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 12th February, 1922.

12. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 13th February is unable to find even from the official *communiqué* justification for firing at Bareilly, but unreservedly condemns the people for violence which is against their avowed principles.

PRATAP, 13th February, 1922.

Bareilly disturbances.

II.—Administration.

13. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 10th February condemns the action of the Tirur Commission in exonerating Government officials from all blame for the Moplah prison-van tragedy. The *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of the 13th February says that though the British Administration in India has always been notorious for making it appear that its acts of oppression and repression are designed for the preservation of law and order, it has now really excelled itself in declaring the poor and helpless Moplahs to be oppressors.

HAMDAM, 10th February, 1922.

The Moplahs.

AL AMAN, 13th February, 1922.

14. The railway strike, remarks the *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 15th February, has behind it the working of racial feeling which has been gathering strength and which was seeking an opportunity to burst out. In a case like the present one, where no dispute between capital and labour is involved and in which the issue is purely one of considerate and just treatment of Indians, the higher railway officials ought to approach the question from an angle of vision different from that which is adopted in a struggle between the employers and the employed. We think that having expressed their emphatic protest by going out on strike and thus having vindicated their self-respect, they should rejoin their duties without loss of time if they are given an assurance that their grievances would be investigated and redressed as far as possible. We do not want that any Indian should serve anyone at the sacrifice of his self-respect, but we are totally opposed to such thoughtless action as that of the East Indian Railway strikers. We hope that the Railway Administration will not drive a

LEADER, 15th February, 1922.

East Indian Railway strike.

hard bargain and will not try to teach the strikers a lesson. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 13th February, 1922, publishes a note from an Agra correspondent saying that the origin of the assault on the Indian fireman by the European driver at Tundla lay in the former asking the latter not to go to sleep while the fireman was driving the engine. PRATAP, 13th February, 1922.

Postal rates.

15. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 16th February strongly protests against the proposal of increasing postal rates. The question was discussed with great care and in detail in the Assembly and it is no good re-opening it now. HAMDAM, 16th February, 1922.

Jails.

16. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of 9th February vehemently denounces the scandalous treatment of the Karachi convicts in jail and says that it is the duty of Indian Muslims to put an end to these barbarities of tyrannical officials by rapidly acquiring fitness for the adoption of aggressive civil disobedience. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 10th February urges a substantial increase in the number of visitors to jails and in the frequency of their inspections and the need for carrying out their recommendations so as to improve the lot of prisoners. The same paper of the 13th February wonders why the recommendations of the Jail Committee are not being enforced, while no time is allowed to lapse in the matter of the enforcement of repressive laws. MEDINA, 9th February, 1922. AJ, 10th and 13th February, 1922.

The Chakrata case.

17. The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of 22nd/29th January is disappointed at the accused in the case not having been punished for the cold-blooded crime against society and asks the Chief Justice to order the examination of the records of the case and to institute fresh inquiries so as to bring the culprits to book at once. Public feeling is running high against such miscarriage of justice. NORTHERN STAR, 22nd/29th January, 1922.

Publicity.

18. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 16th February refutes the view expressed by Mr. Goudge on the 29th of January last in a meeting of the Publicity Committee. Mr. Goudge said that the pamphlets issued by the Publicity department emphasise the attainment of *swaraj* by constitutional means and are therefore read by the people. Anybody who has got experience of the matter can say that people do not care even to touch a pamphlet which is suspected to have an official source. The *Shakti* (Almora) of the 14th February attacks the supporters of the *Aman Sabha* for their sophistry against the spinning wheel and says that they do so through self-seeking and satantic motives. HAMDAM, 16th February, 1922. SHAKTI, 14th February, 1922.

III.—National Poems.

Al Aaman (Nagina, Bijnor) of the 13th February has a poem deploring the occupation of the Holy places of Islam by Christians and saying that it is a pity that even though the *Quran* has been confiscated Muslims continue to exist and to call themselves Muslims and do not practise non-co-operation. AL AMAN, 13th February, 1922.

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Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD :

The 18th February, 1922.

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I.—POLITICS.

Lord Curzon.

1. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of the 18th February strongly attacks the policy of Lord Curzon as being pro-Greek and anti-Turkish. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 23rd February, in its leading article tries to make out that Lord Curzon was a liar (although he had the hardihood to call Indians liars) and tried to explain away Queen Victoria's Proclamation for which he was not called to account by the Parliament.

MECCA MEDINA 18th February, 1922.
PHAKKAR, 23rd February, 1922.

Palestine.

2. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 17th February demands the relinquishment of the British mandate over Palestine.

MEDINA, 17th February, 1922.

Indians overseas.

3. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of the 16th February has rather a strong article on the subject of Indians overseas.

SWARAJYA, 16th February, 1922.

The Middle East.

4. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 10th February says that Nepal, Burma, and Mesopotamia are a useless burden on the Indian exchequer. The *Advocate* (Lucknow) of the 19th February urges that there should be at least one Indian on the staff of the British Legation at Kabul, if India is to bear the expense of it.

OUDH PUNCH, 10th February, 1922.
ADVOCATE, 14th February, 1922.

India in Parliament.

5. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 18th February, protests against Sir W. Joynson Hick's wild allegations against Indians and assures Mr. Montagu that Indians never want to drive out the English from the country, but only desire improvement in the system of government. His threat of the British being the most determined people is irrelevant. The same paper of the 19th February, 1922, protests against Mr. Lloyd George's threat to India in the name of law, order, and justice. It is simply through the restraining influence of Mr. Gandhi that the stupendous movement of non-co-operation in face of serious provocation has been so remarkably non-violent. Referring to Lord Curzon's speech, the

AJ, 18th and 19th February, 1922.

MANSUR, 20th February, 1922.

Mansur (Bijnor) of the 20th February says that Lord Curzon is mistaken in thinking that the present unrest in India can be put down by repression. No one can now keep her in bondage. The spirits of the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh are longing to welcome us and the death knell of the tyrannical Government has been sounded. All the world knows that India is writhing in agony. The scene of the bloodsmeared corpses of the martyrs of Jallianwala Bagh, of the dishonour of innocent women and of the wounds caused by the crawling order is still causing tears of blood to well up.

HAMDAM, 19th February, 1922.

VARTMAN, 17th February, 1922.

6. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 19th February says that English press correspondents give particular prominence to *hartals* in the cities of United Provinces during the Prince's visit, and wonders whether this is due to personal ill-will against Sir Harcourt Butler. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 17th February says that on the occasion of the Prince's visit to Agra men were sent for from villages though paid agents.

The Prince.

HAMDAM, 15th February, 1922.

MEDINA, 17th February, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 16th and 19th February, 1922.

NAJAT, 15th February, 1922.

OUDH PUNCH, 10th February, 1922.

ADARSHA, 18th February, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 16th and 19th February, 1922.

ADARSHA, 19th February, 1922.

AJ, 19th February, 1922.

PARTAP, 20th February, 1922.

VARTMAN, 18th February, 1922.

KARTAVAYA, 18th February, 1922.

SHAKTI, 21st February, 1922.

7. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 15th February advises Congress workers to take any forward steps most cautiously, as the people have not as yet become fully non-violent. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 17th February also takes the same view. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 16th February is glad that civil disobedience has been postponed, but questions the authority of Mr. Gandhi in ordering postponement without receiving the Congress report on the Chauri Chaura incident. The same paper of the 19th February is dissatified with the Bardoli resolutions and wonders what lead the Central *Khilafat* Committee will give to the country. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 15th February says that whatever fuss may be made about Indian unrest, there is no unrest in reality in India, because if Indians had been as determined as Lord Northcliffe's fellow-countrymen to shake off the shackles of subjection and slavery it would have been impossible to keep 30 crores of people under the control of the British administrators. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 10th February has a note of pungent satire on European diplomacy which has been consistently trying to bring ruin to Turkey and on British administrative policy in India which is both repressive and crooked. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 18th February approves of the Congress decision and hopes that it will lead to peace. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 16th February expresses satisfaction at the postponement of *satyagraha* and assures zealous non-co-operators that the latter would be started when the country is prepared for it. The same paper of the 19th February says that the Government in its own interests should mend its ways after the Rae Bareilly and the Punjab tragedy just as the Congress Committee mended its ways by postponing civil disobedience after the Chauri Chaura tragedy. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 19th February also takes the same view. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 19th February supports the Bardoli decisions and advises the Cawnpore Congress Committee not to go against them. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 20th February sees in the postponment of civil disobedience the working of Divine Providence. God fulfills himself in many ways. Who could foresee that all the burning desire and preparation of Indian patriots for offering civil disobedience would end in smoke and an opportuinity would be furnished for testing the sincerity of Lord Reading's professions? The decision arrived at at Bardoli is very sound and the country should devote all its energy on following it. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 18th February remarks that Mr. Gandhi's fasting for five days is useless, because fasting pleases Gods only and not demons. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of the 18th February, says that although aggressive non-co-operation has been postponed, yet the non-co-operation movement has not been given up wholly. Since civil disobedience has been postponed, the Government should also repeal the repressive laws. The *Shakti* (Almora) of the 21st February in course of a long article which seeks to emphasise the supreme need of non-violence, observes that the difference between Government's policy and Mr. Gandhi's policy lies in this, that while Mr. Gandhi admits his mistakes officials never do so, which is a sign of weakness and hypocricy. The

Non-co-operation and Bardoli resolutions.

Bharat Bandhu (Hathras) of the 16th February says that the use of foreign cloth has degraded Indians and caused famines, and that Englishmen have exploited the economic resources of the country and killed our trade and industry.

BHARAT BANDHU. 16th February, 1922.

The Chauri Chaura tragedy.

8. One Mangal Murti writes to the *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 20th February that from his knowledge of the district he can say with confidence that the unfortunate victims of the Chauri Chaura tragedy were not singular in displaying overzeal and committing unlawful acts. Such overzeal does not meet with disapproval from the higher authorities. The writer has infact been surprised to find responsible men of *Aman Sabha*, even non-officials, holding the view that beating was the only effective answer to picketing when the non-co-operators showed such a contemptuous disregard of jail punishment. Anyone having experience of districts like Benares and Bulandshahr can say that beatings and pin-pricks are not infrequent in some districts at least. The approval or even the connivance of unlawful acts by the Government is unnecessary and unjustified when the Government has sufficient repressive laws in its armoury and can forge fresh ones when required. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 14th February condemns the action of the United Provinces Police Association in characterising the attitude of the Chauri Chaura police as wise and brave and advises an independent enquiry into the Chauri Chaura and Bareilly affairs, as any efforts to conceal the shortcomings of the police will in the end lead to disaster. The *Adarsha* (Cawnpore) of the 19th February says that it would be no matter for wonder if the police and the military commit excesses on the public, for they appear to be excited by the Chauri Chaura outrage. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 23rd February says that the Chauri Chaura affair appears to have been much exaggerated and that M. Subhanulla getting nervous lays the axe at the root of *satyagraha*. The volunteers did not take the least part in the affray. On the other hand they were wounded with bullets. The non-co-operation movement got discredited for nothing. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 10th February while condemning the brutal outrage, remarks that pent-up feelings of bitterness induced by official excesses and inhumanities exploded after all. The paper also castigates M. Subhanullah, President of the District Congress Committee. He wired to Mr. Gandhi to stop Congress activities, but he did not keep his hand on the pulse of popular feeling in the district which it was his business to do.

LEADER, 20th February, 1922.

AL BASHIR. 14th February, 1922.

ADARSHA, 19th February, 1922.

VARTMAN, 23rd February, 1922.

OUDH PUNCH, 10th February, 1922.

The Bareilly disturbances.

9. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 18th February in its wit and humour column remarks that it was good that the Bareilly Town Hall was burnt and thereby the bone of contention was removed. Since there is now no Town Hall, the use of *lathis* for gaining its possession has been rendered useless. The *Haqiqat* (Lucknow) for February (?) says that the Government *communiqué* on the Bareilly disturbances throws the responsibility on the volunteers, while the popular version received by the Press suggests that the police was at the bottom of the trouble. The information received from non-official sources can be published only by such of the papers as can afford to furnish securities of Rs. 2,000, for we are well aware of the fate of our Punjab contemporaries for their publishing true facts of the Ferozpur-Jharka incident.

VARTMAN, 18th February, 1922.

HAQIQAT for February, 1922.

Political offenders.

10. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 17th February says that the Government is taking full advantage of political offenders not defending themselves. Is it justice to keep persons like Mr. C. R. Das for months in custody as under-trial prisoners? The Magistrate of Benares, contrary to Dr. Sapru's announcement, is still trying political offenders inside the jail. Why should the public be punished for the slightest infringement of the law, while Government servants are not at all punished for disobeying the orders of the Government? How is the public going to remedy these evils? The same paper of the 18th February, refers to Mr. C. R. Dass' statement and tries to show that his arrest and trial are altogether illegal and that Government makes its own Magistrates commit travesty of justice and infringe its own laws in support of its policy of repression and to cow down the so-called agitators. The same paper of the 20th February tries

AJ, 17th, 18th and 20th February, 1922.

to show how section 143 (?) is being abused in Benares to do duty for 17(1) and 17(2) so as to prevent revision of the cases and ensure the treatment of the convicts as ordinary criminals. Dr. Shakur, M. Z. Ansari, and P. Satya Narayan Pande of Benares and others from Ballia have been made victims of this abuse of powers. Such proceedings cannot cow down the spirit of the people. Such cases should also be revised if Government cares to do justice to political prisoners. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 18th February, says that the Government has blackened its hands by imprisoning Mr. C. R. Das and that injustice cannot prosper for long. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 16th February appeals for help on behalf of the *Zamindar* and the *Siasat* newspapers whose securities have been forfeited several times.

VARTMAN, 18th February, 1922.

MANSUR, 16th Febauary, 1922.

11. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 14th February, characterises as barbarous the action of Government in dispersing peaceful assemblies by force, and says that it appears that Sir William Vincent now means to leave no portion of India free from atrocities. India was conquered and Indian industries were ruined by deceit and now the last shred of British reputation for justice and bravery will disappear owing to this brutal dispersal of peaceful gatherings. God never helps oppressors and always brings ruin on them. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 20th February in criticising the ways of the bureaucracy, says that the reply to a question in the Provincial Legislative Council regarding the number of cases in which persons have complained of non-co-operators' intimidation shows what strong proofs of their intimidation and threats the Government had when it declared volunteer associations unlawful or when it defended its repressive policy. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 21st February has a rather strongly-worded article on the "scandalous" conduct of Colonel Buck in photographing Hindu girls against their will in a state of semi-nudity and in entering a Hindu temple with shoes on and in killing a peacock (a bird held sacred) in the presence of Hindu girls and exhorts Hindus not to submit tamely to these insults, but offer mass civil disobedience to mend the bureaucracy or end themselves.

MANSUR, 14th February, 1922.

Repression.

PRATAP, 20th February, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 21st February, 1922.

12. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 20th February says that though it lost the case, it was successful in exposing the horrors of the tragedy of Rae Bareli, the falsehood of Government *communiqués*, the hollowness of British justice, and in showing to the public what evidence it had for the support of its news. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 16th February says that it is impracticable to enquire into the truth of correspondents' statements before they are published in papers.

PRATAP, 20th February, 1922.

Pratap libel case.

AJ, 16th February, 1922.

II.—Administartion.

13. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 16th February complains against the delay in carrying out the resolution regarding the release of political prisoners passed in the Bengal and Bihar Legislative Councils, and asks the members of the two houses to interpellate on this point. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 16th February criticises the Government *communiqué* on the treatment of political prisoners and says "If paid constables are respectable persons, why should not paid volunteers who belong to the same strata of society be treated as such?" The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of the 16th February says that the jail administration badly needs reforms and that it is a great blunder for the Government to suppose that by treating other prisoners well while Ali Brothers are being ill-treated the public will be satisfied. Will the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State attend to this important matter?

HINDUSTANI, 16th February, 1922.

Political prisoners.

AJ, 16th February, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 16th February, 1922.

14. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 20th February asks the Government to intervene in the matter and to bring about a settlement, as trade and industry are being severely affected. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 17th February eulogises the rare moral courage shown by the strikers in refusing to submit to racial humiliation, and says that the strike is bound to succeed as it is rightful. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 22nd February advises the railway authorities to arrive at a compromise with its employés in the interest of the public as well as in its

LEADER, 20th February, 1922.

East Indian Railway strike.

MEDINA, 17th February, 1922.

AJ, 22nd February, 1922.

own and to give up the attitute of obstinacy. The paper condemns the tendency of Anglo-Indian papers, who smell Gandhism in every act of Indians. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 20th February denies the allegation that the strike is due to agitators, and prays for an early settlement of the dispute. British justice has become so much discredited that the strikers do not believe in the Doctor's and the Magistrate's enquiries.

PRATAP, 20th February, 1922.

Police.

15. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of the 14th February urges that the ordinary police should not be required to effect political arrests, and that this work should be reserved for the Criminal Investigation department. Policemen should not also be required to do *Aman Sabha* work, as it is difficult to protect them when they become the victims of popular fury in outlying thanas.

AL BASHIR, 14th February, 1922.

Post office.

16. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 19th February attributes the fall in postal revenue to the discontinuance of the practice of commission sale of postage stamps.

HINDUSTANI, 19th February, 1922.

Improvement Trusts.

17. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 16th February says that Improvement Trusts cause great hardship to the poor by acquiring their houses at nominal prices and selling them to rich men who earn much by erecting high buildings and letting them for immoral purposes.

PHAKKAR, 16th February, 1922.

III.—National Poems.

One Muhammad Yusuf says, in a poem published in the *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 16th February, that one and a half year's agitation in India has shaken the position of Manchester and the Government, and that the tyrants cannot conquer Indians because the latter possess soul force. The same paper of the 20th February has a poem saying that when the Government could not tolerate the recital of Indian grievances it resorted to section 144 and firings, though the people were always ready to go to jail. The *Mecca Medina* (Bijnor) of the 18th February publishes a poem entitled "the pathetic appeal of the martyrs of Smyrna to Indian Muslims." The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 19th February publishes a poem saying thas non-co-operators will gladly suffer imprisonment and police and military oppression for the sake of the good of their country. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of the 16th February publishes a poem by Shyam Lal Gupta, which was read in Agra jail, praying the Mahatma Gandhi may soon start mass civil disobedience to set fire to the *holi* of the bureaucratic policy. The same paper of the same date publishes a poem in which, among others, the following important line occurs :—"Both Malvyas and Gandhis have stormed the British fort, and Mohan (M. K. Gandhi) has appeared in India in two guises." Professor Ram Das Gaur publishes in the *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of the 20th February a poem in which he asks how people can remain co-operators when the wives of co-operators were widowed, when streets were packed with the dead bodies of many Madans, when the shots of the coward Dyer presented such spectacles, and when the rods at Naini (Jail) are remembered even now by every nerve in my body. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of the 18th February publishes a poem in which, among others, the following line occurs :—" You will witness the complete success of the non-co-operation movement and the utter defeat of the bureaucracy." The same paper of the same date publishes a poem on the appearance of the paper in which it accuses the Government of attempting to kill the paper because its circulation had rapidly increased and threatens to outwit the Government which is proud of its strength.

MANSUR, 16th and 20th February, 1922.

MECCA MEDINA, 18th February, 1922.

VARTMAN, 19th February, 1922.

BHARAT BANAHU, 16th February, 1922.

PRATAP, 20th February, 1922.

KARTAVYA, 18th February, 1920.

R. N. MARSH-SMITH,

Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD:

The 25th February, 1922.

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I.—Politics.

Geneva Conference.

1. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 27th February says that the Geneva Conference has been held not for the maintenance of world-wide peace but for the joint exploitation of other countries by Christian States. Why were the Turks not invited to participate in this Conference? The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 25th February, in a strong article, takes much the same view.

NAJAT, 27th February, 1922.

MEDINA, 25th February, 1922.

The Greek loan.

2. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of the 20th February says that Britain must wait till Greece attacks Turkey again with the help of the loan advanced by Britain, and that the courage of the Premier and Lord Curzon is ebbing out owing to the failure of the Allies' organization. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 1st March, is certain that the Greeks would be successful in securing a loan from the British in spite of the Premier's protestations to the contrary. In view of Mr. Lloyd George's notoriety for not being faithful to his pledges, his words would not carry conviction with the Muslims.

AL KHALIL, 20th February, 1922.

MEDINA, 1st March, 1922.

S. Talib Pasha.

3. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 28th February, cannot understand why Saiyid Talib Pasha has been allowed to go to England. Has the visit anything to do with the strengthening of the Government's position in Mesopotamia? *Al Aman* (Nagina) of the 23rd February criticises Britain's policy in Mesopotamia, Arabia and Syria and looks with suspicion on Britain's invitation of Saiyid Talib Pasha to England. Is it not an interference with the affairs of the Holy land of Hejaz? When Amirs are moved about like dolls by Englishmen, how can the Hejaz be a Muslim State? It is in fact ruled by Britain.

HAMDAM, 28th February, 1922.

AL AMAN, 23rd February, 1922.

Persia.

4. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 2nd March says that the diametrically different manner in which Englishmen and Americans have discharged their duties towards Persians in the past is apparent from the fact that while the former are shunned, the noted American financier Mr. Schuster has been enthusiastically invited again to Persia. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 28th February also takes a Somewhat similar view.

HINDUSTANI, 2nd March, 1922.

HAMDAM, 28th February, 1922.

OUDH PUNCH, 17th February, 1922.

British foreign policy.

5. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 17th February has an article of biting sarcasm on Lord Curzon's anti-Muslim policy. The same paper in a highly sarcastic tone criticises the British policy of meddling with other people's affairs in Mesopotamia, Arabia and Palestine and declares that England has failed to civilise India, Egypt or Ireland even after hundreds of years of subjection. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of 22nd February is alarmed at the rumour of a Nejdo-British alliance. The secret and unjust compacts between the Amir of Hejaz and Britain against Islam and the Turks show that both of the parties were unrighteous. Englishmen love to harm Islam so much that they at once lend a helping hand to anyone whom they find inclined to oppose Islam. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 26th February remarks that the British Government always protected Christian States, but never recognized the rights of Islamic countries.

MECCA MEDINA, 22nd February, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 26th February, 1922.

AL AMAN, 23rd February, 1922.

Afghanistan.

6. *Al Aman* (Nagina) of the 23rd February is glad to read in an Arabic paper that Anwar Pasha has come to Afghanistan for bringing into the country arms and officers from Germany and hopes that like Angora, Afghanistan too would be successful with his help. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 21st February also takes the same view. The same paper of the 25th February copies an article contributed by Jamal Pasha to the *New York American* of 25th December, 1921, in which it is alleged that the British Delegation to Kabul failed in its attempts to bribe the Afghan Government for the cancellation of the Russo-Afghan treaty and for similar other purposes. This article has been reproduced in other papers also.

MEDINA, 21st and 25th February, 1922.

AJ, 26th February, 1922.

India in Parliament.

7. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 26th February protests against the inclusion of Lord Sydenham in the Indian Parliamentary Joint Committee and wonders whether such acts are calculated to encourage "co-operation" in India.

AL KHALIL, 24th February, 1922.

Princess Mary's Wedding Fund.

8. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of the 24th February complains in strong language, against the conduct of local officials who tried to raise money by a public subscription for Princess Mary's wedding. It is disgraceful for the Royal House, according to Indian notions, to raise money in this way for this purpose. This mistake is calculated to produce in the popular mind the impression that either the Government has become bankrupt or that it wants to rob poor Indians.

LEADER, 3rd March, 1922.

Imperial Budget.

9. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 3rd March has a long article on the subject. In India, unlike other countries involved in the war, taxes are being piled up to an intolerable extent and there is no serious effort at reduction of expenditure. It is a picture of unrelieved gloom that is presented by the financial condition of local, provincial and imperial administrations. If Indians had been in charge of the finances of the country their unfitness would have been proclaimed from the house tops. The increase in the passenger fares, the doubling of duties on matches, kerosine, salt and cloth will affect the poor. The increased duty on sugar, steel and iron will help indigeneous industries, though not the duty on machinery. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 1st March says that the Indian Government is bound to be bankrupt if it does not cut down the military budget and the heavy expenditure in maintaining the most costly Indian Civil Service. The army is maintained only for the purpose of providing the vagabonds of England and Scotland with openings when India is practically safe from any internal disorder or external invasion. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 2nd March urges economy by employing Indians instead of Englishmen in various branches of the Military department.

MEDINA, 1st March, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 2nd March, 1922.

LEADER, 1st March, 1922.

The Congress and the Bombay Conference.

10. Referring to the Delhi resolution finally passed by the All-India Congress Committee, the *Leader* (Allahabad) of the 1st March remarks that for the first time Mr. Gandhi has been overruled. The resolution justifies the cautious view which the Government and some Moderates took of the ephemeral nature of the change of policy announced at Bardoli. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of the 22nd February says that Britain's secretly helping Ibn Masoud is likely to stir

MECCA MEDINA, 22nd February, 1922.

Muslim feelings, that the mistake can yet be corrected, and that the Government seeing the reasonable attitude of leaders at Bardoli should make this temporary peace in India a permanent one. *Al Aman* (Nagina) of the 19th February, referring to the Bardoli decisions, says that India can never possibly attain *swaraj* if non-violence is insisted on. There is no instance in history to support the view that freedom can be attained without shedding a single drop of blood. The same paper of the 23rd February declares the Bardoli decision to be a political blunder, inasmuch as it was based on the experience of only three local disturbances, and not on the experience gained at hundreds of other places where, despite the brutal and provocative treatment of volunteers by the police, the volunteers and the public remained peaceful. Although Maulana Azad Subhani and Devdas Sahib said that the incident should not affect the whole of India, yet the Bardoli decision and Malviya Sahib's political charm did what ought not to have been done. This meaningless and erroneous decision was welcomed neither by the extremists nor by the Moderates. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 21st February in rather a strong article condemns the repressive activities of the Government and criticises the Moderates' attempts to bring about a Round Table Conference. The Bardoli decision is opportune, for if mass civil disobedience had been adopted, both official and mob violence would have assumed terrible dimensions, and not only the non-co-operation movement but the Indian nation itself would have been faced with extinction. The same paper of 25th February says that it is not impossible for Indians to be perfectly non-violent in order to attain *swaraj*, and criticises in rather strong language those persons who believe in the efficacy of violence. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of the 28th February and 1st March urges Lord Reading to take advantage of the new situation created by the Bardoli resolutions to conclude peace as such an opportunity may not recur soon. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 23rd February says that it is impossible for people to remain non-violent, when repression and tyranny have exceeded their limits and the laws are defending such repression and tyranny. The same paper of the 26th February declares the failure of the Working Committee of the Bombay Conference to hold a Round Table Conference to be instructive and invites it to join hands with non-co-operators for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 1st March says that the decision of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi is not wise and urges the people to postpone the destructive programme of non-co-operation at least for a month and to concentrate all their energies on its constructive side.

AL AMAN, 19th and 23rd February, 1922.

MEDINA, 21st and 25th February, 1922.

AL BUREED, 28th February and 1st March, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 23rd and 26th February, 1922.

AJ, 1st March, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

11. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 17th February, in a rather violent article, tries to draw the picture of a school which is being picketed. The boys are made to repeat the arguments which are the stock in trade of non-co-operators. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 26th February asks the Government to accord better treatment to Indians, to remove racial inequality, to abstain from imposing fresh taxes, to frame new rules to enable zamindars to collect rents speedily and without paying for court-fees in suits for recovery of rents and to curtail expenditure, specially on the church, in order to combat popular discontent in the country. Referring to the continued demand for the arrest of Mr. Gandhi made by the press in England, the *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 24th February says that only those who want to serve their purpose by creating disorder and bloodshed in India can advise Government to arrest him. The *Shakti* (Almora) of the 28th February, reviewing the achievements of the non-co-operation movement, says that it has established its empire over the hearts of the people, and has freed them from slavish mentality and inculcated among them the spirit of self-sacrifice and exposed the satanic character of the bureaucracy. In short, the non-co-operation movement has caused a mental revolution which bids fair to open the gates of *swaraj*, provided the importance of non-violence and of readiness to admit mistakes is ever kept in mind by non-co-operators and their sympathisers.

OUDH PUNCH, 17th February, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 26th February, 1922.

HAMDAM, 24th February, 1922.

SHAKTI, 28th February, 1922.

Repression.

12. The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of the 19th February says that it cannot give expressions to the deep sense of indignation roused by the action of Mr. Herchenrodder in letting off with a fine of Rs. 15 only a British sergeant who had brutally assaulted a local

NORTHERN STAR, 19th February, 1922.

Indian lawyer. The only way to uphold national honour is to secure *swarajya*.

OUDH PUNCH, 17th February, 1922.
HAMDAM, 22nd February, 1922.

The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 17th February criticises the law in whose name a seventy years old man like Dr. Gopi Ballabh Sah can be arrested for inspecting a *charkha* in the Congress Office. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 22nd February says that the transfer of Ali Brothers from the Karachi jail—although detrimental to their and to the public interests—is designed by God to benefit the administration of those places where they have been sent.

NAJAT, 23rd February, 1922.
MANSUR,

A correspondent writing to the *Najat* (Bijnor) of the 23rd February takes strong exception to Mr. C. R. Das' confinement in jail as an undertrial prisoner for a period of seven weeks and enquires of Lord Reading what would have been the situation if any popular English leader had been similarly treated.

OUDH PUNCH, 26th February, 1922

Miscellaneous.

13. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 24th February ridicules the suggestion made in the Legislative Assembly that names of newspapers should not be mentioned in interpellations by members of the house.

II.—Administration.

KARTAVYA, 25th February, 1922.

East Indian Railway strike.

14. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of the 25th February deplores that the East Indian Railway Company does not appear to take steps to end the strike which is causing so much hardship to the public, and says that if it wants to restore peace it should immediately appoint a responsible non-official committee to report on the situation.

HAMDAM 21st February, 1922

The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 21st February wonders why the Government of India has not so far tried to settle the East Indian Railway strike in spite of the Hon'ble Mr. Syed Raza Ali's inviting its attention to the matter. It has on the other hand supported the Railway authorities by providing the Company with armed police and the military at several stations. This will only exacerbate the feelings of the strikers and the situation may take even a more ugly turn.

HINDUSTNI, 23rd February, 1922.

Chauri Chaura outrage.

15. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of the 23rd February asks for a really independent inquiry into the Chauri Chaura incident and says that the raids by way of reprisal are becoming more serious and dangerous than they were ever before. The police should not, without obtaining a written permission beforehand, indulge in repression.

HAMDAM 25th February, 1922.

The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 25th February associates itself with the *Independent* in asking the Government to publish correct news regarding the present condition of affairs at Chauri Chaura. We cannot say how far the *Independent* is correct in saying that the Government does not want to inform the public of the present state of affairs at that place.

VARTMAN, 25th February, 1922.

The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of the 25th February says in its wit and humour column that in Chauri Chaura people committed this outrage clandestinely. The Police deity is getting rich by means of spoliation. For the police 1857 has begun.

CUDH PUNCH, 17th February, 1922.

The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 17th February is of opinion that though the Chauri Chaura outrage deserves condemnation, it is not so blacks as the Jallianwala Bagh incident.

AJ, 27th February, 1922.

The Moplahs.

16. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 27th February asks the Madras Government to make sifting inquiries (with a view to the punishment of the guilty) into Mrs. Naidu's allegations against soldiers in Malabar and to apologise to her for its baseless threat.

MANSUR, 28th February and 1st March, 1922.

The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 28th February and 1st March regards the Government threat to prosecute Mrs. Sarojni Naidu for publishing false news of official excesses in the Malabar to be repressive and malicious. Why did not the Government punish Dyer and O'Dwyer for still graver offences than that of misstatement?

MEDINA, 21st February, 1922.

The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 21st February says that the Malabar reconstruction scheme is designed to exterminate the Moplahs, praises the *Jamit-ul-Ulema-Hind* of Delhi for its courageous attempts to save the Moplahs from the destructive effects of this scheme and asks all Indians and Moslems in particular to help the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*.

AJ. 26th February, 1922.

Indian Civil Service.

17. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 26th February says that the civilians only threaten to resign in order to obtain a further increase in pay, otherwise there would not have been

so few applications for premature retirement. The civilians could not enjoy the same privileged position both as regards pay and power elsewhere.

Burma Anti-Boycott Bill.

18. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of the 24th February makes sport of the Burma Anti-Boycott Bill and tries to demonstrate that it is an absurd measure. The *Mecca Medina* of the 2nd March thinks that it is an unjust measure.

OUDH PUNCH, 24th February, 1922.

MECCA MEDINA, 2nd March, 1922.

Police.

19. The *Aj* (Benares) of the 1st March pays a warm tribute to Mr. Williamson for his just conduct in connection with the case of Sultan-ul-Haq of Meerut. The paper holds the police to be the main cause of the dissatisfaction of the people with the Government and remarks that if the authorities will really reform the police, there will be a change in the feelings of the people and the national movement for political advancement will be conducted peacefully. It also urges the revision of other political cases which is likely to result in the release of most of the political prisoners. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 28th February hopes that Mr. Gandhi's teaching may so purify the hearts of Indian policemen that there may be no clash in future between them and the Indian public.

AJ, 1st March, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 28th February, 1922.

III.—Politico-religious.

The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 28th February, commenting on the forced resignation of a Muslim from Government service on account of his not being allowed to say his prayers during office hours, asks the Government to create facilities for Muslims for due discharge of their religious duties. Other papers say that the officer in question is the Judge at Cawnpore and attack, him in this connection. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 21st February, in a violent article, draws the attention of Muslims to the brutal and barbarous treatment of Maulana Husain Ahmad in the jail, asks them to protest strongly against it, and requests the Government to contradict the allegations, if baseless. *Al Aman* (Nagina) of the 27th February publishes a similar article on the same subject. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of the 2nd March points out how Government in India sets various communities by the ear in order to serve its own ends. The fate of the Buddha temple in Gaya and the recent interferences in the Punjab with the religious liberties of Hindus, Aryas and Musalmans show that Queen Victoria's proclamation is being trifled with impunity by officials here and there. The editor warns Government against such a wounding of the religious susceptibilities of the people who will defend their faith with voluntary and passive sacrifice of their lives.

HAMDAM, 28th February, 1922.

MEDINA, 21st February, 1922.

AL AMAN, 27th February, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 2nd March, 1922.

IV.—National Poems.

The *Medina* (Bijnor) of the 1st March publishes a national poem, important lines whereof are translated below :—

MEDINA, 1st March, and 25th February, 1922.

(O God) give leisure to the tyrant to indulge in oppressions and tyranny.
Give them all the mischief of the world.
But give us the courage to mount on the gallows with a smiling face.
May the strength of the tyrant be weakened by the distressed.
They are welcome to shed blood fearlessly.
We are silent; they are at liberty to raise the storm.

The same journal of the 25th February publishes a poem in which non-co-operation is preached, the fall of the enemies of Islam is foretold and the hollowness of Government pledges is exposed. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of the 22nd February publishes a poem of "*Zeba*" in which, among others, the following line occurs :—

MECCA MEDINA, 22nd February, 1922.

"See the passing of oppression and tyranny beyond limits and see the destruction of Muslims by tyranny. See the cruelties of Christians and the miseries of Thrace and Smyrna."

The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of the 21st February publishes a poem entitled "*Bad muddat ki magar Tark-i-Mowalat to ho*" (But after long may non-co-operation be practised) by the Munsarim, Commissioner's office, Lucknow. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of the 28th February and 1st March publishes a poem in which it is said that success now awaits Muslims and their oppressors will be destroyed.

HAMDAM, 21st February, 1922.

AL BUREED, 28th February and 1st March, 1922,

MANSUR, 24th February, 1922.

The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of the 24th February publishes a poem in which is described the greatness of the Islamic Empire in the past when the blood of the Turks was never shed in the *Ka'aba* and when Medina was not, as it is now, under non-Moslems. It is also apprehended that lakhs of helpless people, who are ready to sacrifice their lives for their religion, would avenge themselves upon those who have become intoxicated with the wine of power and who should therefore seek land for their graves.

AL AMAN, 19th and 23rd February, 1922.

Al Aman (Nagina) of the 19th February publishes a national poem, important lives of which are translated as follows :—

Europe is attacking the honour of Islam.

The damned army is out for war.

It has burned the sacred curtains of the *Ka'aba*.

Can there be any greater oppression than this.

The same paper of the 23rd February publishes a poem by Riaz-ud-din, in which among others the following lines occur :—

The tyrants, even when we are calm and quiet, are passing orders of imprisonment on us who are quite innocent.

The tyrants cannot destroy us. They shall themselves be destroyed.

We are now prepared to destroy you or to be destroyed.

AJ, 27th February, 1922.

The *Aj* (Benares) of the 27th February has a poem by Akhtar in which the following couplets among others occur :—

We shall not allow them rest until we get control over them.

Either they will be one of ourselves or leave India.

R. N. MARSH-SMITH,

Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD :

The 4th March, 1922.

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SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

Published in the UNITED PROVINCES

For the week ending the 11th March, 1922

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I.—POLITICS.

The Near East.

1. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of March 4 is glad to note that General Harrington's efforts to induce the Sultan of Turkey to favour a peace with Greece have failed. AL BUREED. 4th March, 1922.

Egypt.

2. It is with deep satisfaction that the *Leader* (Allahabad) of March 6 learns that the impasse in Egypt has at last terminated. The repercussion of these portentious events upon the Indian situation would be all to the good, and help to vindicate the wisdom of those who have pleaded for trust in Britain's declared intentions towards India. LEADER, 6th March, 1922.

The budget.

3. The Indian budget, remarks the *Advocate* (Lucknow) of March 9, shows not only the bankruptcy of finances but also of statesmanship. No cutting down of expenditure to meet depleted resources. England is cutting down ruthlessly military and other expenditure. Japan is economising. New Zealand is doing the same. Why then should not the finest Civil Service in the world be able to run the country more economically? The root cause is that Indians' sons have no voice worth the name in influencing policy. In a strong article the *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of March 5 severely criticises the budget. The latter indicates how the Government is bent upon maintaining "prestige of power" at the expense of empoverished India. The military expenditure and the exchange policy is attacked. We hope our countrymen in the Legislative Assemblies and outside will make clear to the Government that India is the Divine heritage of Indians and that as such not one single pie of our money shall hereafter be spent without the sanction of the people. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 3, 4, 5 and 6 discusses the budget and expresses the opinion that Government will only increase unrest and high prices in the country if it carries out its proposals to meet the budget deficit. The military expenditure should be reduced according to the recommendations of the Meston Committee. The cost of civil administration should be cut down by removing superfluous directors and inspectors, by reducing the number of departments, and by curtailing the salaries of high paid officials by 50 per cent. The members of the Legislature would do well to press their recommendations on these lines. The paper admits the urgent need for increasing ADVOCATE, 9th March, 1922. NORTHERN STAR, 5th March, 1922. AJ. 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th March, 1922.

revenue, but emphasises the inadvisability of increasing postal rates in the matter of the postcard. The proposed increase in salt tax is undesirable. Will the Moderates take note of this the first fruit of the Reforms? The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of March 6 condemns the proposal to increase taxation in a poor country like India and advises the Assembly to vigorously oppose it. People should do their best to attain *swaraj*, without which India will either become a slave or a bankrupt. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of March 8 says that Government by taxing necessaries of life is preparing the way for a revolution and is helping Mr. Gandhi's propaganda. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of March 4 asks for the curtailment of military expenditure. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 9 wonders how Government wants the people to obey laws when it starves education and overfeeds the army. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 4 says that the first fruit of the Reforms has been an abnormal increase in State expenditure. The same paper of March 8 is glad to note that the United Provinces budget is better than the budgets of other provinces. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of March 4 is sorry to note that the proposed taxes will generally tell heavily on the submerged ninety and not on the upper ten. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of March 6 strongly opposes any fresh taxation in the United Provinces. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of March 5 urges reduction in military expenditure in view of the Afghan agreement and says :—The posts of Divisional Commissioners should be abolished and their work should be done by Collectors and the Board of Revenue. All posts of Excise Inspectors should be brought under reduction and their real work (of taking bribes) should be stopped. All posts of Inspectors of Police should be abolished and their work done by Deputy Superintendents of Police. The number of Deputy Collectors and Munsifs should be reduced by half and their work entrusted to honorary men. The posts of tahsildars should be abolished and their work entrusted to other officers. The latter should do the work of Tahsildars in addition to their own duties. The salaries of teachers in secondary schools and of College professors should be reduced. The temporary office of the Publicity Commissioner should be abolished as its period of sanction is over, and that officer should not be made a permanent Secretary.

PRATAP, 6th March, 1922.

VARTMAN, 8th March, 1922.

ANAND, 4th March, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 9th March, 1922.

HAMDAM, 4th and 8th March, 1922.

AL KHALIL, 4th March, 1922.

MECCA MEDINA, 6th March, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 5th March, 1922.

HAMDAM, 5th March, 1922

4. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 5 deplores the attempts made by the *Englishman* and the United Provinces Publicity department to put a political complexion on the *aika* movement of the agriculturists of Oudh which is primarily designed to withhold payment of the illegal exactions of the land-owners. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of March 7 asks Government not to be deluded by interested persons into repressing the *aika* movement and to take measures for the protection of cultivators. The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of March 4 advises the landholders to give up their illegal cesses in view of the poverty of cultivators and cultivate harmonious relations with them.

The *aika* movement.

ANAND, 7th March, 1922.

ABHYUDAYA, 4th March, 1922.

AL BASHIR, 28th February, 1922.

5. *All Bashir* (Etawah) of February 28 says that owing to Mahatma Gandhi's boycott of the Prince's visit, rustics who previously used to be hustled about by the police on such occasions are now provided with free food, free railway passage, free motor rides and invitations to the functions in connection with the Royal visit.

The Prince's visit.

PHAKKAR, 4th March, 1922.

6. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 4 says that the evils of British rule in India are known throughout the world and there is no quarter of the globe where sympathy for Indian aspirations does not exist. Foreigners are helping the Indian *swaraj* movement because they are aware of the sacrifices made by Indians during the Great War and are confident that Indians can now stand on their legs. Indians should, however, learn to sacrifice their life at the altar of liberty and face repression bravely. The same paper in its wit and humour column says that Aurobindu Ghose's coming in the field of politics will be still more troublesome to Lord Reading whom one individual, Mr. Gandhi, has already given so much trouble. The same paper in its wit and humour column asks Mr. Gandhi why he is becoming nervous, specially when Russia

Non-co-operation

has offered help to India and Enver Pasha is coming back from Germany with arms and men. Let there be bloodshed. The *Nava Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of March 1 tries to make out that English politicians have never fulfilled their promises, and the Reforms are a mere farce. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of March 2 says that it is not the foreign mills but injustice, deceit, cunning, treachery and impudence which have undermined Indian industries. The *Bharatadaya* (Kankhal, Saharanpur) of March 2 publishes a contributed article by Balwant Singh Sharma exhorting Indian youths to undergo all possible self-sacrifice for the liberty, honour and religion of their country which have often been outraged since the Jallianwala Bagh. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of March 2 says that the meanest threats and bluster indulged in by members of the Cabinet in this age of liberty and self-determination shows that the British Empire is on the brink of disruption. Obstinacy has been the curse of the British Government in America, Africa, Ireland and Egypt. Indians will bravely meet these threats by indomitable non-co-operation and will never rest until they obtain *swaraj*, irrespective of its effect on the British Empire and the British Government will sustain a crushing defeat unless it takes a broader view of the interests of the Empire. God forbid that India and other subject nations may rise independent over the ashes of the British Empire. The *Haqiqat* (Lucknow) of March 1, referring to the observations of a correspondent of the *Englishman* to the effect that the transfer of the Indian capital to Delhi was ill-starred, says that whether Delhi is or is not an unlucky place the British Empire in India cannot last one minute longer than its allotted span. The question of Delhi being an inauspicious capital should have been considered at the time of the transfer, but it might be that the transfer itself was due to the working of the will of God.

NAVA BHARAT, 1st March, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 2nd March, 1922.

BHARATADAYA, 2nd March, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 2nd March, 1922.

HAQIQAT, 1st March, 1922.

7. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 5 urges Government to accept Bakshi Sohan Lal's resolution to raise the age of consent, despite the opposition of the orthodox section of the Hindu community.

AJ, 5th March, 1922.

Bakshi Sohan Lal's resolution.

II.—ADMINISTRATION.

8. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 4 is sorry to note that the Government of India is not prepared to remove military officers from civil posts.

HAMDAM, 4th March, 1922.

Military officers in civil administration.

9. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of March 4, referring to the discontinuance of the publication of the *Urdu Government Gazette*, urges that the proceedings of Councils, municipalities and courts in these provinces should not be conducted in English but in the vernacular. If necessary, this vernacular may be Hindi and Muslims should withdraw their demand for the continuance of Urdu as the official language. Muslims should possess sense enough to prefer Hindi to English, for the latter is an absolutely foreign language.

AL BASHIR, 4th March, 1922.

Official publications.

10. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of February 28 and March 1 deplores the steady increase of corruption in the Indian police and says that it has finally antagonized the Indian public as is evidenced by the Chauri Chaura outrage. The Police Association should devise means to improve the relations between the police and the public by improving the morals of the former.

AL KHALIL, 28th February, and 1st March, 1922.

The police.

11. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of March 2 comments on the difference between professions and practice in the treatment of political prisoners, and urges for the better treatment of political prisoners in the Fyzabad jail. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 7 complains of the treatment of the Bareilly political prisoners in the Lucknow District Jail. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of March 4 publishes a letter sent by His Excellency Ghalib Kemal Bey, Turkish Ambassador at Stockholm, to Mr. Ahmad Haji Siddiq Khattri expressing sympathy with the Ali Brothers for their arrest in a just cause. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 3 is surprised at the doctrine enunciated by Sir William Vincent that the Magistrates need

BHARAT BANDHU, 2nd March, 1922.

HAMDAM, 7th March, 1922.

AL KHALIL, 4th March, 1922.

AJ, 3rd March, 1922.

Political prisoners.

not do justice to political prisoners and that the latter should seek justice by appealing against magisterial decisions. This doctrine is typical of the spirit of the present bureaucratic system of Government in India and contrary to the spirit of British Government in England itself.

III—POLITICO-RELIGIOUS.

PHAKKAR, 9th March, 1922.

The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 9 writing in its wit and humour column, says that Government is opposed not only to non-co-operation but to religious worship also as is evident from its attitude towards Swami Shankaracharya and Dhakorji and wonders how will it all end.

IV.—NATIONAL POEMS.

HINDUSTANI, 5th March, 1922.

AL KHALIL, 28th February, 1st and 4th March, 1922.

The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of March 5 has a poem saying that handspun cloth will dislodge the enemies, show the strength of India and confound London. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of February 28 and March 1 publishes poems recited at a poetical contest in the Agra jail, in which it is said that the sighs of the prisoners will upset this system of Government and that Britain has devastated India and filled the coffers of London. The same paper of March 4 publishes a poem saying that the tyrant is kicking us after destroying us. The

OUDH PUNCH, 3rd March, 1922.

PRATAP, 5th March, 1922.

Oudh Punch (Lucknow) of March 3 has a poem on the growth of the *swaraj* agitation in India in which it is said that the slayer (*qatil*) threatens to draw out the tongue if any mention is made of *swaraj*. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of March 6 publishes a poem saying that the bureaucracy his impoverished India and enriched itself at her cost, that Indians will gladly suffer all bureaucratic repression and that the *ji huzurs* should be ashamed of themselves.

ABHYUDAYA, 4th March, 1922.

The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of March 4 publishes a number of poems read at a poetical contest in the Agra jail by some of the political prisoners. The poems dwell on bureaucratic injustice and urge the earnest and vigorous pursuit of the non-co-operation movement.

PREM, 3rd March, 1922.

The *Prem* (Brindaban, Muttra) of March 3 publishes a poem challenging officials to do their worst by way of repression and remarking that the cup of sin is brimful now.

SWARAJYA, 2nd March, 1922.

The *Swarajya* (Unao) of March 2 publishes a poem by Brij Bhushan Lal Tripathi saying that non-co-operators are meeting official repression by patience, suffering and non-violence and that the bureaucracy will one day feel remorse for its deeds and will itself realise the need for granting *swaraj* to India.

R. N. MARSH-SMITH,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD :
The 11th March, 1922.

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SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

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I.—Politics.

Genoa Conference.

1. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 15 advises the Allies to invite the Bolsheviks to the Genoa Conference in the interests of a lasting peace. — HAMDAM, 15th March, 1922.

The Hedjaz.

2. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of March 8 says that if the report that the Kingdom of the Hedjaz is tottering be true, King Husain has met his rightful doom. If he turned traitor to the Turks to gain liberty, the English have now given him liberty with a vengeance. If he sold his country's freedom for the sake of gold, he should now seek a fresh customer. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of March 12 and *Al Aman* (Nagina) of March 11 take a similar view. — AL KHALIL, 8th March, 1922. AL BUREED, 12th March, 1922, AL AMAN, 11th March, 1922.

Mr. Montagu's resignation.

3. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of March 12 in a highly appreciative article remarks that Mr. Montagu had been fighting almost single-handed the Grecophil policy of the British Cabinet. He could not have held himself responsible for the good government of India if the British Government was not prepared to accept the recommendations of the Indian Government. The House of Commons should demand a debate on the Near and Middle East policy and should not allow the Cabinet to decide the question behind its back. The same paper of March 16 says that Mr. Montagu having gone, the one person upon whom India can continue to rely is Lord Reading. Indians should support Lord Reading in his aims for India. The same paper of March 17 is of opinion that India having been solemnly declared an original member of the League of Nations and her dominion status in Imperial matters having been publicly recognised, does Lord Curzon mean that all this equality is a mere "camouflage" meant to deceive Indians and the world? Lord Curzon should remember the share of the Indian troops in destroying the Turkish Empire. He has showed an utter — LEADER, 12th, 16th and 17th March, 1922.

incapacity to realize the difficulties and standpoint of the Indian Government. Does it enhance the prestige of Mr. Lloyd George that he should have driven out of office a colleague on a trumpery charge, viz., of sanctioning the publication of a despatch which urged nothing else than that the Turkish treaty should be revised in accordance with the Premier's solemn pledge? Mr. Churchill has been committing similar indiscretions and improprieties with impunity. There can be no peace until Lloyd Georgism disappears from British politics.

NORTHERN STAR, 12th March, 1922.

The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of March 12 says that Mr. Montagu has been sacrificed to appease British Imperialists. He certainly expressed noble ideas breathing really democratic sentiments, but in spite of him bureaucratic rule in India is as strongly entrenched today as ever before. In fact, signs are not wanting that the bureaucracy will make one more desperate effort to force back the tide of democracy in India.

AJ, 11th and 16th March, 1922.

The *Aj* (Benares) of March 11 considers Mr. Montagu to be a great friend of India and a saviour of the Empire. The real cause of his resignation is to be sought in Lancashire's objection to the new Indian tariff and to the brave stand he took against Mr. Churchill's Kenya policy. The paper cannot believe that India's politics can affect the fortunes of British Ministers. The causes must be English and foreign politics. It is feared that the resignations of Lord Reading and Dr. Sapru, if not of other Indian members, may also follow. The same paper of March 16 remarks that Mr. Montagu's Cambridge speech exposes the hollowness of Government promises and of the part England has been playing in hampering the establishment of a lasting world peace.

HAMDAM, 15th March, 1922.

The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 15 regards the coincidence of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi with the resignation of Mr. Montagu as a national calamity and praises the pro-Indian and pro-Muslim attitude of the latter.

AL KHALIL, 16th March, 1922.

Al Khalil (Bijnor) of March 16 remarks that the effects of the resignation would be far reaching and thinks that reactionaries like Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Sydenham were responsible for it.

AL AMAN, 5th March, 1922.

Al Aman (Nagina) of March 5 says that the resignation proves that England is the slave of conservatism and capitalism and warns England against the dangers of her selfish policy.

NORTHERN STAR, 12th March, 1922.

4. The news of the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, remarks the *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of March 12, will vibrate in every corner of the world. The ultimatum given recently by Mr. Montagu in Parliament is being carried out with "vigour and determination." Government thought that owing to the differences that had arisen in the Nationalist camp, Mr. Gandhi's position had been weakened; and it thought that this is the time to strike the blow in order to crush the spirit of non-co-operation now and for ever. The arrest is a matter of national humiliation. If we had been a powerful people no one would have dared to lay hands on our leader. We welcome, however, the signs of grim repression, for tyranny will hasten the advent of *swaraj* in India, just as it did in Italy, Russia and other countries. Let the Hindus and Muslims produce a thousand Gandhis in the place of the Great Gandhi. Our duty now is not to go on sending our workers to jails, but to devise means to make such arrests and imprisonments impossible.

Mr. Gandhi's arrest.

AJ, 12th March, 1922.

The *Aj* (Benares) of March 12 contrasts the chivalrous attitude of Mr. Gandhi during the Zulu War with the lack of chivalry shown by Government in arresting him just at a time when his popularity was supposed to be on the wane. Even those Indians who outwardly appear to be siding with the Government are really standing by him.

AL KHALIL, 16th March, 1922.

Al Khalil (Bijnor) of March 16 says that Mr. Gandhi's arrest was useless, inasmuch as he had done his work of awakening the country. Pandit Malaviya is right in thinking that the non-co-operation movement cannot be suppressed. The Government committed a blunder in arresting Mr. Gandhi under pressure from England. Referring to Sir Harcourt Butler's Meerut speech, the paper remarks that India's demands are in consonance with dictates of nature and cannot be whittled away by Government's diplomacy.

AL AMAN, 15th March, 1922.

Al tbe *Aman* (Nagina) of March 15 advises people to act according to Mr. Gandhi's advice.

OUDH PUNCH, 10th March, 1922.

The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of March 10 says that the arrest will dispel the popular delusion that he had entered into a compact with the Government and that Mr. Malaviya was acting as an intermediary between them. The masses now know that Mr. Gandhi would not have been arrested if he had been in league with Government. The party of violence will also

now have an occasion to enter the field as Mr. Gandhi's restraining hand has been removed.

Sir William Vincent and the Ali Brothers.

5. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 12 says that Sir William Vincent's fulminations against the Ali Brothers have only raised these two tribunes of the Muslim democracy in the public estimation. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 12 and *Al Amam* (Nagina) for March also strongly resent Sir William's remarks.

HAMDAM, 12th March, 1922.

AJ, 12th March, 1922.

AL AMAN for March, 1922.

The budget.

6. The *Advocate* (Lucknow) of March 12 says that the budget will bring misery to the masses. Already British justice and British word are at a discount in the political market of India. When the people realise the utter hopelessness of the situation, will they not take up non-co-operation and make it the weapon of violence. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 10 says that the Commander-in-Chief's fear of disturbances on account of the non-co-operation movement is quite unfounded. If however there is any fear of violence its responsibility rests on the shoulders of Government, and the best course open to it is to redress the grievance of the people and raise national armies. The same paper of March 12 says that the Government should be ashamed of enhancing the excise duty on cotton. At a time when most of our countrymen are in dire need of food and clothing it is not necessary to spend money for strengthening and improving the Government. The *Shakti* (Almora) of March 7 says the enhancement of the salt tax coupled with the cupidity of dealers and excessive carriage frieghts will raise the price of salt inordinately in the hills. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of March 9 remarks that the Government seems to have entirely overlooked the extreme poverty of the country in formulating proposals for fresh taxation. The country is being driven to the steep descent of revolution and Bolshevism. The non-co-operators would however welcome the budget as indicating the extent to which the Government has forfeited the moral right to rule the people. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 9 condemns the levying of taxes whose incidence will fall on the poor, and says that now that the Exchequer is empty the end of the present system of Government is nigh. The same paper of March 13 commenting on military expenditure says that European expressions like Imperialism are only euphimisms for legalised loot and spoilation. The internal and external situations may be ever so quiet, but India must be bled white.

AJ, 10th and 12th March, 1922.

SHAKTI, 7th March, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 9th March, 1922.

MEDINA, 9th and 13th March, 1922.

The Congress.

7. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 9 says that Maulana Abdul Bari has rightly voiced Muslim dissatisfaction with the Delhi resolutions and advises Congress leaders to conciliate Muslim opinion to avoid a split.

MEDINA, 9th March, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

8. Sir R. W. Smyth's speech at a meeting of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce has been widely criticised. The *Advocate* (Lucknow) of March 12 remarks that the ideas he has expressed are undoubtedly at the back of the mind of white men. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 16 exhorts people to remain perfectly non-violent at a time when Government is trying to show that law and order can be maintained only by force. Force can be applied successfully only in suppressing crimes like theft and dacoity, because suppression of this kind of crime has the sanction of society. The case of the public rising to oppose any unjust action of the State is different, for if the State uses force it is itself responsible for creating unrest and not the public. Thus no sensible man would believe that a boy volunteer of sixteen years picketing a liquor shop can intimidate a whole district and make it necessary for the military to be requisitioned for public safety. The *Prem* (Brindraban) of March 10 humourously observes that the Agra jail is more of a club where people read love poems and enjoy outdoor sports than a prison house. In another note the paper says that the bureaucracy has not been able to subdue the free hearts of people or else three papers, the *Chonch*, the *Phakkar* and the *Navayaga*, would not have been published in the Agra jail. The same paper of the same date has an article from which the following passages are translated:—Shower of bullets and blows of *lathis* and whips . . . Co-operation a great malady . . . Eyes

ADVOCATE, 12th March, 1922.

AJ, 16th March, 1922.

PREM, 10th March, 1922.

without light . . . The sword of repression used in the name of justice. . . . The pocket of India, hand of England. . . .

AL BASHIR, 14th March, 1922.

Al Bashir (Etawah) of March 14 says that if Government had openly declared that it was initiating repression in the interests of its own existence and of British trade no one would have any quarrel with it; but it has no right to say that it is doing things to protect law-abiding citizens. The hollowness of the claim that Government is anxious to protect law-abiding citizens will be exposed by the reply which the Local Government will give to Mr. Ali Nabi's question about the number of criminal complaints regarding intimidation filed in courts against national volunteers.

MANSUR, 12th March, 1922.

The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of March 12, referring to Mr. Paul Richard's article in the *Young India* stating that corporal punishment is not allowed in French jails and schools, says that in British India not only ordinary prisoners, but even distinguished political convicts are subjected to corporal punishment. Some officials do not even feel ashamed in making boys naked. Violation of the modesty of women and other shameful acts are regarded as suitable methods of punishment. The British Government should put an end to these practices to save the face of its much-vaunted civilization.

HAMDAM, 9th March, 1922.

Repression.

9. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 9 favours the examination of the Ali Brothers and Mr. Kitchlu in the case against the twelve leaders of Karachi as the former's shameful treatment in jail by the agents of a most civilized Government, in this age of "liberty" and "progress," will thus be brought to light.

MEDINA, 9th March, 1922.

The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 9 says that the release of Pandit J. L. Nehru (while others convicted of the same offence are still in jail) betrays only the distraction of the Government. The release of his aged and invalid father would have been a better indication of Royal clemency.

AL AMAN, 11th and 15th March, 1922.

Al Aman (Nagina) of March 11 says that the Press Act is taking such an unconscionably long time over its demise and is delivering such fatal blows in its death struggles that it is feared that most of the Punjabi nationalist papers will precede it unto the grave. Referring to the Associated Press report regarding the repeal of section 17 of the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the same paper of the same date wonders why action continues to be taken under this section. The same paper of March 15 advises the Punjab Government to release Syed Habib Shah who was convicted for the same offence for which others have been released.

AJ, 12th March, 1922.

The *Aj* (Benares) of March 12 deplores the irregular procedure adopted in the trial of Lala Lajpat Rai and observes that people will have the same regard for him whether he lives inside or outside the prison wall.

PHAKKAR, 11th March, 1922.

In its wit and humour column, the *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 11 has a somewhat obscure note which is translated as follows:—It is no wonder if the non-co-operators have been beaten with *dandas* in the Naini jail and Indian women have been beaten with *dandas* and photographed after being stripped naked. But people remained quiet. The incidents like that of Naini are of daily occurrence. Have men forgotten the days of Dyerism?

HAMDAM, 9th and 10th March, 1922.

The Reforms.

10. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 9 says that the participation of the Liberals in the Councils has been barren of results. On the other hand, the members have in many cases injured the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity in the pursuit of personal ends. The Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani has not been appointing Muslims in the proportion required by the Congress-League compact and Hindu members have been raising objections to the appointment of Shaik Shahid Husain as Council Secretary.

AL BASHIR, 7th and 14th March, 1922.

The same paper of March 10 expresses regret that liberal ministers in India do not resign even when the votes of their party go against them and that M. L. C's continue in the Councils even when they cease to represent their constituences. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of March 7 attributes the phenomenal rise in the price of wheat in recent decades to the development of railways and European trade, and says that if the reforms mean the provision of fat jobs for a few educated Indians and the starving of the teeming millions, the masses would have nothing to do with a *swaraj* based on such reforms. The same paper of March 14 says that the Legislative Councils are mere debating societies. As Sir M. Hailey has declared submission to high taxation to be synonymous with fitness for self-government, the moderates who believe in the

reforms and are anxious to attain self-government through them should solely bear all taxes to attain their cherished object. The non-co-operators do not want the reforms and so they should be exempt from taxation. The *Mazdur* (Lucknow) of March 10, referring to the indifference of the reformed Councils to the East Indian Railway strike, says that a *swaraj* based on these Councils would mean the rule of the capitalist class.

MAZDUR, 10th March, 1922.

11. The Hindi papers have taken advantage of the festival to publish articles and poems on subjects connected with non-co-operation politics. The *Bharatodaya* (Kankhal, Saharanpur) of March 9 publishes a song from which the following lines may be noted :—

The *Holi* festival.

BHARATODAYA, 9th March, 1922.

You can see how we are being crushed like pulse to-day.
How we are made to crawl on our breasts like snakes.
We have to show that we are the lords of the earth.
We are trying to snatch away our crown from the thieves.

The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of March 11 has a poem entitled " The ordeal of Prahlad " showing how the tyrannies of Harnakashyap proved his own undoing. Indians should take heart for their enemies will be destroyed as God's avenging hand is nigh. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of March 13 publishes a song, the first two lines of which are translated below :—

KARTAVYA, 11th March, 1922.

PRATAP, 13th March, 1922.

Let us celebrate *Holi* by reddening the faces of those with red powder
Who used to observe *Holi* by dyeing their hands with our blood.

The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of March 11 publishes a song saying that hearing that mass civil disobedience was going to be started in Bardoli, the bureaucracy made the Chauri Chaura police brutally assault *khaddar* wearing volunteers. The latter were goaded to kill some policemen. The volunteers however remained peaceful to the last and showed their love for peace by saving the lives of the wife and children of the murdered sub-inspector. The mob however could not bear the sight of the bloody corpses and when the police ammunition ran short it destroyed the police station and cut the telegraph wires and dislocated the rails. The same paper of the same date publishes a song, important lines of which are translated below :—

ABHYUDAYA, 11th March, 1922.

The syringe of repression is in full swing.
The bureaucracy has come like a playmate (*sakhi*) and has harassed us with stripes.
Hail of bullets began to shower and the immortal brave began to die.
The non-co-operators are being beaten like drums.

The *Prem* (Brindaban) of March 10 has a song, two lines of which are translated below :—

PREM, 10th March, 1922.

Policemen and sub-inspectors showed loyalty.
They began to fire at their brothers and made rivers of blood flow.

The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 11 has a long article in course of which it is emphasised that every Indian should give at least one per cent. of his annual income to the Congress by way of tax. The same paper of the same date publishes songs, important lines of which are translated below :—

PHAKKAR, 11th March, 1922.

We will not play *Holi* so long as we do not get *swaraj*.
Even if any one uses sword or fires bullets,
Enacts Jallianwala Baghs or cuts jokes.
The shield of forbearance is on this side, repression and bullets on the other.
We do not care whether you send us to jail or shoot us.

The *Holi* number of the *Yugantar* (Gorakhpur) of March 14 contains a number of articles on *Holi*, the theme of which is that Indians should not celebrate *Holi* at present when the fire of repression is consuming the country and people are being shot like wild beasts. Non-co-operators should try to keep the tradition of Khalil and Prahlad—who escaped unhurt from the fire—before

YUGANTAR, 14th March, 1922.

their eyes and work for the emancipation of their country. The same paper of the same date publishes a number of songs, some of the more important lines of which are translated below :—

With the stream of our blood
They play *Holi*. O Lord !
People are being beaten with stripes.
They have no heart, they are heartless.
No mercy is shown to sisters and daughters.
In such a case it is a disgrace for us not to die by being shot.
We do not like the joys of *phag* (*Holi*).
O Bardoli ! Play *Holi*.
You are brave and valourous. Take bullets on your breast.
Let your unsheathed swords be on that side and our bare breasts on this.
You can use your guns and arrows to your heart's content.
I will bear them gladly.
People have nowhere been able to be quite unanimous.
In vain they are ashamed of Chauri Chaura in *Holi*.

OUDH PUNCH, 10th March, 1922.

The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of March 10 publishes a number of humorous political *Holi* songs and articles which are occasionally interpersed with strong language of bitter nnd biting sarcasm, though rather vague and obscure. At one place it is said that all the grain has been eaten away by the beggars of Europe. The tyrannies of the tyrant will prove their undoing.

II.—Administration.

AL BASHIR, 7th and 14th March, 1922.

12. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of March 7, referring to the action of Government in providing money for the buying of more Ford motor vans for the police and for the appointment of more armed policemen while failing to grant any increase of pay, sarcastically remarks that policemen should rest satisfied with these arrangements for the protection of their lives and property as after all life is dearer than money. Besides they will get good entries in their character rolls and certificates and will get praise in Councils and Darbars. Sir L. C. Porter's description of the state of public tranquillity in the Etawah district is incorrect and his statement regarding the assault on the Manager of the local Islamia High school is entirely groundless. Government may if it chooses appoint an impartial commission to enquire into the state of affairs at Etawah. If Government refuses to appoint such a commission, the only conclusion possible would be that Government is practising repression to kill the political and *swadeshi* movements. The same paper of March 14 challenges the statement that the boycott of the Etawah exhibition was one of the reasons for a policy of repression. The exhibition commenced on the 23rd November, but the repressive orders were received on the 22nd. The Chauri Chaura incident took place in February and Government could have no apprehensions regarding other places before that. How is it that it was widely known in Etawah in December or January that barracks for additional police would be constructed there. Why this unseemly solicitude to fish up incidents to justify predetermined policies. Government may increase the police and the army as much as it may choose and enhance taxes; no one can check these, but surely Government cannot expect that its preposterous logic would be convincing. The same paper says that the only course open to Indians to save themselves from the clutches of the new Act against seduction of policemen is to sever all social relations with them. The Act will place the Police Association and the relatives of policemen in a parlous plight and dishonest policemen will have a high time of it blackmailing people under the threat of a prosecution for seduction. How pitiable is the plight of the Government that it has now to legislate with a view to restrain its men from leaving service.

The police.

AL KHALIL, 16th March, 1922.

SWARAJ, 9th March, 1922.

13. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of March 16 advises zamindars not to oppose the movement and the Government not to interfere with it unjustly. The *Swaraj* (Unao) of March 9 urges the need of the leaders of the movement who are illiterate being guided on right lines to restrain them from violence.

The *aika* movement.

14. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of March 14 insinuates that there is some secret behind the prolongation of the Moplah operations, though of course the rebels are also favoured by the physical characteristics of their country. It is at least clear that the unarmed population of the plains can never attempt armed resistance. If however the Indian element in the army is distrusted, at least one crore foreigners should be enlisted, but this would mean more taxation and more discontent which would be moving in a vicious circle. The same paper says that Sirajuddowla would not have suffered obliquy for the Black Hole tragedy if he had, like the Madras Government in the matter of the Moplah van tragedy, resorted to the camouflage of packed enquiry commissions and Government resolutions. The *Abhudaya* (Allahabad) of March 11 wonders why the Commander-in-Chief is so much afraid of the unarmed population, and asks if it is creditable for the army to make so much delay in suppressing the Moplahs. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of March 10 wonders whether action will be taken against the United Provinces Publicity office for creating class hatred by publishing pictures of Moplah atrocities on Hindus.

The Moplahs.

AL BASHIR 14th March, 1922.

ABHYUDAYA, 11th March, 1922.

OUDH PUNCH, 10th March, 1922.

15. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 12 thanks Government for making it optional for school students to take instructions in religions other than their own.

Education.

HAMDAM, 12th March 1922.

16. *Al Aman* (Nagina) of March 11 wonders why no mention was made in the local Council of Sheikh Kallu, contractor, Sherkot, Bijnor, and of the Secretary, *Arya Samaj*, Chakrata, the other two victims of the Chakrata shooting tragedy whose dependants have received no compensation. If British justice is not dead, more light should be thrown on the affair.

The Chakrata case.

AL AMAN, 11th March, 1922.

17. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of March 13 publishes the third of a series of articles discussing the judgment of the Magistrate in the *Pratap* Libel case.

The *Pratap* Libel case.

PRATAP, 13th March, 1922.

III.—Politico-religious.

The *Arya Mitra* (Agra) of March 9 publishes a note by an Arya Samajist Missionary, Pandit Satya Brata Vidyalankar, protesting against the unjust action of the Deputy Collector of Hasan in forbidding him to deliver his religious lectures in Hasan and calling upon the *Arya Samaj* to pass resolution on such an interference in religious matters.

ARYA MITRA, 9th March, 1922.

IV.—National Poems.

Al Aman (Nagina) of March 15 publishes a poem in which the following lines occur :—

AL AMAN, 15th March, 1922.

Why do you quarrel with your brothers and leave alone the usurper of the keys of your godown ?

It (Government) has not left you even a piece of cloth to cover your bodies with. It has eaten some of your loaves and the rest it has auctioned off.

The same paper publishes a poem which tries to express the feelings of those whose tongues have been tied by an alien Government (which is perpetrating wrongs on oppressed men, women and children) and prays to Mahomed to rise from his grave and to save Muslim religion which is in danger. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of March 14 has a poem saying that though lakhs of innocent men writhed in agony for hours in the Punjab, these tyrants were regarded as just by simpletons.

MECCA MEDINA, 14th March, 1922.

The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of March 11 publishes a poem by Maulana Khujandi of Meerut, some of the important lines of which are translated below :—

ABHYUDAYA, 11th March, 1922.

The cry is being raised in the world : Will this regimé of high-handedness ever end ?

All the Anglo-Indian papers advise that Dyer-like executioners be posted in every place.

They are torturing us on the rack in the name of justice.

The tyrannies of the oppressor pave the road to red ruin.

PHAKKAR, 11th March, 1922.

The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 11 has a humourous poem by Pandit Madhava Shukla, important lines of which are translated below :—

In am not in the habit of speaking oily words.
That *Hákim* has become effiminate in my eyes.
Patriots should be given the punishment designed for thieves.
Is it law, justice or wilfulness ?
To tell the truth the sight of Gandhi's power has induced evacuation of bowels in their trousers out of fear.
You can shoot us with bullet or cause us to crawl on bellies.
You can live here for some time, but your bedding has been packed off to London.

R. N. MARSH-SMITH,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

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	III.—NATIONAL POEMS	

I.—Politics.

America.

1. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of March 17/20 warns the United States elephant against reducing her armaments at the bidding of jackals (other Powers) lest there may be a trap in hiding for her.

OUDH PUNCH, 17th/20th March, 1922.

Genoa Conference.

2. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of March 20 contrasts the essentially altruistic outlook of the Bolsheviks with the selfish and imperialistic policy of the Allies and advises the latter to invite the former to the Genoa Conference if they want to ensure world peace.

MANSUR, 20th March, 1922.

The Near and Middle East.

3. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of March 18 says that owing to the stoppage of British aid Sharif Husain has been obliged to impose new taxes which have caused the revolt of the Arabs against him. Owing to the impatience of the Arabs, Heaven's eyes were turned towards the *Khalifa*. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 17 says, on the authority of Lord Northcliffe, that Britain wants to make Palestine the home of Jews. Since Arabs are domiciled therein, this policy of Britain is harmful to Jews as well. Mr. Balfour's dream cannot be realized.

MECCA MEDINA, 18th March, 1922.

HAMDAM, 17th March, 1922.

Afghanistan.

4. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of March 16 is glad that the Amir of Afghanistan has repealed taxes on corn and salt, and asks the British Government to follow the Amir's example in order to remove the heavy burden of taxes from the shoulders of starving Indians who are being killed by their own Government.

MANSUR, 16th March, 1922.

Indians in South Africa.

5. The deputation headed by Sir Jamestjee Jeejeebhai, remarks the *Leader* (Allahabad) of March 25, did useful service in putting before the Viceroy the full measure of the task which confronts his Government as regards Indians in South Africa and eliciting from him fresh assurance that the Government of India's attitude on the subject is one with that of the Indian people.

LEADER, 25th March, 1922.

AJ, 18th March, 1922.

The Prince.

6. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 18 hopes that India will on another occasion accord a befitting welcome to the Prince for whose safe sojourn in the country and return to England it prays. The fight with the bureaucracy must go on. The bureaucracy tried its utmost to alienate the sympathies of Indians from the British throne by practising unbridled repression.

HAMDAM, 23rd March, 1922.

Viscount Peel.

7. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 23 says that, in view of Viscount Peel's obscure past, it would be premature to entertain any high hopes regarding him. It however warns him that, in view of Mr. Montagu's extraordinary popularity, his tenure of office cannot be successful unless he acts with the greatest circumspection. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of March 24 expresses apprehension that Viscount Peel's ignorance of Indian affairs will not enable him to chalk out any line of policy independently of Mr. Lloyd George or Lord Curzon.

AL BUREED, 24th March, 1922.

ADVOCATE, 19th March, 1922.
LEADER, 22nd March, 1922

Mr. Montagu's resignation.

8. The *Advocate* (Lucknow) of March 19 remarks that his removal means a subtle change in policy. To us it seems the Coalition has dug its own grave. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of March 22 says that the Premier having made the quarrel between Greece and Turkey his own, overlooked, in a fit of wrath, the fact that to drive Mr. Montagu out of office was the most effective way of pushing the Near East issue into inconvenient prominence. The Government of India's judgment in pressing for the publication of their despatch was sound and well considered. Under the circumstances of the case not only was Mr. Montagu right in supporting the Indian Government, but there was no other course which he could conscientiously adopt. Lord Curzon's derrogatory description of Government of India is intolerable. We are confident that Lord Reading will enforce due respect for his Government. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of March 20 is thankful to Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading for their advocacy of the *Khilafat* cause in the face of the unscrupulous elements in the British Cabinet. Lord Reading should resign. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 17 is of a similar view. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of March 20 is surprised that while Indian Muslims are not fully satisfied with Lord Reading's pronouncement on the *Khilafat* question, it is anathema to the British Press and Cabinet. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of March 17/20 has a lengthy screed severely satirizing Lord Curzon and Mr. Lloyd George, specially the former, for having victimised Mr. Montagu for his espousal of the Indian Muslim *Khilafat* demands. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 21 says that while the present British Ministry is determined to back the Greeks, the Northcliffe party is equally determined to break up the Ministry. The British Press is urging repression of the *swaraj* movement. In these circumstances a joint Hindu-Muslim deputation should be despatched to England to make it clear that even after the solution of the *Khilafat* problem the Muslims would not desert the Hindus in the struggle for *swaraj* and that in all political matters the Hindus and Muslims are to be regarded as one. This definition of the Indian attitude might either force Mr. Lloyd George to mend his ways or at least strengthen the hands of his opponents and hasten his downfall. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 17 deplores Mr. Montagu's resignation and says that it was due to Mr. Lloyd George's dislike of Mr. Montagu's liberal policy with regard to Indian affairs. No successor of his can be expected to have as much sympathy with India and Islam as he had. He was not only the greatest friend of India, but of his own country too. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of March 17 also expresses a similar opinion. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of March 18 says that the postponement of the publication of the Indian Government's hopeful despatch on the Turkish question would have enabled Britain to spit fire on Turkey and Islam. For the crime of sympathising with Turkey Mr. Montagu has been forced to resign. The attitude of the Cabinet and the British public is responsible for unrest in the Muslim world. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 19, referring to Mr. T. P. O'Connor's speech in Parliament, says that Mr. Montagu was therein accused of sympathising with the Turks who had perpetrated such atrocities on the Armenians. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Asquith expressed their secret sympathies

AL KHALIL, 20th March, 1922.

AJ, 17th March, 1922.
AL BUREED, 20th March, 1922
OUDH PUNCH, 17th/20th March, 1922.

MEDINA, 21st March, 1922.

HAMDAM, 17th March, 1922.

MANSUR, 17th March, 1922.
MECCA MEDINA, 18th March, 1922.

Aj, 19th March, 1922

with the Greeks by not publishing the report of the British Enquiry Committee on the Greek's massacre of the Turks.

Mr. Gandhi.

9. The *Advocate* (Lucknow) of March 19 remarks that his arrest may be justifiable, but is certainly not expedient. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of March 22 deplores the heavy sentence passed on Mr. Gandhi. None of the more prominent of his followers have received a higher sentence than that of two years. It is still more unfortunate that the sentence should have been passed at a time when he was actually a restraining influence in the Congress camp. The conviction has intensified the difficulty of solving the problem of Indian unrest. The tension is so acute that it is unthinkable that it would continue long. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 16 says that the calmness with which the news of Mr. Gandhi's arrest was received indicates the success of his movement. His confinement or liberty is now immaterial since the country possesses his speeches and writings which teach the means of winning *swaraj*. His imprisonment has removed a great restraining influence and thus created difficulties for the Government. The same paper of March 22 says that though the sentence passed was severe, the Judge could not help it as he might probably have been only carrying out orders. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 20 says that the mentality of Mr. Gandhi and Sir H. Butler is revealed by Mr. Gandhi's reflections on the Chauri Chaura and Bareilly incidents, and Sir Harcourt's Meerut speech respectively. The former respects the opinions even of his adversaries, while the latter, relying on brute force is not impartial in his judgments. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 20 says that Mahatma Gandhi's name like that of Buddha or Jesus will be remembered for ever. It must be remembered that the Roman Emperor too had crucified Jesus in the name of "law and order." The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of March 18 says that the Mahatma has offered up his life for the country and the people should reward his sacrifice by incessant and tireless *khaddar* propaganda. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 24 and the *Shakti* (Almora) for March are also of similar opinion. The latter paper also remarks that like *Ravana*, Government has confined truth and non-violence in the jail. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 22 asks the Government to earn a good name by releasing Mr. Gandhi in whose absence possibly his followers may resume *Satyagraha*.

ADVOCATE, 19th March, 1922.
LEADER, 22nd March, 1922.
HAMDAM, 16th and 22nd March, 1922.
Aj, 20th March, 1922.
AJ,, 20th March, 1922.
KARTAVYA, 18th March, 1922.
PHAKKAR, 22nd March, 1922.
SHAKTI for March, 1922.
PHAKKAR, 22nd March, 1922.

The budget.

10. The *Shakti* (Almora) of March 21 wonders how long can the bankrupt Government of India run its business. The policy of repression is responsible for the abnormal military expenditure and the consequent bankruptcy. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 20 says that the non-official members of the Councils are in an awkward position. If they oppose the enhancement of taxation, the Government declares them unfit. If they side with the Government, their chances of re-election at the next election dwindles down. They have therefore played the trick of moving the curtailment of Government demands and then withdrawing their motions.

SHAKTI, 21st March, 1922.
AJ, 20th March, 1922.

The Ali Brothers.

11. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 17 says that Sir William Vincent has only betrayed his inherent meanness in indulging in vituperative language against the Ali Brothers. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 22 protests against the allegations of Sir William Vincent against the Ali Brothers when they cannot refute them owing to their incarceration. This shows that autocracy still reigns supreme in the Legislative Asembly despite the Reforms.

MEDINA, 17th March, 1922.
AJ, 22nd March, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

12. *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of March 23 says that though Egypt has a much smaller population than India and has begun the agitation much later, she has been much more successful because the Moderates have been in a microscopic minority there. The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi has however now improved the situation in India. Mr. Malaviya has practically entered the non-co-operation fold and Mr. Hasrat Mohani and M. Kifait Ullah have whole-heartedly accepted the Bardoli programme. This shows that India also is going to present an united front like Egypt and British prestige will have to go down on its knees before India. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of March 16 in a strong article asks people not to forget *Swaraj* which is their birthright and is the only means of satisfactorily settling the *Khilafat*

AL AMAN, 23rd March, 1922.
MANSUR, 16th March, 1922.

PHAKHAR, 22nd March, 1922.

question. We must follow non-violence. The *Phakhar* (Cawnpore) of March 22 says that if the sweepers of Muttra had acted under the directions of the Congress Committee, no disturbances would have occurred on the *Holi* day. The

PRABHA, for March, 1922.

Prabha (Cawnpore) for March publishes the story of the resignation of a Deputy Collector who at first in order to please the Collector did a lot of injustice, but ultimately finding that he could not conscientiously get on in service had to resign. The same paper is surprised to note that some Indian politicians too have begun to play second fiddle to the alien bureaucracy by taking up the chorus of "law and order"—a hollow cry designed only to perpetuate lawless laws meant to suppress the legitimate political aspirations of an awakened people.

MEDINA, 17th March, 1922.

13. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 17 points out that complaints have recently been frequent that political prisoners are treated so badly and have their dignity offended in such manner that they attempt suicide by hunger striking and other methods. What enmity have their jailors with them that they treat them so vindictively? The Lucknow *Khilafat* Committee reports that there is unrest in the Gonda Jail owing to the ill-treatment of certain political prisoners. It is an outrage on civilization that such barbarous, brutal and cruel feelings should be found among responsible men. Cannot jailors consistently with their duties treat political prisoners with more consideration? To the *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 17 one Anis Ahmad Abbasi writes that in making respectable political prisoners obey the jail regulations and discipline, the Superintendent of the District Jail, Lucknow, is unnecessarily strict. The same paper of March 21 is sorry to note that S. Ismail Khan Ghaznavi, President, *Khilafat* Committee, Amritsar, was not allowed to offer *Juma* prayers while under trial and was subjected to physical suffering besides harsh language when he protested. The same paper of March 23 urges that Sheik Saidur Rahman Qidwai should be treated as a political prisoner in view of his high social status as a taluqdar as well as in view of his statement to the effect that he never meant to incite people to murder Mr. Grant, the Deputy Commissioner of Bara Banki. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 20 publishes a strong article in which it complains against the treatment of Muhammad Farukh and Sai-ud-din as non-political prisoners in the Benares Central Jail. The country will be liberated by the sufferings of such men. The same paper of March 22 remarks that the latest instance of "justice" in Benares is the infliction of fines on the managers of the *Bharat Mata* and *Charkha chowki* and a few passersby during the *Holi* festiva. This has beendone only to uphold the prestige of the police disregarding the spi rit of the festival.

HAMDAM, 17th, 21st and 23rd March 1922.

Repression.

AJ, 20th and 22nd March, 1922.

II.—Administration.

SHAKTI, 21st March, 1922.

14. A correspondent writing in the *Shakti* (Almora) of March 21 urges members of the Provincial Council and the *Aman Sabhas* to have righted the injustice which is being done to Kumaun in the matter of the separation of judicial and executive functions.

The Kumaun division.

MANSUR, 16th March, 1922.

15. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of March 16, referring to the repeal of the Press Act, says that the three amendments moved before the Select Committee confer no benefits on the newspapers. The following amendment should be made:—"No printed matter can be declared objectionable under the Sea Customs and the Post Office Acts unless it attacks the Government deliberately."

The Press Act.

AJ, 18th March, 1922.

16. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 18, referring to the Patna High Court's decision in the case of Ishwar Das, thinks that it will have a salutary effect on the Railway Administration. Since the fares have been considerably raised, the Railway Companies and the Government should look to the comforts of the passengers.

Railways.

PHAKKAR, 22nd March, 1922.

17. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 22 asks why the Commander-in-Chief did not invite the editors of the *Servant*, the *Modern Review* and *Bombay Chronicle* to visit the Khyber Pass and other places. Did he fear that they would mislead the public by publishing misleading reports?

Indian Journalists at the Frontier.

18. The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of March 17 regrets that, despite the attempts of the national leaders to keep people non-violent, disturbances occurred at Hardoi. The police, owing to its past actions, was already highly unpopular, and the present political agitation has accentuated hatred against it. It is the duty of the leaders to control the masses. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 17 protests against the dictum of Sir L. Porter that the police should by no means be held responsible, directly or indirectly, for the Chauri Chaura tragedy. The paper invites Sir Ludovic's attention to Rai Sahib Pooran Chandra's speech at the British India Police Conference at Calcutta, remarking that his suggestions and criticisms should be carried out and pondered over to improve the police and their relations with the people, and emphasising that the reform of the police will lead to an all-round reform.

The police.

OUDH AKHBAR, 17th March 1922.

AJ, 17th March, 1922.

19. The *Hokikat* (Lucknow) of March 9 says that now that the great patriotic Moplah leader has been executed, the Moplahs should be given their lands and treated kindly.

The Moplahs.

HAKIKAT, 9th March, 1922.

III.—National Poems.

The *Maryada* (Benares) for *Magh* publishes a poem urging the boycott of foreign cloth and the exposure of bureaucratic deceitful hypocracies which have ruined the country, condemning *ji huzoors* for their cowardice. The same paper publishes a poem exhorting people to undergo self-sacrifice for their motherland. If they do so, oppressors will be humiliated. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of March 18 publishes a poem by Pandit Ram Prasad Misra read at a poetical contest in the Agra Jail, the refrain of which is that downtrodden, dependent life is like death today. The usual charges against the bureaucracy are reiterated and the prayer is made to God to restore India to its pristine glory. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of March 16 published a dirge lamenting the bombardment of the Ka'aba, and exhorting Muslims to offer their persons and property to be utilized in protecting the Holy places of Islam. Muslims should expect nothing from the enemies of Islam. Khan Bahadurs and Vakils should non-co-operate with the Government.

MARYADA for *Magh*.

KARTAVYA, 18th March, 1922.

MANSUR, 16th March, 1922.

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,

Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD:

The 25th March, 1922.

PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

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CONFIDENTIAL] No. 13 OF 1922

SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

Published in the UNITED PROVINCES

For the week ending the 1st April, 1922

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III.—NATIONAL POEMS	

I.—POLITICS.

Egypt.

1. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 25 says that Egyptians will be satisfied with nothing less than complete independence and will at the most cede only the Suez region to the British. It would only be an essay in futility to try to conciliate the Egyptian nation with showy but unsubstantial political reforms.

MEDINA, 25th March, 1922.

The Hedjaz.

2. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 25 wonders why the Sheriff of Mecca, who receives a handsome subsidy from the English, is so hard put for money that he is always imposing fresh taxes on his poverty-stricken people. Have the English stopped the subsidy, or is this taxation at the instance of Mr. Lawrence, the Sheriff's Finance Minister? Anyway it is now clear beyond doubt that the Sheriff has forfeited his claim to rule over the Hedjaz.

MEDINA, 25th March, 1922.

Mr. Sastri.

3. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of March 26 reproduces from the *New York Times* an account of a meeting addressed by Mr. Sastri at New York at which he was denounced as a liar, a British agent, and an unrepresentative Indian and wonders why this news was not wired by Reuter. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 24 advises Government not to enact the farce of sending "Indian representatives" to international Conferences, when they represent the views of the Government of India and not of the people.

MECCA MEDINA, 26th March, 1922.

AJ, 24th March, 1922.

Mr. Montagu's resignation.

4. The *Prem* (Brindaban) of March 24 says that Mr. Montagu gave us nothing but honeyed words and sham reforms which created a split in the Congress party and thus put off the day of *swaraj*. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of March 23 says that after the conclusion of the Peace Conference Mr. Montagu was always hostile to the Premier's policy. In order to please the Conservative party the latter had to sacrifice his friend Mr. Montagu. May God save us from such unscrupulous, cunning, and intriguing Ministers!

PREM, 24th March, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 23rd March, 1922.

AJ, 24th March, 1922.

5. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 24 infers that the unknown Lords Peel and Winterton have been put in charge of India to obey the behests of Lord Curzon and Mr. Churchill in the matter of foreign and colonial affairs. The paper surmises that this arrangement cannot possibly last long, but welcomes it as dissipating the wrong notion of India being made a free part of the Empire. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 25 warns Viscount Peel that the present English Ministry will be wrecked on the rock of anti-Muslim policy.

Viscount Peel.

MEDINA, 25th March, 1922.

PREM, 24th March, 1922.

6. The *Prem* (Brindaban) of March 24, referring to the rumoured resignation of Lord Reading, says that India must sooner or later win *swaraj*. Viceroys like Lords Reading and Hardinge prolonged the period of India's connection with Britain. The actions of Lords Curzon and Chelmsford make us impatient to attain *swaraj*. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of March 26 says that Lord Reading possesses little sense of honour, otherwise he would have resigned at the caustic remarks of Lord Curzon and not agreed to repress Indians. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of March 28 in a rather bitter note says that in spite of his being a Liberal, Lord Reading has proved no better than any conservative Viceroy. In view of the failure of his interview with Mr. Gandhi and his arrest of him and the Ali Brothers, as also in view of his communication on the Turkish question which, though primarily designed to set Hindus and Muslims by the ears, cost his chief his post, he should resign at once. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of March 27 warns Lord Reading against entertaining false hopes of being able to effect a split between *Swarajists* and *Khilafatists*.

Lord Reading.

VARTMAN, 26th March, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 28th March, 1922.

NAJAT, 27th March, 1922.

LEADER, 30th March, 1922.

7. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of March 30 is dissatisfied with the appointment of Sir Henry Wheeler to the Governorship of Bihar, and asks if there is to be no expansion in the matter of appointing Indian Governors side by side with the progressive Indianization of the Imperial Services. If an Indian was not to be appointed to the post, a commoner or a Peer of parliamentary experience should have been appointed. The appointment of Mr. Innes, and not of an Indian, to succeed Sir Thomas Holland is also disappointing. Already there is a widespread suspicion that the changes at the India Office are not merely of personnel, but also of policy and these appointments will only deepen it.

The recent appointments.

HINDUSTANI, 30th March, 1922.

8. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of March 30 ridicules the rumours regarding the arrest of Pandit Malaviya because he had held the lamp up to Lord Reading when he was groping helplessly in the dark.

Pandit Malaviya.

LEADER, 27th March, 1922.

9. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of March 27 criticises as mischievous the attitude of the *Times* on the action of the Assembly in refusing to vote certain items of the additional taxation proposed by Government. The *Times* has been literally driving the Geddes Report down the unwilling throat of the Coalition. But it indulges in wild talk when it is a question not of home but of Imperial politics. If the price of constitutional advance is to be the suppression of the right to represent the popular view before the Government, the country is not prepared to pay the price. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of March 23 says that certain members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly have been caught acting treacherously towards their constituents for selfish ends, and urges that if they do not resign they should be socially boycotted. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of March 27 says that the attitude of the members of the Assembly on the occasion of the resolution for the release of the Ali Brothers and adjournment of the Assembly on the arrest of Mr. Gandhi shows that its atmosphere is really poisonous.

The Indian Legislature.

HINDUSTANI, 23rd March, 1922.

PRATAP, 27th March, 1922.

NORTHERN STAR, 19th March, 1922.

10. The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of March 19 remarks that for pure sophistry, irrelevant analogies, and equally fallacious deductions, for unwarranted dogmatic assertions the speech is really hard to beat. All attempts to heap scorn on the non-co-operation movement are doomed to failure. India is longing for freedom. Official propaganda on wrong lines has very little esteem in popular eyes now. Justice and not high-handedness is the remedy.

Sir Harcourt Butler's Meerut speech.

The budget.

11. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of March 24 in the course of an article criticising the proposed tax on salt holds up to ridicule certain actions of the Government, e.g., the administration of martial law, the use of section 124 A, etc. In an article the same paper of the same date attacks the crushing nature of the budget with special reference to military expenditure and makes sport of the "sham" Reforms over which so much fuss has been made. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of March 30 says that military expenditure has not been reduced because that would have meant loss to English soldiers and English manufacturers. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 31 in the course of an article tries to suggest that the widespread poverty and misery in the country is in a large measure due to the greed of heartless Indian grain-dealers who, regardless of the needs of the country, export grain and charge exorbitant rates from their own countrymen and advises them to give up these practices for the good of the country. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 24 notes with regret the increase in the duty on matches and kerosine and is glad that the Assembly refused to sanction the proposed taxation on sugar and silver. The *Prem* (Brindaban) of March 14 publishes a contributed article in which it had been said that the Reforms are the cause of the split in the Congress camp and of the increase in taxation. Moderates should see that the starving people of India are not heavily taxed.

OUDH PUNCH, 24th March, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 30th March, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 31st March, 1922.

AJ, 24th March, 1922.

PREM, 14th March, 1922.

Mr. Gandhi.

12. The *Christian Nationalist* (which now appears from Almora) of March 23 in an article entitled "The growing Act of Tyranny" says that the Government will have to come down with bended knees and repent in sackcloth and ashes, for it has committed the unpardonable sin of arresting the Christlike Mahatma. The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of March 19 remarks that the arrest has driven even the believers in the doctrine of non-violence into desperation. The *Nava Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of March 22, while fearing that the confinement of Mr. Gandhi may lead to violence, emphasises the need for maintaining non-violence at this critical stage. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of March 27 says that Mr. Gandhi's statement on the occasion of his trial echoes the inner voice of the country, and remarks that this voice cannot be stopped by repression. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of March 23 thinks that the Government committed a great blunder in arresting Mahatma Gandhi at the present juncture. Many Government servants will resign their posts. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 22 says that the Government did not arrest Mr. Gandhi long ago simply because it feared an outbrak of violence. It knew that it was not easy to arrest him unless he had created the spirit of non-violence now prevailing in the country. The *Prem* (Brindaban) of March 24 says that everyone is talking of Mahatma Gandhi's arrest which will shake the foundation of the bureaucracy. Many more Gandhis will spring up and save the world from oppressive administrations.

CHRISTIAN NATIONALIST, 23rd March, 1922.

NORTHERN STAR, 19th March, 1922.

NAVA BHARAT, 22nd March, 1922.

PRATAP, 27th March, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 23rd March, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 22nd March, 1922.

PREM, 24th March, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

13. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of March 21 in its wit and humour column asks the Government to reward handsomely our patriotic and loyal countryman Mr. C. R. Das (of Eastern Bengal) who gave imformation to the Government regarding the increase in the numbers of bomb-throwers. The same paper of March 26 says that the people cannot be placated unless they get a constitution amenable to their will. The *Garhwali* (Dehra Dun) of March 25 urges Government to seize the present opportunity to effect a reconciliation with the people. The *Bharatodaya* (Jawalapur, Saharanpur) of March 24 emphasises the need of the vigorous pursuit of the non-co-operation programme both in its constructive and destructive aspects. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of March 23 publishes the prophecy of Surda's (a poet in Akhbar's time) who says that after April 5, 1922 foreigners will no more rule at Delhi. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of March 21 says that Mr. Montagn's resignation over the *Khilafat* question shows that England is going to persist in her old anti-Muslim policy. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 28 urges Indian Muslims to reply to the anti-Muslim attitude of England by carrying out the Bardoli resolutions.

PHAKKAR, 21st and 26th March, 1922.

GARHWALI, 25th March, 1921.

BHARATODAYA, 24th March, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 23rd March, 1922.

AL BASHIR, 21st March, 1922.

MEDINA, 28th March, 1922.

DEMOCRAT, 31st March, 1922.

Repression.

14. The extraordinary number of the *Democrat* (Allahabad) of March 31 publishes under the head-line "The Reign of Terror in Bara Banki" the report of Muhammad Ahmed, a general Secretary of the Congress Committee of the district. The report says that as the committee in obedience to the Bardoli decision suspended all activities connected with the volunteer movement, the district authorities considered it a sign of weakness in the non-co-operation camp and requisitioned the military and machine-guns. A Deputy Collector is on special duty to deal with the "rebels"—the volunteers. As many as 5,000 of these are, it is heard, to be tried under section 110, Criminal Procedure Code. The police are indulging in great excesses and using foul underhand means to stifle the non-co-operation movement. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of March 26 urges the better treatment of the Bareilly political prisoners at present lodged in the Lucknow jail. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 25, referring to the report in the *Young India* regarding the desecration of the *Quran* in the Hazaribagh jail, asks the Bihar Government to publish the true facts and punish the Jail Superintendent if he is guilty. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of March 27 protests against the severity of the sentence passed upon Professor Ram Ratan of Agra and his ill-treatment in the Agra jail. The same paper of the same date wonders whether, in view of the Government's refusal to publish Mr. Lyle's report, the latter is against the doings and wishes of the Government and protests against the prevarication of the Home Member in this connection. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of March 23 describes how a sub-inspector attached two ornaments belonging to Pandit Shivnandan Pande's wife in satisfaction of a fine of Rs. 100 which was imposed upon him when he was arrested and punished at Allahabad at the Provincial Congress Committee's office. In the name of law and order the bureaucracy commits such unlawful acts as the attachment of *stridhan* (wife's personal property) in satisfaction of a fine imposed on the husband. The same paper also complains against the ill-treatment of political prisoners in the Agra Central Jail. It draws the attention of Pandit Jagat Narayan, Minister, and of the Government to the fact that political prisoners are not allowed to discharge their religious duties in jails. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 26 says that the "justice" meted out to the fifty-five members of the Provincial Congress Committee shows that the bureaucracy is heading for autocracy, and remarks that while the bureaucracy is having its own way, the subjects of the King-Emperor are being given the go-by.

MECCA MEDINA, 26th March, 1922.

HAMDAM, 25th March, 1922.

PRATAP, 27th March, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 23rd March, 1922.

AJ, 26th March, 1922.

II.—ADMINISTRATION.

MEDINA, 25th March, 1922.

The Moplahs.

15. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of March 25 denounces the cruelty of the District Magistrate of Malabar in refusing permission to enter his district to *Khilafat* and Congress relief parties in spite of the fact that two lakhs Moplahs have been rendered homeless and foodless.

AL BASHIR, 21st March, 1922.

The *aika* movement.

16. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of March 21 says that the aims of the *aika* movement being perfectly legitimate, the best course for Government would be to remove Kisan grievances instead of resorting to futile repression.

HINDUSTANI, 3rd and 30th March, 1922.

The police.

17. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of March 3 says, though it was said of British justice in India at the time of the Jubilee that the lion stood guard over the goat, now the lion is devouring the goats of his fold and no one can utter a word. In a district near Lucknow constables and sub-inspectors of police openly join in dacoities, but the matter is hushed up to save the face of the police. The same paper of March 30 publishes a letter from Gambhir Singh, *Yugantar Ashram, California*, describing the incidents which convinced him that Englishmen were in India not for her benefit but for that of England and made him resign his post in the Police department and appealing to India Government employées to practise non-co-operation.

AJ, 25th March, 1922.

Excise.

18. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 28 controverts official arguments in support of its excise policy and says that it is idle to expect reduction in the number of liquor shops as official sympathy is less marked in the direction.

19. Referring to the conclusion of the enquiry of the special commission appointed in the case of Pandit Nityanand Pande, Subordinate Judge, the *Garhwali English Supplement* (Dehra Dun) of March 25 remarks that the man in the street considers that Mr. Pande was a victim of circumstances and more sinned against than sinning.

Pandit Nityanand Pande.

GARHWALI ENGLISH SUPPLEMENT, 25th March, 1922.

20. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 26 doubts if the restricted scheme for the separation of judicial and executive functions in the United Provinces can be productive of much good. The proposal lead to increased expenditure and oppression by the police which will become even more corrupt.

Judicial and executive functions.

AJ, 26th March, 1922.

III—National Poems.

The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of March 30 publishes a poem by Brahma Dat congratulating tyrants on their repression and comfortable life and the non-co-operators on their sufferings and poverty. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of March 23 publishes a poem by Trishool on the martyrdom of Mr. Gandhi, condemning official injustice and diplomacy and exhorting people to use *khaddar* and follow Mr. Gandhi's example. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of March 23 publishes a song which says that patriotic people will have to be sacrificed in order to save Mother India's honour. The *Prem* (Brindaban) of March 24 publishes a poem exhorting people to remain non-violent even under most trying circumstances. Let those persons who boasted of their civilization perpetrate all sorts of inhumanities on us. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of March 27 publishes, a poem saying that Lord Reading has committed a wrong in confining Mr. Gandhi who is the very personification of love and enemy of hatred. Mother India should be cheerful at the prospect of an early end of her troubles by the penances of Mr. Gandhi in jail. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 25 makes similar remarks. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of March 28 publishes a poem saying that the sword of Mustapha Kamal Pasha will confound the European infidels and tyrants.

VARTMAN, 30th March, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 23rd March, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 23rd March, 1922.

PREM, 24th March, 1922.

PRATAP, 27th March, 1922,

AJ, 25th March, 1922.

MANSUR, 28th March, 1922.

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

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The 1st April, 1922.

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SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

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I.—POLITICS.

The Near East and the Paris Conference.

1. The *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of April 1 publishes a letter sent by A. E. Tewfik Pasha to Seth Chhotani thanking him for the loving kindness of Indian Muslims for the oppressed Turks in contributing money for the latter. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of April 3 says that the Paris Conference is sure to prove a failure as the question of the freedom of the Jasirat-ul-Arab has not engaged its attention at all. The object of the conference is to win over France and Italy whose attitude towards Turkey has been sympathetic. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 5 attributes the proposal about handing over Galipoli to the Greeks to Lord Curzon and says that the object of this is to endanger the safety of the Turks in Constantinople. The purpose of the Paris Conference is only to bring about a temporary suspension of Greco-Turkish hostilities in order to give Greece time to reorganize her resources with the help of British gold. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of April 1 also takes a similar view. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 1 is sorry to note that the Paris proposals regarding a Turko-Greek settlement do not touch even the fringe of the *Khilafat* question as no mention has been made of the Jazirat-ul-Arab which should be absolutely free from non-Muslim control. The same paper of April 7 echoes Muslim dissatisfaction with the decisions of the Paris Near East Conference. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of April 1 protests against the bottling up of Turkey by depriving her of her coastal islands and the Dardanelles fortifications. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 30 asks the members of the Assembly to consider whether the Paris Conference will attach the least weight to their views when an ordinary Deputy Commissioner did not allow them to hold a meeting to express their views on the *Khilafat* question.

AL BUREED, 1st April, 1922.

NAJAT, 3rd April, 1922.

MEDINA, 5th April, 1922.

MANSUR, 1st April, 1922.

HAMDAM, 1st and 7th April, 1922.

AL KHALIL, 1st April, 1922.

AJ, 30th March, 1922.

The North-West Frontier.

2. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of April 7 in a leading article criticises the "forward" frontier policy of Government, and while admitting that officers and men in the frontier were badly housed and enjoyed little comfort, it deprecates expenditure on new roads, transport and military camps.

LEADER, 7th April, 1922.

AL BASHIR, 28th March, 1922.

3. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of March 28 says Lord Curzon's letter to Mr. Montagu, while insulting to Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading's Government, is much more so to seven crores of Indian Muslims, nay, to the 33 crores of Indians.

Mr. Montagu's resignation.

AHINSA, 30th March, 1922.

4. The *Ahinsa* (Benares) of March 30 says that the appointment of the late Under Secretary for War as the Secretary of State for India shows that military men are selected for governing India.

Lord Peel.

HINDUSTANI, 6th April, 1922.

5. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 6 writing in its usual obscure style says that Viscount Peel has, in spite of his ultra-conservatism, retained the services of Lord Reading simply because the latter, though avowedly a Liberal, is really very Conservative. Lord Chelmsford was a Conservative, but he treated the Ali Brothers liberally and magnanimously and he did not give India a dose of blood and iron. Lord Reading in spite of his "Liberalism" is indulging in repression. The most respected Indian leaders are being subjected to ignominy during his regime.

Lord Reading.

PHAKKAR, 4th April, 1922.

6. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 4 in its wit and humour column accuses Mr. Sastri of wasting public money on his proposed travels in America. He ought to have served mother India and not mammon. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 3 says that a patriotic Indian like Mr. Sastri has relegated to obscurity Indian political problems. He refused even to express his opinion on Mr. Gandhi's conviction. Mr. Sastri is loud in the praise of the Empire, the history of which is sickening, for it has generally tended to crush weak nations. We wish Mr. Sastri was cured of the illusion that colonial statesmen are anxious for India's welfare.

Mr. Sastri.

AJ, 3rd April, 1922.

DEMOCRAT, 7th April, 1922.

7. The *Democrat* (Allahabad) of April 7 publishes a letter from its Agra correspondent, dated April 3, stating that while some political prisoners were being transferred to Lucknow the motor containing Mr. Ranga Iyer broke down near the Agra College. The shout of *Bande Mataram* brought hundreds of students from the adjoining hostel and Mr. Ranga Iyer exhorted them to follow in the footsteps of the students of Egypt and Italy and to liberate their country and its leaders by their solid work. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of April 1 publishes two contributed articles describing the bad treatment meted out to political prisoners, who are intimidated and forced to undergo solitary imprisonment for slight offences. They are not allowed to fast on some days and to perform *sandhya* and other religious rites. Even hardened criminals are not so badly treated by the authorities of Agra Central Jail as these political prisoners are. The *Bharat Bhandhu* (Hathras) of April 6 complains of brutal and inhuman treatment of political prisoners in the Agra jail. The *Nava Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of March 29 urges the need for an organized and vigorous agitation for the release of political prisoners to demonstrate the fitness of Indians for *swaraj*. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 4 in its wit and humour column asks if God's vengeance is to fall upon Mr. Holdine (?) who is troubling non-co-operators in the Agra jail like a second Dyer. The same paper of April 7 says that Indians ask for bread and they are given stones as was evident from the fate the resolution of Pandit Ekbal Narayan Gurtu met in the Council in connection with political prisoners. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 2 says that there has been a gross miscarriage of justice in releasing Babu Bhagwan Das and keeping the other co-accused still in jail. The Home Member's reply explaining the cause of this apparent partiality is unsatisfactory. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 6 is highly indignant over the disgraceful treatment accorded to Mr. Gandhi in jail.

Political prisoners.

KARTAVYA, 1st April, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 6th April, 1922.

NAVA BHARAT, 29th March, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 4th and 7th April, 1922.

AJ, 2nd April, 1922.

HAMDAM, 6th April, 1922.

AJ, 30th March, 1922.

8. The *Aj* (Benares) of March 30 says that the suppression of the *aika* movement is unjustifiable when it is wholly an agrarian movement directed to secure redress of the admitted grievances of cultivators and that the issue will not be obscured by the abuse of political agitators who have nothing to do with it. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 3 says that the cultivators have been impressed by the arguments of bullets that it is a crime for them to organize themselves for self-protection.

The *aika* movement.

PARTAP, 3rd April, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

9. The *Bharatodaya* (Kankhal) of March 30 publishes a contributed article saying that if Indians had the will to free themselves from foreign domination, they could easily do it. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 6 says that the overwhelming majority won by the non-co-operators at the Delhi municipal elections should silence those officials and co-operators who are shouting that the country is with them. The successful boycott of the Prince's visit should have been sufficient to open the eyes of Government men and should have convinced them that repression could not create affection and that conciliation was the only way out.

BHARATODAYA, 30th March, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 6th April, 1922.

The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 4 publishes an article entitled "The Akalis on the throne of Delhi" which says that speakers at a meeting of Akalis at Bilaspur foretold the coming of a gifted *Sikh* from Kabul who would rule India and make a sign which would produce a revolution. These Akalis forced the Magistrate of Gauri Shanker to release some prisoners. There are many such secret societies still in India and Mr. Joseph Baptista referred to them when he said that after failure of the non-violent non-co-operation movement to win *swaraj* for India, such secret societies would win it by means of violence. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of March 30 exhorts people to contribute to the Tilak *Swarajya* Fund to provide among others for the non-co-operating Government servants to win them over to the cause of the country which they have at heart but cannot serve on account of the question of livelihood. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 2 publishes a contributed article which says that the Government has killed two great Indian industries and has been sucking our blood for the last two centuries, and that if this sucking of our blood continues any longer we shall be exterminated.

PHAKKAR, 4th April, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 30th March, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 2nd April, 1922.

Repression.

10. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 7 urges the Local Government to put a stop to repression in the Sitapur district in order to bring about a calm atmosphere. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of April 1 expresses regret that the English race has rewarded Indian loyalty during the war with the Punjab atrocities and the denial of justice in the religious matter of the *Khilafat* and is now punishing as rebels those who point out to it the error of its ways. The editor of *Al Bashir* (Etawah) writing in the issue of March 28 says that from personal enquiry as well as reference to the District Magistrate he has not been able to trace the incident in Etawah referred to by the Finance Member in his speech in the local Council, and asks for an independent enquiry into the affair. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 6 asks why Lord Winterton does not support India's right for protection if there has been no change in the British policy towards India.

HAMDAM, 7th April, 1922.

MANSUR, 1st April, 1922.

AL BASHIR, 28th March, 1922.

AJ, 6th April, 1922,

II.—ADMINISTRATION.

The Moplahs.

11. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of April 1 quotes the statement of Arya Missionaries to show that Malabar Hindus were not forcibly converted but voluntarily embraced Islam on account of its various excellences and deplores the official propaganda to sow the seeds of communal hatred and enmity by publishing fanciful photographs of forcible conversions.

AL KHALIL, 1st April, 1922.

The Press Act.

12. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 6 says that the only service which the Legislative Assembly has been able to render in its sixteen months of existence is the removal of the ill-starred Press Act from the statute book. It has thus given the national organs an opportunity to serve their country and people, which it is hoped they will seize. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 3 says that the repeal of the Press Act will bring no joy to any Journalist so long as more comprehensive sections of the Indian Penal Code are abused by the authorities. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 1 while thanking Government for the repeal of the Press Act, says that editors will still be liable to prosecution and the Post Office also can stop the circulation of newspapers.

HINDUSTANI, 6th April, 1922.

PRATAP, 3rd April, 1922.

HAMDAM, 1st April, 1922.

Public Works department.

13. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of April 8 reviewing the report of the Public Works department of the United Provinces during the year 1920-21 says that the sanitary engineering schemes which had been stopped should have been specified, so that the public

LEADER, 8th April, 1922.

might the better appreciate the connection between the benefits it desires and the causes that hinder their reaping, so that where such causes are avoidable its influence might help to prevent them.

AJ, 3rd April, 1922.

The police.

14. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 3 referring to Sir Godfrey Fell's reply that military officers have been ordered to tell British soldiers how to treat Indians, says that police officers should be similarly asked to teach constables manners.

HAMDAM, 31st March, 1922.

AZAD, 30th March, 1922.

Miscellaneous.

15. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of March 31 urges Government to concede two hours' leave to its Muslim officials on Fridays for prayers. The *Azad* (Cawnpore) of March 30 is sorry to note that the Governorship of Bihar and the Commerce Membership have gone to non-Indians.

III.—Politico-religious.

PHAKKAR, 7th April, 1922.

Cow protection.

16. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 7 refutes the Viceroy's arguments against cow protection and points out that Muhammadans as a whole can have no objection in the matter. The paper says that the Viceroy and the Council can very easily stop cow slaughter if they will, and urges Hindus and Muhammadans to stop it for their mutual good following the example of the Amir of Kabul and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of March 31, commenting on the reply given by Lord Reading to the All-India *Gorakshni Sabha*, says that such deputations are always bound to fail in enlisting the active help of the Government since no one can win over to his side the sympathies of Lord Reading who belongs to a different school of thought.

ANAND, 31st March, 1922.

IV.—National Poems.

VARTMAN, 8th and 2nd April, 1922.

YUGANTAR, 1st April, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 30th March, 1922.

KARTAVYA, 1st April, 1922.

The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of April 8 publishes a poem by Sudarshan Narayan Pande saying that the officers who hold out threats of repression are themselves digging the grave of the Government. The same paper of April 2 publishes a poem on *charkha*, saying that it will force back wealth into the country which was ruined by foreigners. The *Yugantar* (Gorakhpur) of April 1 publishes a poem praying to Lord Ram to reincarnate himself to save India which is being governed by demons and in which the good are being oppressed. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of March 30 publishes a poem by "Bahadur" dwelling on "the Punjab atrocities," "brutal repression," official diplomacy in depriving people of their hard-won earnings, the rewarding of war services by tyranny. Is it justice that "they" should live comfortably while Indians should die? Would not God destroy the tyrants. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of April 1 publishes a peom wishing victory to Mr. Gandhi who, the poet says, has today been challenged for a duel by Kansa and has been seized at a very inopportune moment.

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation department,
United Provinces.

Allahabad:
The 8th April, 1922.

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SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

Published in the UNITED PROVINCES

For the week ending the 15th April, 1922

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I.—POLITICS.

Turkey.

1. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of April 15 in a leading article entitled "Revision of the Turkish Treaty" protests against the desire expressed in the new proposals to compensate the Greeks for their great sacrifices during the war in the cause of the Allies. It pertinently asks what were the sacrifices made by the Greeks under Tino in the cause of the Allies. It further protests against Thrace being given to the Greeks, and says that the pretensions of Greece in Thrace should not be upheld. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of April 10 warns the Allies against making any concessions to Greece as a result of her representations and wonders whether Allied promises regarding the restoration of Adrianople, Thrace and Gallipoli to Turkey can be relied upon. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of April 7 says that subtle methods are being employed to drive a wedge between France and Turkey and that those who want to favour Greece will have to fight Turkey. Referring to the remark of Amir Abdullah to the effect that the Ottoman Emperor did not deserve to be *Khalifa* as he was under non-Muslim influence, the same paper of March 31 says that King Husein also is under British influence. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 15 is opposed to the new terms offered to Turkey by the Allies at the Paris Conference as they are sure to leave Turkey a captive in the hands of Greece. No part of the world except Europe can support these terms which are opposed to natural justice.

LEADER, 15th April, 1922.

MECCA MEDINA, 10th April, 1922.

OUDH PUNCH, 7th April and 31st March, 1922.

AJ, 15th April, 1922.

The Reforms.

2. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 16 quotes the questions put by Mr. Das, Minister to the Bihar and Orissa Government, regarding the powers of the Minister to transfer and dismiss Imperial Service men, and asks the Government to clear its position.

HINDUSTANI, 16th April, 1922.

Swaraj.

3. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of April 9 in its wit and humour column says that astrologers agree that May, 1925 will be the month of freedom for India.

VARTMAN, 9th April, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 16th April, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

4. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 16 says that the Government without caring for the number of its spporters is blindly trying to kill the non-co-operation movement. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of April 13 advises non-co-operators to give up their sterile programme and to use the machinery provided by the Reforms which is the best for the interests of the country. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of April 10 in its wit and humour column says that the holding of the session of the Hindi *Sahitya Sammelan* at Lahore would have established the non-co-operators' rule in the Punjab and therefore the Government prohibited its holding under the Seditious Meetings Act. The Government must eventually reap the fruits of all such acts. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of April 10 in an article on "The political situation" remarks that a change seems to be coming over the mentality of the people as a result both of the firm policy adopted by Government as also of the gradual recognition of the futility of many of the items of the non-co-operation programme. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 9 in its wit and humour column says that the Government has proved its meanness by imprisoning Mr. Gandhi. The *Bharatodya* (Jwalapur, Saharanpur) of April 6 publishes a contributed article in which the writer, P. Deva Sharma, tries to show that the bureaucratic Government of India is sinful, inasmuch as it has exploited and impoverished the country by means of commercial loot, encouraged untruthfulness by means of law courts, emasculated its people by various ways and has allowed cow-slaughter to provide meat for troops. In the course of an article urging non-violence and other items of the Bardoli programme, the *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of April 2, while protesting against suggestions for the infliction of corporal punishment on political prisoners in spite of the suspension of aggressive activities by the Congress, observes :— "And we shall be mincing words if we conceal the opinion that when tyranny shall be overdone and the bounds of our national suffering and the limits of human patience shall have been trampled and crossed, the Indian nation, thus reduced to a state of utter exasperation and blind and mad desperation, shall and will resort to any methods to save itself yet. Whether those measures shall be violent war or non-violent struggle, no one can predict today." The *Aj* (Benares) of April 13 says that the great lesson which the Jallianwala Bagh, where the blood of Hindus and Muslims flowed together and intermingled, teaches us is that all Indians are one and their emancipation lies in reunion. It also shows that non-violence is the only weapon with which Indians can win their rights, because even if they believe in violence they have no chance of success against their better armed rulers.

LEADER, 13th April, 1922.

VARTMAN, 10th April, 1922.

LEADER, 10th April, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 9th April, 1922.

BHARATODYA, 6th April, 1922.

NORTHERN STAR, 2nd April, 1922.

AJ, 13th April, 1922.

KARTAVYA, 8th April, 1922.

The National week.

5. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of April 8 exhorts the people to observe the National week and recounts the "Punjab atrocities." The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 9 has an article describing the "cruel" firing in the Jallianwala Bagh in which the editor says that as it was these brutalities which filled Indians with a burning desire for liberty, it is fit that they should be commemorated during the National week.

MEDINA, 9th April, 1922.

PRATAP, 10th April, 1922.

Repression.

6. A note in the *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 10 complains of severe repression in the Sitapur district, specially in the area under the Courts of Wards. The *Prabha* (Cawnpore) for April thinks that the Government by imprisoning Mr. Gandhi has committed so great a sin that it must soon break down. In order to kill the non-co-operation and *satyagraha* movements and in response to the pressure put by enemies of India in England, the Government imprisoned him foolishly. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 16 says that the Indian Ministers and Executive Councillors are also responsible for the repression which the Government is practising at present. Indians should be ashamed of themselves. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 15 says that on the 13th instant – the *hartal* day—the police were seen noting the numbers of the shops which were closed. Can the Government appease the people by repression? Such repressive activities will strengthen the non-co-operation movement. The same paper of the same date asks the Government if by stopping men like Pandit Malaviya from speaking it can spread affection. Is this the *swaraj* of which moderates talk

PRABHA, April, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 16th April, 1922.

AJ, 15th April, 1922.

so much? In the same paper of the same date one Bhagwan Das (supervisor of *ekkas* and *gharris* within the Benares municipality) writes that Inspector Akhtar Husain arrested him as he suspected him of having tried to persuade people to observe *hartal*, and that the Inspector in charge of the police station set him free and accepted his statement that he was on duty. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 16 reproduces His Highness the Agha Khan's farewell speech at Bombay and asks him if practical help can be given to the Viceroy by silently allowing him to imprison Muslim leaders, and if he has read the Viceroy's Peshawar speech. HINDUSTANI, 16th April, 1922.

7. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 9 protests against the appointment of Europeans by Native States, on grounds of economy and efficiency, and asks their rulers to follow the practice in British India. PHAKKAR, 9th April, 1922.

Native States.

8. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 9 says that for the progress of the Hindu community learned men's *Sabhas* should be started in every city and principles of Hindu religion should be explained to Hindus. The Congress too will receive some help from such bodies. PHAKKAR, 9th April, 1922.

Uplift of Hindus.

II.—Administration.

9. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 9 protests against expenditure on the Khyber railway, which is neither required for commercial purposes nor military exigencies, specially when railway construction is urgently needed in other parts of the country and there is a financial stringency. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of April 10 in a further article on the frontier problem asks if it is the aim of the Government to bring all the frontier tribes under control and to push up the military posts right up to the Afghan frontier? Is the British frontier to be extended to the Durand Line? If this is so, will it not be interpreted by Afghanistan as a menace to its independence? The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of March 31 says that British India's treasure and provisions are being frequently looted by bordermen on the North-West Frontier, and if the British Indian Army does not discharge its duties properly the whole of India's income may be absorbed by it next year. What charm did the Mughal Government use to exorcise these frontier devils? AJ, 9th April, 1922. LEADER, 10th April, 1922. OUDH PUNCH, 31st March, 1922.

North-West Frontier.

10. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of April 13 is indignant over the uncivilized treatment accorded to Mahatma Gandhi in jail, and says that the Government should not forget that the time is fast approaching when they will have to bow their heads before the Mahatma as they cannot continue to deceive the world much longer. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 16 publishes an article (contributed by Shah Hafiz Junedi) in which he complains against the unnecessary restrictions imposed upon Muslim prisoners (in district jail, Lucknow) who are consequently unable to say even their Friday prayers. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 10 condemns the brutal treatment of Professor Ram Ratan in the Agra Central Jail and wonders why he is being treated like a hardened criminal, specially when his health is so bad, and why he is particularly selected for harsh treatment. The same paper of the same date condemns the ill-treatment of Mr. Gandhi by the Superintendent of Jail and points out that the Publicity department's *communiqué* on the subject is more full of camouflage than truth. The paper asks for better treatment of the foremost personage of the world. The extraordinary number of the *Democrat* (Allahabad) of April 9 publishes a report from a Basti correspondent saying how Haji Mohi-ud-din Shah, an old man of over 50 years, was ill-treated in jail and died. The same paper of April 11 publishes a report about the ill-treatment of political prisoners in Lucknow Jail where the Superintendent has reduced the cost of jail diet from Re. 1-8-0 per head to about 10 annas. SWARAJYA, 13th April, 1922. HINDUSTANI, 16th April, 1922. PRATAP, 10th April, 1922. DEMOCRAT, 9th and 11th April, 1922

Treatment of political prisoners.

AJ, 10th April, 1922.

The working of the Arms Act.

11. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 10 says that the cancellation of licenses for keeping arms issued to harmless non-co-operators leaves them at the mercy of armed *thugs* and dacoits. Under what law does the Magistrate of Benares ask self-respecting citizens to express their political convictions before him and promise them to re-issue their licenses if they say or write that they are not non-co-operators ?

OUDH PUNCH, 3rd March, 1922.

MECCA MEDINA, 10th April, 1922.

AL BUREED, 8th April, 1922.

The repeal of the Press Act.

12. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of March 3 warns Indian editors against indulging in premature jubilation over the repeal of the Press Act and asks them to wait and see how long they are allowed to remain outside the jails by bureaucrats. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of April 10 writes in a similar strain. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of April 8 says that what is wanted is a change of heart on the part of those who administer the law.

ANAND, 9th April, 1922.

The *aika* movement.

13. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of April 9 says that the *aika* movement is for the uplift of *kisans* and asks the Government to encourage it instead of suppressing it in order to enlist the sympathies of *kisans*.

PHAKKAR, 9th April, 1922.

The police.

14. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 9 has the following in its wit and humour column :—" Let the Jhansi police beware. It should not do unjust deeds any more otherwise it will be killed like bugs of the cot. It is the same land wherein Kshattranis once brought Englishmen to their wits' end. May not the same thing be repeated there again and the police exterminated. "

AJ, 8th April, 1922.

The East Indian Railway strike.

15. Tbe *Aj* (Benares) of April 8 worders why strikers should be proceeded against when the inquiry committee into the Madhupur derailment has not arrived at any conclusions.

HINDUSTANI, 16th April, 1922.

Miscellaneous.

16. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 16 draws the attention of the Government to the complicated case of one Dhonrhey (vegetable seller) at Jaunpur. The case is still *sub judice*.

III.—National Poems.

PARTAP, 17th April, 1922.

The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 17 contains a poem in which the writer says that while the oppressors of India insist on persisting in their tyrannies, Indians are prepared to undergo all sorts of tribulations for the emancipation of their country. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of April 8 publishes a poem urging people to pray for the emancipation of the good from the hold of the wicked and from their exploiting and arbitrary practices on the occasion of the National week. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of April 7 has a poem entitled " Madman's mumblings " in which the following lines occur among others :—

KARTAVIYA, 8th April, 1922.

OUDH PUNCH, 7th April, 1922.

" The attitude of Mrs. India shows
That she will now no longer bow to Mr. England."
" I would repay them for their tyranny and oppression
If I could get control over the Government of India."

MEDINA, 13th April, 1922.

VARTMAN, 12th April, 1922.

The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 13 has a poem praying to God to send the Mehdi to destroy the darkness of Trinity, and saying that those who are out to ruin others will themselves be ruined. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of April 12 contains a national poem, some of the important lines of which are translated below :—

"Posing as a guard he robbed the house of the helpless in broad day light."
" What atrocities the tyrant did not perpetrate in the Jallianwalla Bagh."
" O coward ! do you think it bravery
To fire bullets on the helpless in the Jallianwalla Bagh."

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Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

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I.—POLITICS.

Washington Conference.

1. The *Swarath* (Benares) for April is dissatisfied with the results of the Washington Conference. It has been successful neither in reducing the cost of national armaments nor in solving the Pacific problem. The "open door" policy is based on the self-interest of the Powers. — SWARATH, April, 1922.

Genoa Conference.

2. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 19 hopes that Mr. Lloyd George will be able to win over France to an amicable settlement and restore peace in Europe. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 19 wonders if nations will stand by their pledge to obey the decisions of the Conference. The same paper of April 23 says that Bolshevik representatives at the Conference were lodged at a distance from other nations' representatives to escape the evil effects of the poison that their contagion may produce. — AJ, 19th April, 1922. PHAKKAR, 19th and 23rd April, 1922.

The Turks.

3. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of April 19 says that the Turks will not sheathe their sword so long as they have not purged the Holy Land of Asia Minor of the unholy feet of the Greeks and have not liberated the peninsula of Arabia from the clutches of the foreigners. — NAJAT, 19th April, 1922.

Muslim Conference.

4. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of April 20 says that the proposed Muslim Conference should be held not at Paris but at Angora or Kabul and no Muslim should join it unless its objects are revealed. — MANSUR, 20th April, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

5. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 17 says that Indians do not want Pandit Malaviya's dominion status but complete severance of the British connection. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 20 says that the "White paper" issued by the Viceroy regarding the recent arrests and convictions cannot carry conviction with the Indian public, though it may serve to hoodwink the ignorant British public. Indian public only regards this as adding insult to injury. In view of the resolutions of the Bengal and Bihar Legislative Councils it is a sad travesty of facts to assert that action was taken with Indian consent. The *Bharat Bandhu* — MEDINA, 17th April, 1922. HINDUSTANI, 20th April, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 13th April, 1922.

(Hathras) of April 13 says that a foreign ruler is sure to look to his own interests and not to that of subject races, and hence foreign rule is sure to be unjust and oppressive. British rule in India being a foreign rule, it is necessary for Indians to win *swaraj*. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 19 asks the Congress volunteers to try to stop the export of food grains by Commission agents in order to ward off famines in British India. The same paper of April 21 says that nations have maintained their independent existence by making enormous sacrifices and that therefore Indians too should make every sacrifice and readily respond to Gandhi and Malaviya appeals for Congress members and for constructive work. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of April 16, in its leading article, condemns the non-co-operation movement as calculated to injure the cause of Indian liberty and urges the need for a spirit of compromise on the part of non-co-operators. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 17 bitterly complains of the loss of freedom of speech as indicated by the stopping of a meeting of Legislative Councillors at Delhi and of a meeting of the Congress Committee at Lahore at which Pandit Malaviya was to speak. The same paper of the same date urges the need for a uniform policy throughout the country to carry out more successfully the constructive programme of the non-co-operation movement. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of April 15 appeals to women to participate in the non-co-operation movement by discarding foreign cloth. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of April 20 says that brutal and severe repression still practised by the Government of India is only stiffening the determination of non-co-operators to undergo all possible hardships for the country and that if Government does not change its policy of repression, it will be only instrumental in India severing its connection with the British Empire. The *Shakti* (Almora) of April 18 ridicules Lord Reading's claim that he has generously treated the non-co-operators.

PHAKKAR, 19th and 21st April, 1922.

ANAND, 16th April, 1922.

PRATAP, 17th April, 1922.

KARTAVYA, 15th April, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 20th April, 1922.

SHAKTI, 18th April, 1922.

ANAND, 20th April, 1922.

6. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of April 20 says that the arrest of Maulana Hasrat should convince the extreme section of nationalists of their mistake in exaggerating their own strength while belittling that of Government. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 17 congratulates Mr. Mohani on his arrest and expresses the hope that he will receive honour and reward for his patriotic services. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 20 wishes for improvement in the political situation so as to allow a quiet life to men like M. Hasrat Mohani.

M. Hasrat Mohani.

PRATAP, 17th April, 1922.

AJ, 20th April, 1922.

NORTHERN STAR, 16th April, 1922.

7. The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of April 16 asks whether the Dehra Political Conference was forbidden because the Viceroy happened to be in Dehra during those days or whether the officials think that all is fair in love and war. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of April 20 says that *satayagraha* alone can save Indians from such disgrace and ill-treatment as was meted out to Shriyut Bodhraj Sahni and Mr. Mathur at Mathura while travelling by rail. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 17 says that the arrest and trial of Mangal Deva was a travesty of justice and that he is also ill-treated in the Agra jail. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 16 says that the Publicity department, the "White paper" and Government *communiqués* bestow undeserved praise on the Government. With Mahatma Gandhi in jail no nation can believe that the Government is not indulging in repression. The Government is not walking on the path to *swaraj*, but is only preserving "law and order," which means magisterial autocracy and injustice and policemen's orders and rods.

Repression.

BHARAT BANDHU, 20th April, 1922.

PRATAP, 17th April, 1922.

AJ, 16th April, 1922.

NAJAT, 15th April, 1922.

8. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of April 15 says that the present-day ill-treatment of political prisoners in India has no parallel even in the history of Tsarist Russia and no country, civilized or uncivilized, not even Bolshevik Russia, possesses such a large number of political prisoners. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 21, referring to the flogging of young volunteers in an Assam jail, asks if such brutal actions of the jail authorities and their appreciation by the Government entitle the latter to be called civilized. When will these hangmen be wiped out of India? The *Aj* (Benares) of April 17 says that in the Agra Central Jail political prisoners are treated just like ordinary criminals and for slight offences they are abused, beaten or threathened to be beaten with shoes, confined in solitary cells and not

Political prisoners.

PHAKKAR, 21st April, 1922.

AJ, 17th April, 1922.

given timely medical aid. If these jail officials do not themselves observe discipline, why should they insist on its strict observance by political prisoners? Government professions of being civilized and of advancing on the path of *swaraj* are a cruel mockery.

Indian industries.

9. The *Swarath* (Benares) for April says that England did not allow her American colonies at first to develop their industries and after America gained independence England began to dump bounty-fed British goods in order to kill American industries till the latter took shelter behind the high walls of protective tariffs. One M. H. Desai describes in the *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of April 13 how the servants of the East Indian Company destroyed industries by unjust means and quotes Sergeant Brangana, the late Mr. Dutt, James Mill and an English merchant in his support. The *Democrat* (*Extraordinary*) of April 19 refers to the liquidation of Manchester Cotton firms, and says that the boycott of foreign goods is already effective.

SWARATH, April, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 13th April, 1922.

DEMOCRAT, 19th April, 1922.

The *aika* movement.

10. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of April 13, referring to the *aika* movement, says that the Government, following the policy of "divide and rule," is unable to tolerate this union among tenants to oppose successfully the illegal exactions of their landlords.

BHARAT BANDHU, 13th April, 1922.

II.—Administration.

Police.

11. The *Aj* (Benares) of April 16 publishes a contributed article which warns co-operators of the high-handedness of the police who instead of being censured are praised by their official superiors for committing atrocities on the public. By what law are they authorised to beat people? Sri Ram Gopal Sharma of Gotghar writes to the same paper of the same date that four police constables (who were not in uniform) caught hold of Sri Harsinghdas Narayandas Taxali's servant named Sukhkhu Ahir, whom they beat and left in the street. The District Magistrate should do justice and punish the offending policemen whom the writer can recognize. Hakim Ataulla Khan of Naya Chowk, Benares, writes to the same paper of April 17 that on Sunday Inspector Akhtar Husain seized and took away all his belongings (without giving him previous notice) in satisfaction of a fine imposed on him by the Joint Magistrate of Benares; and that no list of articles contained in his handbag (seized by the Inspector) was supplied to the Hakim.

AJ, 16th and 17th April, 1922.

Post Office.

12 The *Aj* (Benares) of April 17 draws the attention of the Postal authorities to the fact that the destruction by the Post Office of the pice postcards posted after the 24th instant will cause unnecessary trouble to the ignorant masses to whom the information of the rise in the price of a postcard must take long to reach. A better way would be to treat such postcards as "bearing."

AJ, 17th April, 1922.

Railways.

13. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of April 20 asks Railway Companies to prevent recurrence of strikes by increasing the pay of their employees and removing racial distinctions. The employees too should not allow outsiders to inflame them to go on strike. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 20 says that though the East Indian Railway strike is over, Government should take immediate steps to remove the discontent caused by invidious distinctions observed in the matter of pay and allowances among men of different races engaged on identical work.

ANAND, 20th April, 1922.

HAMDAM, 20th April, 1922.

Miscellaneous.

14. The English supplement of the *Garhwali* (Dehra Dun) of April 8 advises His Excellency the Governor to watch the movements of those officers who, it is rumoured, have been trying through the agency of certain selfish men to create disaffection among the Garhwalis and among of the people of Tehri State, or else there will be a great row in Garhwal for which these Government officers and their pets will alone be responsible.

GARHWALI. 8th April, 1922.

III.—Politico-religious.

BHARATODYA, 20th April, 1922.

The *Bharatodaya* (Kankhal) of April 20 asks *sadhus* to serve their mother-land by educating people in religion and politics.

IV.—National Poems.

PHAKKAR, 19th April, 1922.

The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 19 publishes a poem which says that Gandhi and his movement have driven away the cowardice which was induced in Indian life by the British rule, and have demolished the four walls of slavery within which Indians were confined so long.

YUGANTAR, 15th April, 1922.

The *Yugantar* (Gorakhpur) of April 15 publishes a poem by "Vikshrift" denouncing the wicked for filling jails with innocent men and warning them that such sinful practices cannot last long.

VARTMAN, 14th April, 1922.

The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of April 14 publishes a poem in which it is said that the repressive activities of the Government cannot be borne any longer and that Indians have banished from their hearts all fears of imprisonment and hardship.

BHARATODAYA, 20th April, 1922.

The *Bharatodaya* (Kankhal) of April 20 publishes a poem in which the following lines occur :—

"Dyer and others perpetrated atrocities on us."

"The protectors have become destroyers and the situation has become terrible."

"The unjust methods and policy of the "whites" will no longer deceive us."

NAJAT, 12th, 15th and 19th April, 1922.

The *Najat* (Bijnor) of April 12 has a poem saying that their pride is leading them towards a fall and they cannot remain long in India. Pride and wickedness are sure to be destroyed. Their days of ease and enjoyment are numbered and *swaraj* is inevitable. Every believer will naturally like to destroy them as the fall of the infidels means the rise of the *Khilafat*. The same paper of April 15 has a poem saying that though the enemies might destroy Muslims, they cannot destroy Islam, which in its turn will destroy Christian Europe. The same paper of the same date has a poem on repression in India, saying that those who want to drown others are themselves drowned beforehand and that only recently Lord Kitchener was drowned. The same paper of April 19 contains a poem, some of the more important lines of which are translated below :—

The tyrannical Government's pride of power will vanish
If the nation does not lose patience and perseverance.
How long will the Moderates be able to support a Government
Which is in its death agonies.
It only remains for them to clear out.
We hear the Government has now been scared out if its wits.

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD:
The 22nd April, 1922.

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SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

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I.—POLITICS.

Genoa Conference.

1. *Aj* (Benares) of April 22 says that Mr. Lloyd George does not appear to be succeeding in his attempt to exploit Russia owing to the Russo-German alliance. It is impossible that the Genoa Conference will prove a success. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 25 says that Mr. Lloyd George has been worsted at the game of diplomacy at the conference by the Bolsheviks. *Al Aman* (Bijnor) of April 23 is also of a similar view. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 24 says that the alliance of Russia and Germany with Turkey and the Pan-Islamists will prove too strong for the Allies and England will have to grant *swaraj* to India immediately to be able to utilize her man power and resources in the event of a war. If England does not take time by the forelock and Lord Reading does not relent, he will be faced with the demand for complete independence. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of April 24 believes that the Premier will not be able to befool the Bolsheviks at the Genoa Conference into any action likely to prejudice the interests of the Turkish Nationalists or other weak nationalities. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of April 26 says that France's attitude at the Genoa Conference is inspired by justice and advises England to support her. France's insistence on indemnity from Germany is, however, unwise as it may lead to an outbreak of hostilities. Justice should also be done to Turkey and undue favouritism of Greece should be abandoned. It is useless to talk of an armistice which will only help the Greeks to reorganize their army and Gallipoli, Smyrna and Thrace can never be given to the Greeks. *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of April 19 wonders whether the Bolshevik attitude at the Genoa Conference spells war. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of April 21 has a fling at the politics of Mr. Lloyd George, specially in connection with the Genoa Conference, and makes sport of the activities of the supporters of *Aman Sabhas*.

AJ, 22nd April, 1922.
MEDINA, 25th April, 1922.
AL AMAN, 23rd April, 1922.
HINDUSTANI, 24th April, 1922.
AL BUREED, 24th April, 1922.
MECCA MEDINA, 26th April, 1922.
AL AMAN, 19th April, 1922.
OUDH PUNCH, 21st April, 1922.

Geneva Conference.

2. The *Swarath* (Benares) for *Baisakh* urges the election of a popular Indian representative or the selection of a non-official well acquainted with the woes and wants of Indian labourers for the International Labour Conference at Geneva.

SWARATH for *Baisakh*.

Muslim States.

3. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 24 says that the question whether the present Sultan of Turkey is fit to be the Caliph should be left to the men on the spot—the Turkish nationalists—to decide. The Turks alone can decide whether Sultan Wahiduddin

HINDUSTANI, 24th April, 1922.

MEDINA, 25th April, 1922.

was responsible for the conclusion of the Armistice in 1918 and for the issue of orders of execution against Mustafa Kemal and Enver. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 25 urges Muslims to combine and help such countries as are being oppressed by the European Powers.

AL AMAN, 23rd April, 1922.

The Far East.

4. *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of April 23 expresses regret that in spite of the steady growth of the Japanese peril in the East the English have not yet had their eyes open. Probably they will wake only when the peril becomes acute.

AL BUREED, 24th April, 1922.

The Prince.

5. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of April 24 wonders why the path of the Prince of Wales has been so strewn with accidents during his recent tour to India and Japan.

AL KHALIL, 16th/20th April, 1922.

Pandit Malaviya.

6. *Al Khalil* (Bijnor) of April 16/20 is at a loss to understand why Pandit Malaviya has been stopped from addressing public meetings in the Punjab. His pro-Government views have not changed. His giving prominence to the *khaddar* campaign and interviewing political prisoners is only a device for capturing popular sympathy so as to take the place of Mr. Gandhi as leader. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 25 urges Mr. Malaviya to regain popular confidence by adopting a fixed policy.

MEDINA, 25th April, 1922.

HAMDAM, 23rd April, 1922.

M. Hasrat Mohani.

7. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 23 says that Government's attitude has lent colour to the popular suspicion that it had been delaying his arrest only in the hope that he would wreck Hindu-Muslim unity. *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of April 19 wonders whether his arrest was due to his recent efforts to unravel the Moplah mystery.

AL AMAN, 19th April, 1922.

OUDH PUNCH, 21st April, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

8. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of April 21 publishes a dialogue between a Sahib and a Hindu which suggests that after the enormous sacrifices made by Indians during the war they got the Rowlatt Act, high taxes, costly reforms, crushing military expenditure, etc. The same paper says that Sir M. O'Dwyer is enjoying a pension for having killed hundreds of human beings and the new Secretary of State for India proposes to make every effort to safeguard the pensions of those who do not want to serve under the reformed régime. The same paper publishes a humorous dialogue in which different persons say that high taxation is leading to high prices and that the rich are joining hands with officials to exploit and keep down the poor. The *Nava Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of April 19 has a long article emphasising the widespread poverty and misery of the country and urging that the attainment of *swaraj* is the only remedy for the evil. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of April 26 refers to the provincial reports about the false cases filed by the police and supports the *Pioneer's* view that most of such cases are due to feelings of ill-will. The Viceroy was mistaken in paying a tribute to such a police and should have also pointed out its defects when the police deputation attended upon him. The same paper of April 28 publishes a contributed article in which the writer, Mrs. Tai Dikshit, refers to the "Punjab atrocities" and the "demon of repression." The latter has played havoc among the leaders of the non-co-operation movement, which being the outcome of Mr. Gandhi's asceticism cannot be killed even by hundreds of demons like this. *Aj* (Benares) of April 23 reiterates the grievance of the abuse of ordinary laws by the authorities and says that it is meant to root out the non-co-operation movement by means of severe repression. If self-interest predominates over patriotism the movement will give way, otherwise non-co-operators will surely succeed if they remain united and are determined to suffer for the cause. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 24 urges the need of propaganda work for the capture of Councils and Assemblies by non-co-operators. The *Maryada* (Benares) for *Phalgun* says that non-co-operators are at the mercy of bureaucrats even in the matter of the constructive programme of their movement, inasmuch as their national institutions can be declared illegal at any moment, and if they disregard the order they cannot but be guilty of civil disobedience. Non-co-operation and civil disobedience must go side by side. The *Shakti* (Almora) of April 25 extols the action of the *satyagraha* heroes of Mulshi Peth in not having recourse to the Government law courts even though they and their women were severely belaboured by the callous Pathans engaged by the Tata Company

NAVA BHARAT, 19th April, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 26th and 28th April, 1922.

AJ, 23rd April, 1922.

PRATAP, 24th April, 1922.

MARYADA for *Phalgun*.

SHAKTI, 25th April, 1922.

for the purpose. Government, it says, stands to help the tyrant, but God will help the *satyagraha* which will surely emerge triumphant.

British and Indian industry.

9. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of April 26 warns Englishmen that they will ruin their trade if they persist in their present anti-Indian and anti-Muslim policy. *Aj* (Benares) of April 24 warns Indians against German attempts to recapture their markets with the help of England and urges them to develop industries to maintain their liberties, political and economic. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 24 reiterates that the boycott of foreign cloth is indispensably necessary from economic, social and moral standpoints and in the interests of Indians and humanity at large.

MECCA MEDINA 26th April, 1922.
AJ, 24th April, 1922.
PRATAP, 24th April, 1922.

II.—Administration.

Hill affairs.

10. The *Nava Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of April 19 wonders why Government takes no action against Chowdhari Shyam Singh for his unwarrantable acts on the occasion of the visit of Shri Shankaracharya to Dehra Dun and emphasises the point that people maintained non-violence despite the gravest provocation. The *Purusharth* (Bara Banki) for March asks Government how it is going to help the impoverished inhabitants of Garhwal to meet the impending famine. In a strong article the *Shakti* (Almora) of April 25 bitterly complains of various evils and hardships of forest administration in the hills and concludes as follows :—"We are not complaining only of the scarcity of milk, butter, curds, grass and fuel, but also of the insult offered to our women folk by the officials of the Forest department. We can never forget the flogging of our children in connection with the recent forest fires."

NAVA BHARAT, 19th April, 1922.
PURUSHARTH for March, 1922.
SHAKTI, 25th April, 1922.

Arms licences.

11. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 25 wonders at the short-sightedness of the Local Government in demanding the return of swords and lances in some districts and says that if things go on at this rate, the Moderates may lose their reforms also.

MEDINA, 25th April, 1922.

Political prisoners.

12. The *Democrat* (*Extraordinary*) (Allahabad) of April 25 reports that political prisoners in the Bareilly Central Jail have gone on hunger strike since the 12th April because of ill-treatment. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of April 24 says that the order of the authorities of the Lucknow Jail regarding the removal of a picture of Lord Krishna from ward no. 9 has been resented by other prisoners who have resolved to hang similar pictures in their wards. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of April 24 appeals to Government to make arrangements for special diet and other facilities for Muslim prisoners during the fast of the month of *Ramzan*. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 23 urges the Congress and Government officials to publish a more detailed *communiqué* regarding the circumstances attending the tragic death of Haji Muhib-ud-din Shah in the Basti Jail. The same paper of April 25 deplores that the Government of Sir Harcourt Butler is not treating political prisoners properly in the matter of food, light, water and communications with their relatives. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 24 has an obscure article in which the editor hints at the possibility of reprisals by frontier tribes for the ill-treatment of *Khilafat* prisoners in Indian jails.

DEMOCRAT, 25th April, 1922.
PRATAP, 24th April, 1922.
MANSUR, 24th April, 1922.
HAMDAM, 23rd and 25th April, 1922.
HINDUSTANI, 24th April, 1922.

III.—National Poems.

The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of April 21 has a poem wondering why an exhibition was held at Debi Patan (Gonda) in these days of financial stringency. The same paper has a poem on repression saying that the spirit of Indians cannot be crushed even by hangings, not to speak of imprisonments. The same paper has a poem condemning the imprisonment of Gandhi for speaking the truth and saying that the movement for Indian freedom will continue to grow. The tyranny of the tyrant has reached its climax and traitors and spies are strutting as title-holders. The *Maryada* (Benares) for *Phalgun* publishes a poem by *Eka-Rstriya Hridaya* saying that the non-co-operators will suffer all hardships in the cause of the country passively, but will no longer allow hypocrites and diplomats to have their own way in the country.

OUDH PUNCH, 21st April, 1922.
MARYADA, *for Phaljun*

KAVI for April, 1922.

The *Kavi* (Gorakhpur) for April publishes a number of poems by different writers on the refrain "Thou ridest rough shod over the hearts of the poor"; some of the more important lines of these are translated below:—

The robbers of the country, the dogs of law courts,
muster in their shops from 10 a.m.
When the *kisans* demand their rights, they say they (the *kisans*) are making *fuss* for nothing.
They pounce on the dead *kisans* like vultures.
Great distress prevails in the Holy land of India, O God!
Every home is in trouble in the matter of food and drink.
The tyrants oppress us day and night and insult us by their airs.
They hurl untold abuses upon us and stain our prestige.

AJ, 26th April, 1922.

Aj (Benares) of April 26 contains a poem by Nathu Ram Shankar Sharma, some of the important lines of which are translated below:—

O bureaucracy! scrape our hearts gleefully.
Fill the marshy lake with the blood of the simple-natured India.
Make yourself fat by feeding on our flesh.
May people like Dyer and O'Dwyer practise oppression and may the murdered lie writhing in agony.
May heavy taxation plunder the people like Bhils.

ABHYUDAYA, 22nd April, 1922.

The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of April 22 contains four poems by Maulana Khujandi, read in a poetical competition in the Agra Jail. Important lines are given below:—

Appoint O'Dwyer in place of Montagu.
We cannot fear the murderer when we are ready to die.
Let them perpetrate oppression to the utmost.
We will not fear Curzon or Churchill in the least.
Whether it be a loan subscription or tax, give it to Government.
O God! we are tired of this shameless beggar.
Who could lead an honourable life in your régime.
Every one became a slave and was disgraced.
We always remained firm on our vow of fidelity.
Your head was intoxicated with pride.
You always worried the lives of those who were sincerely desirous of sacrificing their life for you.

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

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I.—POLITICS.

The international situation.

1. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 4 foreshadows another great war in Europe and prays to God that if the earth is at all thirsty, she should not suck the blood of the poor and the innocent, but quench her thirst with the blood of those who oppress the helpless. In the wit and humour column the same paper of May 3 says that the Bolsheviks have spread a good snare in the Genoa Conference. They made Mr. Lloyd George dance, outwitted France and commenced negotiations with Germany; now the news has been received that they have given a garden party to the German delegates. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 3 says that the Genoa Conference has proved a dismal failure from Mr. Lloyd George's standpoint as none of his cherished schemes have succeeded. The *Mecca Medina* (Moradabad) of May 2 says that of the Allies it is England alone which is actively pursuing an anti-Turkish policy.

VARTMAN, 4th and 3rd May, 1922.

HAMDAM, 3rd May, 1922.

MECCA MEDINA, 2nd May, 1922.

The Middle East.

2. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 27 says that the news of Enver Pasha being engaged in hostilities in Bokhara against the Bolsheviks is as false as that of his arrest at the instance of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, and is only a clever piece of propaganda to set the Turks, Bolsheviks, Afghans, Bokharans, Enverites and other Muslims by the ears. The suggestion that certain Indian *Khilafat* leaders should visit Turkey is inspired by the desire to pour cold water over the enthusiasm of Indian Muslims by displaying the cleavage between the Thracians and Anatolians. The Genoa Conference also was meant to wean away the Bolsheviks from the Turks.

HINDUSTANI, 27th April, 1922.

Egypt.

3. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 30 warns the powers that be in Egypt that if Zaghlul's health suffers in the Seychelles it would be impossible to restore order in the land of the Nile. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of April 28 ridicules at the title of Shah granted to the Khedive of Egypt and says that he is only a British agent like the Shah of the Hedjaz.

HAMDAM, 30th April, 1922.

OUDH PUNCH, 28th April, 1922.

MEDINA, 28th April, 1922.

4. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 28 says that the condition of India has gone from bad to worse owing to the imperialistic policy of Great Britain. The Frontier policy which is being pursued in the name of the protection of the minorities is making matters still worse. The Government of India is under no moral obligation to protect some of the jirgas. This policy will foster ill-feeling between Afghanistan and India, and if the Government of India cannot view with favour the progress recently made by Afghanistan, it had better openly declare war against her.

North-West Frontier.

PRA'TAP, 1st May, 1922.

5. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of May 1 contends that it is not difficult by picketing to bring about a complete boycott of foreign cloth, if proper methods are employed by competent men. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 5 says that bureaucratic atrocities have completely alienated the country now. The non-co-operation struggle will recommence in full swing in the months of June and July when every child of the soil will advance to sacrifice his life at the altar of liberty. *Aj* (Benares) of April 28 says that reduction in municipal receipts and the growing Hindu-Muhammadan unity are proof positive of the success and non-violent character of the non-co-operation movement. The same paper of April 29 condemns the official policy of removing members of municipalities convicted of technical political offences. This shows that municipalities are by no means free bodies. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of May 1 says that non-co-operators should assume their leonine aspect and tear open the system of government which insults lions by calling them dogs, sucks the blood of the poor and sends innocent men to jail. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of April 30 has an article comparing the genius of Gandhi with that of Lenin. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of April 27 supports the view of Patel that no change should be made in the Congress programme until Mr. Gandhi and thousands of other non-co-operators are set at liberty. The *Matri Bhoomi* (Cawnpore) of May 3 urges the removal of the curse of untouchability which gives opportunity to our rulers to follow the policy of "divide and rule". The same paper of May 2 says that Lord Meston is wrong in holding that the non-co-operators will be frightened by repression. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 30 urges the Congress to carry on propaganda work in England, Japan and the United States. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 28 publishes a report from Bahraich to the effect that on the night of the 16th ultimo some boys held a mock trial of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers at the Chhoti Sangat at which death sentence was passed on these leaders. Shortly after the farce was over one of the boys who acted as judge was accidently burnt to death and other boys who participated fell ill beyond hope of recovery. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of April 25 says that Indian discontent is growing apace and if Government does not temper repression with reforms anarchism is sure to thrive in the country. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 27 publishes the account of the dream of an individual who dreamt that Mr. Gandhi had advised the representation of the Congress at the Genoa Conference and a change in the Congress programme in the light of the latest experience and had also advised the Working Committee of the Congress at Bombay to take up the question of foreign propaganda. *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of April 27 appeals to the moderates to non-co-operate with Government now that it has gagged even Pandit Malaviya. The same paper of May 3, referring to Sir Charles Yates' remark in Parliament that Mr. Gandhi should be burnt, says that had India not been pledged to non-violence just now, this gentleman would have had to pay heavily for his impertinence.

AJ, 28th and 29th April, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 1st May, 1922.

KARTAVYA, 30th April, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 27th April, 1922.

MATRI BHOOMI, 3rd and 2nd May, 1922.

HAMDAM, 30th April, 1922.

MEDINA, 28th April, 1922.

AL BASHIR, 25th April, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 27th April, 1922.

AL AMAN, 27th April, and 3rd May, 1922.

HAMDAM, 27th April, 1922.

HINDUSTANI, 27th April, 1922.

MATRI BHOOMI, 4th May, 1922.

6. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of April 27 urges non-co-operators to secure a working majority in every municipality in the United Provinces at the forthcoming elections. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of April 27 says that the Congress has already allowed the capture of the District and Municipal Boards and the capture of the Councils is essential for the success of the *khaddar* programme. The *Matri Bhoomi* (Cawnpore) of May 4 is opposed to re-entry into the Councils and says that valuable time should not be wasted over fruitless discussion, but utilized in furthering the constructive programme of the Congress.

Non-co-operators in Municipalities and Councils.

7. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of April 23 says that the judgment given in the case of Dr. Syed Mahmood of Patna shows that adherence to non-violence is the greatest sin in the eyes of Government, as it is this non-violence of which Government is most afraid. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of May 4 expresses regret that bullets are freely used in dispersing crowds in India while other methods are used in European countries. Referring to reports of police and military atrocities in Assam in which even women were dishonoured, *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of May 3 says that policemen and soldiers become guilty of such excesses simply because they enjoy immunity from punishment. The *Nava Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of April 26 publishes a contributed article in which the writer, a lady, deplores insults to women and exhorts them to retaliate whenever they might be insulted. The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of April 30 has a story on the Jallianwala Bagh, dwelling on the "atrocities" and wondering how long God will remain unmoved and allow unjust and oppressive officials to continue to perpetrate such acts of tyranny. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of April 27 says that the Government forfeited the security of the *Utsah* Press only with a view to regularise the unjust action of the District Magistrate of Jhansi who was burning with rage against the Press and wanted to crush it anyhow. The Magistrate's order of the 27th April was quite irregular.

Repression.

NAJAT, 23rd April, 1922.

AL BUREED, 4th May, 1922.

AL AMAN, 3rd May, 1922.

NAVA BHARAT, 26th April, 1922.

KARTAVYA, 30th April, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 27th April, 1922.

II.—ADMINISTRATION.

8. The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of April 25 publishes the report of the "Deputation of the Sevasangh and Rajputana Central India Peoples' Association" under the following headlines:—"General massacre of peaceful Bhils in the Sirohi State. Several hundred houses reduced to ashes! A pregnant Bhil lady burnt alive and cattle killed." The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of April 29 gives an account of the atrocities perpetrated on the Bhils in the Sirohi State and says that the matter has not been settled yet. It is to be seen what the upshot of these acts of cold blooded cruelty will be.

Sirohi State.

NORTHERN STAR, 25th April, 1922.

ABHYUDAYA, 29th April, 1922.

9. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of May 1, referring to the Madras Government's recent *communiqué* regarding the award of compensation of Rs. 300 to the family of each Moplah who died in the Malabar prison van tragedy, points out how cheap Indian life is regarded in comparison with European life. *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of May 3 says that the compensations awarded to the dependants of the Indian victims of the prison van tragedy is insignificant as compared with that allowed to the European victims of the Amritsar riots. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 2 appeals for funds for the relief of the distressed Moplahs.

Moplahs.

MEDINA, 1st May, 1922.

AL AMAN, 3rd May, 1922.

HAMDAM, 2nd May, 1922.

10. The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of April 23 urges the continuation of the embargo on the export of wheat.

Wheat export.

OUDH AKHBAR, 23rd April, 1922.

11. The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of May 5 hopes that the Punjab Government will consider the report of the Congress Enquiry Committee and make amends for the police and official high-handedness in various districts of the Punjab.

Punjab affairs.

OUDH AKHBAR, 5th May, 1922.

12. *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of April 25 says that a commission comprising an equal number of Indians and Eurasians should be appointed with a view to fix equal pay for employés of both races on the East Indian Railway and to arrange for better treatment of Indians by Eurasians.

Railways.

AL BASHIR, 25th April, 1922.

13. The *Oudh Punch* (Lucknow) of April 28 protests against the waste of money on the Repressive Laws Enquiry Committee and says that the new form of declaration required from printers is even more vexatious than that under the old Press Act.

Repressive Laws Committee.

OUDH PUNCH, 28th April, 1922.

14. The *Shakti* (Almora) of May 2 dwells upon the forest policy of the Forest department in Kumaun and says that the recommendations made by the Forest Committee are elusive and do not secure permanent rights to the people. The paper urges the people to have recourse to non-co-operation for the attainments of *swaraj* which alone will free their forests for them.

Forest.

SHAKTI, 2nd May, 1922.

BHARAT BANDHU, 27th April, 1922.

Police.

15. The *Bharat Bandhu* (Hathras) of April 27 publishes a note by a correspondent which refers to the judgment of the Sessions Judge, Aligarh, in the case of King-Emperor *versus* Lotan Singh, etc. (Aligarh district) in which the learned Judge remarked that "the Station Officer had deliberately perjured himself." The correspondent says that this independent judgment has led to no result. Mr. R. N. Chakarverty, the Thanadar of Sikandra Rao, has now become the Kotwal of Aligarh. If any high officer were to conduct an enquiry with the aid of a good Criminal Investigation department man into the conduct of the Sikandra Rao police he would find how they are harassing and intimidating the public by bringing false charges against them.

MATRI BHOOMI, 2nd May, 1922.

Arms licences.

16. The *Matri Bhoomi* (Cawnpore) of May 2 says that Government appears to be moved by vengeance in the matter of cancelling arms licenses.

DEMOCRAT, 3rd May, 1922.

Political prisoners.

17. The *Democrat* (Extraordinary) (Allahabad) of May 3 publishes an account of the incident connected with Lord Krishna's picture being removed from ward no. 9 and of Mr. Ranga Aiyer (who acted as spokesman of the prisoners who resented this treatment) being confined in a solitary cell. This incident has been reported and commented on by other papers also. Commenting on the official *communiqué* regarding the Alipur Jail outbreak, the *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 3 asks for better and more human treatment of Indian prisoners. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of May 1 says that unless differential treatment of prisoners of the same class disappears, the treatment of respectable political prisoners is distinct from that of low class ordinary criminals and display of armed force even at the slightest hint of unrest is done away with, matters will go from bad to worse. The *Haqiqat* (Lucknow) of April 28 says that the news of the ill-treatment of political prisoners in the Sitapur Jail would appear to show that the district has been brought under the control of the Punjab Government. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of May 1 contains the first instalment of an article in which the writer attempts to contradict the view that political prisoners are treated well and observes that differential treatment is meted out to them. He instances the case of the ill-treatment of political prisoners in the Partabgarh and Agra Jails as also of Mr. Gandhi and says that political prisoners in this province are sharing the hardships of rigorous imprisonment with ordinary criminals, as the authorities are bent upon prosecuting national workers under ordinary laws in order that questions of differential treatment may not arise. The zamindars are incited to harass the non-co-operators and to implicate them in cases.

HAMDAM, 3rd May, 1922.

MEDINA, 1st May, 1922.

HAQIQAT, 28th April, 1922.

PRATAP, 1st May, 1922.

III.—Politico-religious.

HAMDAM, 4th May, 1922.

The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 4, referring to the warning of the Jhansi *Khilafat* Secretary to intending pilgrims about unsettled conditions in the Hedjaz, appeals to Government to issue an authoritative statement to reassure Muslims. Referring to reports that those warders and prisoners who had given evidence against the officer who desecrated the Holy *Quran* in the Hazaribagh Jail have been punished, *Al Aman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of May 3 urges an independent enquiry into the whole affair.

AL AMAN, 3rd May, 1922.

IV.—National Poems.

MEDINA, 28th April, 1922.

The *Medina* (Bijnor) of April 28 contains a poem, some of the more important lines of which are translated below:—

Liars and greedy men muster there.
The Council is no more the standard bearer of truth.
We are throttled even if our lips move.
The Joseph of the caravan is a prisoner in the hands of the enemy.
The times of the advent of *swaraj* is not far now.

AL AMAN, 27th April, 1922.

MANSUR, 1st May, 1922

Al Aman (Nagina, Bijnor) of April 27 publishes poems deploring the plight of Medina under the rule of the enemies of Islam and appealing for help to Islam. The *Mansur* (Bijnor) of May 1 has a poem saying that Mustapha

Kemal will free Arabia from her conquerors. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of April 27 publishes a poem by Gulab Ratna Bajpai, in which among others the following lines occur:— SWARAJYA, 27th April, 1922.

"The sinful have again invaded the houses (of non-co-operators)."
"They are powerful; they may seize the latter by force, but brute force can never succeed in the long run."

The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of April 30 publishes a poem by Vashishtha Narayan, saying that non-co-operators will bravely face bullets in conveying the message of liberty to the people and that many laws are enacted to oppress the people. KARTAVYA, 30th April, 1922.

The *Maryada* (Benares) for *Phalgun* publishes a poem by "*Rashtriya Atma*" on the "non-violent struggle." Brute force is to be met with non-violence and soul force. Hypocrites will no longer be allowed to have their own way in India. MARYADA., for *Phalgun*

The *Matri Bhoomi* (Cawnpore) of May 3 has a poem saying that non-co-operators should bless the oppressors for their tyrannies. MATRI BHOOMI, 3rd May, 1922.

The *Vartman* (Cownpore) of April 28 contains a poem, some of the important lines of which are translated below:— VARTMAN, 28th April, 1922.

The day is about to come when the tyrants who take pleasure in ruining us today
Will hold their heads and weep.
Methods are devised to ruin us.
The tyrants always invent new ways of oppression.

The *Prem* (Brindaban) of April 28, referring to the remarks of Sir Charles Yate in the House of Commons that Gandhi should be stripped of his clothes and burnt alive like the victims of Chauri Chaura, says that the non-co-operation movement cannot be stopped even if thousands of Indian patriots are hanged or burnt alive in addition to the Mahatma. The following lines are quoted:— PREM, 28th April, 1922.

Thou mayest oppress to thy heart's content.
Fowler! Thou wilt thyself be wiped out of existence.
India is about to kick the tyrants in a few days.
We are peaceful and thou art perpetrating coercion.
This ignorance of thine will put an end to thy existence.

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD:
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I.—Politics.

The Genoa Conference.

1. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of May 3 regards the recent tactics of Mr. Lloyd George at the Genoa Conference as inspired by satanic cunning, but says that they will end in failure. — NAJAT, 3rd May, 1922.

Turkey.

2. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of May 3 compares the Italian and British attitudes towards Turkey with a view to show that the latter is really inimical. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 11 says that now that France and Italy have entered into separate agreements with the Turks, Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon are trying to move other Balkan states to help the Greeks. His Highness Sir Agha Khan has also given a solemn warning to the British Government regarding its attitude towards Turkey. — NAJAT, 3rd May, 1922. HAMDAM, 11th May, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

3. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of May 4 says that the limits of non-violence should be clearly defined so that it may not be possible for Government to point to incidents like Chauri Chaura whenever civil disobedience is about to be started. *Aj* (Benares) of May 7 says that the deputation of Professor Horne to America at the expense of India exposes the hollowness of the reforms and of the powers of the Indian Legislative Assembly. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 14 has the following:—"What does the following from a Muslim correspondent in the *Advocate of India* portend? 'Mian Mohamad Chhotani and the Agha Khan have done yeoman service to the cause of the *Khilafat*, and Musalmans feel deeply grateful to them, but their place is in India and not in England. They must leave the *Khilafat* cause in the hands of Lord Reading to fight it out with the British Cabinet and take up the Muslim cause in India and get them their dues. Muslims have been so engrossed with the *Khilafat* problem that rival communities have stolen a march upon them and left them in the lurch. There are already signs of awakening and even a *swarajist* of Hasrat Mohani's type has found it necessary to reconstruct the Muslim League for the protection of Islamic interests. The Government have given up their policy of favouring the Muhammadans and the Hindus are angry that the Muhammadans have deserted them and gone over to the Government.' Would some believer in the modern brand of Hindu-Muslim unity based on the common hatred of — HINDUSTANI, 4th May, 1922. AJ, 7th May, 1922. LEADER, 14th May, 1922

a third party, not common territorial nationalism, answer the question put above?" The *Najat* (Bijnor) of April 30 advises the Congress to change its policy. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 6 says that in the struggle for supremacy between the forces of good and evil the former are getting the upper hand now. The tyrants should therefore beware and refrain from sucking the blood of the poor.

NAJAT, 30th April, 1922.
VARTMAN, 6th May, 1922.

4. The *Matri Bhoomi* (Cawnpore) of May 7, commenting on Hasrat Mohani's conviction, wonders how mere expressions of opinion can constitute sedition. *Aj* (Benares) of the same date asks what use there is of jurors and assessors when their opinions are flouted and when sentences are decided upon before the trial is begun. The jury system in India, unlike England, is thus a mere farce. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 8 says that the arrest of Hasrat Mohani can be of no use now as he has already fulfilled his mission. Those who have arrested him must remember that they can only keep his mortal frame in chains, but can never arrest the speed of the struggle for liberty which he inaugurated. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 10 says that by going against the unanimous verdict of the jury, the Sessions Judge has created a new precedent in the annals of Indian political trials. The public is not at all satisfied that justice has been done in the case against Hasrat Mohani.

MATRI BHOOMI, 7th May, 1922.
M. Hasrat Mohani.
AJ, 7th May, 1922.
VARTMAN, 8th May, 1922.
HAMDAM, 10th May, 1922.

5. The *Prem* (Brindaban) of May 5, commenting on Colonel Yates' recent speech in Parliament, suggests sarcastically that the Colonel should be sent to India as Viceroy with his brother General Dyer in order that it may be able to see how much repression he is capable of practising. No amount of repression can crush the non-co-operation movement. In an open letter to Lord Reading, the *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 12 says that all the attempts of the Viceroy to break the non-co-operation movement have proved futile. His inconsiderate policy has alienated the sympathies even of his best friends, and if he persists in it the moderates will also desert him. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 14 in an article on official excesses agrees with "*New India*" which says that unrestrained conduct in the preservation of peace and tranquility is retaliation pure and simple and should be punished. The same paper says that a reaction has now definitely set in against the lawless movement and faith in the non-co-operation movement is declining, therefore Government should modify its policy and show its benevolent instead of its coercive aspect. Government has vindicated its authority and there are few people now left who doubt its strength or its capacity to enforce its will. Referring to the burning of the Gandhi cap of a certain gentleman of the Bilaspur local Board by the Superintendent of Police and to the ill-treatment of a certain vakil by the Deputy Commissioner of Sylhet, the *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of May 8 says that "it is impossible to expect from officials that they will not burn Gandhi caps or will cease to insult people when they can make Hemlata senseless by dragging her, can take photographs of girls in a state of nudity, can thrust sticks into the private parts of Indians and can kill unarmed people in a few minutes. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 12 is sorry to note that even after the utter failure of the martial law experiment in the Punjab in 1919 excesses are again being committed and people are again being humiliated in the name of law and order. The complaint made by Mr. Sanatanam at the Batala Conference regarding the humiliation of a town for honouring Mr. Fazal Haq should be enquired into and all officials guilty of excesses should be punished. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 9 invites the attention of Government to the Congress reports about the atrocities committed by the Sitapur officials and asks for deterrent punishment of those who are found guilty on enquiry.

PREM, 5th May, 1922.
Repression.
VARTMAN, 12th May, 1922.
LEADER, 14th May, 1922.
PHAKKAR, 8th May, 1922.
LEADER, 12th May, 1922.
HAMDAM, 9th May, 1922.

6. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of May 8 publishes a contributed article in which the writer says that the atrocious high-handednesses which are being perpetrated on the *kisans* in Oudh show that there is no one to sympathise with the *kisans*.

PRATAP, 8th May, 1922.
The *aika* movement.

II.—Administration.

Political prisoners.

7. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 10 condems the Bombay Government's ill-treatment of the political prisoners and urges it to see that Maulana Husain Ahmad is provided with special facilities in the Sabarmati Jail in these days of the *Ramzan*. The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of May 6 publishes a report of the ill-treatment of political prisoners in which the correspondent says that Shah Saqhir Husain, who has been transferred from Fyzabad to the Naini Central Jail, will, it is feared, again be prosecuted. He with other Muslim prisoners who were keeping fast had gathered in a certain place to say their prayers after taking their meals. The Superintendent ordered them to get into the barracks. These men asked to be shut up after they had finished their prayers, but the Superintendent did not listen to them and began to act in a high-handed manner. It is said that Raza Husain was wrapped in a blanket and hurled in. The Deputy Commissioner was informed. He came with a force. Fortunately firing was not resorted to and these political prisoners were sent to different jails for hard work. In its wit and humour column, the *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 6 says that political prisoners in the Lucknow Jail are now required to clean utensils and latrines. So much the better. When they return home they should pension off their *Kahars* and *Bhangis*.

HAMDAM, 10th May, 1922.

ABHYUDAYA, 6th May, 1922.

VARTMAN, 6th May, 1922.

The Chauri Chaura outrage.

8. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 12 complains that the letter of the Commissioner of the Gorakhpur division in connection with the attack by the police on volunteers at Shohratganj in the Basti district is very laconic. It enquires why the circumstances preceding the death of Budhai Chamar have not been described. It is not known whether he was among those beaten; whether he was beaten the very day before his death; whether his body was examined before cremation; and whether he was suffering from any acute or chronic disease. Similar details are wanting regarding other incidents also like the burning of the hut and tending of the injured. Under what law is the dispersal by force of picketers sanctioned?

LEADER, 12th May, 1922.

Indemnity to Moplah victims.

9. Referring to the remark of the *Pioneer* "whether the giving of indemnity to the victims of the Malabar train tragedy can be the work of any oppressive tyrant, the *Medina* (Bijnor) of May 5 says that the answer is in the affirmative. It asks whether a decision to the contrary which is so common in this unhappy land of India can be said to be the work of any human society. In view, however, of the moral and mental turpitude of the bureaucracy, the paper agrees with its contemporary in regarding this act as unnatural and superhuman.

MEDINA, 5th May, 1922.

III.—Politico-religious.

The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 7 publishes a poem by Bramha Sarup Sharma, some of the important lines of which are translated below :—

VARTMAN, 7th May, 1922.

You dropped bombs on the armless with impunity.
O coward we have seen thy valour.
How can we call you honest
When you have committed perjury.

The *Prabha* (Cawnpore) for May publishes a poem complaining of the severity of taxation in the British *raj*. The *Prem* (Brindaban) of May 5 contains a poem, some of the important lines of which are translated below :—

PRABHA for May, 1922.
PREM, 5th May, 1922.

You will be destroyed like Kansa.
Your high-handednesses will now come to an end.
The sighs of the oppressed will wipe thee out of existence.
Bhushan is waiting for the Day of Judgment.

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

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I.—Politics.

The Genoa Conference.

1. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of May 14 ridicules the failure of British diplomacy at the Genoa Conference and says that it cannot succeed unless it is based on righteousness. HINDUSTANI, 14th May, 1922.

The *Anand* (Lucknow) of May 16 says that if the Genoa Conference proves futile, Mr. Lloyd George will conclude a separate agreement with the Bolsheviks as British trade has reached its low-water mark and England cannot afford to lose such a fat customer as Russia. With the revival of trade jealousies the Allies also are bound to break from each other and this would be another achievment to the credit of the masterly diplomacy of the Bolsheviks. The *Aj* (Benares) of May 17 approves of the Russian reply at the Genoa Conference to the Allied note. It appeals to Italy and Britain to spare no efforts to preserve the peace of the world. The British attitude so far shows that though the Genoa Conference is bound to end in failure, it will at least clear the way for a new European collaboration. ANAND, 16th May, 1922. AJ, 17th May, 1922.

Fgypt.

2. The *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of May 16 says that the agitation for the separation of the Sudan from Egypt has been engineered by British diplomats and Lord Allenby simply to serve their selfish ends and create discord and civil war between the Sudan and Egypt. AL BUREED, 16th May, 1922.

Non-co operation.

3. In the English columns, the *Aj* (Benares) of May 10 refers to the submerging of the race-question in the more serious question of officials *versus* non-officials as evidenced by Lord Willingdon's rebuke to the Reverend Mr. Popley, the incarcerrtion of Mr. Stokes and Mr. Miller on the one hand and the unflinching support given even to the pettiest constable despite his outrages on innocent persons on the other. AJ, 10th May, 1922.

The *Nav-Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of May 10 expressing resentment at the recent utterance of Sir Charles Yate, says that the Chauri Chaura tragedy has no connection with the non-co-operation movement. It upbraids British sense of justice and love of freedom. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 15 condemns Mr. S. N. Ghose's lying propaganda in America. He has only recently stated that troops withdrawn from Ireland are being sent to India to stifle the national movement there and that M. Gandhi will lead to a big rising. The same paper NON-BHARAT, 10th May, 1922. LEADER, 15th May, 1922.

of the same date welcomes the admission of Mr. Rajagopalan, a prominent Madrasi non-co-operator, that the Congress programme was a losing one and should be modified. Deprecating the idea of any change in the Congress creed, the *Shakti* (Almora) of May 16 says that we cannot possibly kiss the blood-stained hands of the Government by co-operating with it in any way. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of May 17, in the course of a lengthy article, criticises Western civilisation and says that, contrary to the teaching of Christ, Belgian rubber-planters cut the breasts of women and hands and feet of men and children for slight offences. The selling of children by capitalists and German atrocities during the War are common samples of Western civilisation. Those Indians who are still dazed by the false glamour of European civilization should shake off the bonds of slavery and should completely boycott European culture. Unless they do so, the future of their country will be dark. The *Aj* (Benares) of May 17 ridicules the appeal of the *Leader* and the *New India* for generosity and mercy to the non-co-operators. As the struggle is to be a prolonged and bitter one, the non-co-operators want strict justice alone which is their undisputed birthright. The *Matrabhumi* (Cawnpore) of May 18 justifies the action of Pandit Jawahir Lall Nehru in persuading cloth merchants to sign pledges not to purchase foreign cloth in future and strongly criticises the article of a co-operator published in the *Leader* of May 13.

SHAKTI, 16th May, 1922.

PHAKKAR, 17th May, 1922.

AJ, 17th May, 1922.

MATRABHUMI, 18th May, 1922.

VARTMAN, 18th May, 1922.

4. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 18 says that the fact that the Bureaucracy is introducing methods of meanness and brutality in repressing non-co-operation activities shows that the cup of its iniquities is now full and it is on its last legs.

Repressions.

OUDH AKHBAR, 20th May, 1922.

5. The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of May 20 urges the Government of India to abandon its present policy of undue interference in the internal affairs of Native States and to allow them to develop their military strength.

Native States.

VARTMAN, 18th May, 1922.

6. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 17 bewails the arrest of Messrs. Devi Das Gandhi and Jawahir Lal Nehru, who have fallen victims to the crooked policy of the Bureaucracy and exhorts the youngmen of India to make ready to sacrifice themselves on the alter of liberty.

Messrs. Jawahir Lal Nehru and Devi Das Gandhi.

II.—Administration.

PRATAP, 15th May, 1922.

7. Animadverting on the death of the political prisoner Awadh Narain in the Lucknow district jail the *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of May 15 publishes a string of complaints regarding the ill-treatment of political prisoners, the congestion in the wards and the want of proper supply of food and water. It holds the callous attitude of the Superintendent and the inadequacy of medical aid as specially responsible for the death.

Political prisoners.

LEADER, 15th May, 1922.

8. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 15 urges Government to grant compensation to the victims of the Punjab episode of 1919 in accordance with the recommendations of the Punjab Legislative Council.

Indemnity to the Punjab victims.

HAMDAM, 16th May, 1922.

9. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 16 wonders why the magistrates in certain districts are enforcing the Press Act even after its repeal.

The Press Act.

MATRABHUMI, 17th May, 1922.

10. The *Matrabhumi* (Cawnpore) of May 17 publishes a report from a correspondent regarding looting and firing by armed policemen and *bahchyás* in village Salim, district Etah, in which one man was killed and three wounded, while the superintendent of police who accompanied them had gone to a neighbouring village.

The police.

OUDH AKHBAR, 17th May, 1922.

11. The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of May 17 emphasising the necessity for the spread of agricultural education in India hopes that the Government will pay more attention to the advancement of agriculture and that the well-wishers of the country will see that the cultivators give up their conservatism.

Agricultural education.

III.—MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 15 is sorry that a book entitled "Yarns on Heroes of India," published by the United Council for Missionary Society, contains attacks on the morality of Indians. LEADER, 15th May, 1922.

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

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I.—POLITICS.

The Genoa Conference.

1. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of May 20 says that the Genoa Conference is doomed to failure and will be the precursor of another world war in the near future. *Alaman* (Nagina, Bijnor) of May 23 echoes the remarks of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *the Bombay Chronicle* that the Genoa Conference would prove the Waterloo of Mr. Lloyd George, who has failed in his attempt to get rid of the Turko-Bolshevic alliance that menaced the British position in the Near East. Referring to the joint commissions proposed by the Genoa Conference, the *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 23 says that neither Russia is an insignificant power nor have the Allies the courage and strength to force it to accept the decisions of the commission. Mr. Lloyd George is very anxious for the success of the conference because his power depends on the success or failure of the conference. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 25 forecasts a second European war in the near future, for which, it says, preparations are in progress. Disastrous consequences will result to Britain specially from this war and possible alliance of Russia, Germany and Turkey is expected. The Genoa Conference would have patched up a temporary peace, but owing to the short-sightedness of Britain and France it ended in secret treaties and diplomacies.

AL BUREED, 20th May, 1920.

ALAMAN, 23rd May, 1922.

HAMDAM. 23rd May, 1922.

VARTMAN, 25th May, 1922.

Turkey.

2. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of May 21 says that the Allies have tried all their weapons against the Turks. They are now trying to conceal their helplessness and spoil the Turko-Russian alliance. The Englishmen now want to excite religious prejudices by appointing a Christian commission to enquire into the tyrannies of the Turks and thus arouse the feelings of the Christian world against them. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of May 24 says that a Government which does not allow enquiry commissions to proceed to the smitten lands of Malabar has not the face to ask the Turks to allow its own commission of enquiry to proceed to Asia Minor in connection with the Greek massacre.

HINDUSTANI, 21st May, 1922.

AL BUREED, 24th May, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

3. The *Shakti* (Almora) of May 23 discusses at length the speech of Dr. Stanley Jones and says that the universal brotherhood preached by Jesus Christ cannot be practised under the rule of the English who are his so-called followers. The

SHAKTI, 23rd May, 1922.

paper further observes that the non-co-operation movement would be a world-wide movement for redressing grievances without the use of brute force.

AJ, 24th May, 1922.

Aj (Benares) of May 24 says that dependence on foreign cloth is the chief cause of the poverty and subjection of India. It appeals to the people to use *kkaddar* and *swadeshi* materials.

PHAKKAR, 26th May, 1922.

The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of May 26 says that misery and suffering are but a token of the measure of national achievement. The paper exhorts people to have fortitude and patience and to be non-violent till they realise their cherished aim. In its wit and humour column the *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of May 26 says that there would be erected thousands of memorial wells like the one of 1857 in Cawnpore at the inauguaration of the *satyagraha* movement at Bardauli for the next time.

PHAKKAR, 22nd May, 1922.

Self-government.

4. The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of May 22 says that the Indian army over which so much expenditure is being incurred, and for which poor Indians are being heavily taxed, is not kept to defend India from foreign aggression, as there is no such danger, but to crush legitimate Indian aspirations. The paper, quoting the names of ancient and modern kings whose kingdoms fell owing to their tyranny and cruelty says "so will the British empire end if it will not grant self-government soon to Indians."

NAV BHARAT, 17th May, 1922.

M. Hasrat Mohani.

5. The *Nav Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of May 17 says that repression has taken a form ugly enough to lacerate the human soul and that the conviction of Hasrat Mohani is unjustifiable and arbitrary. The paper says that the whole of India is a vast prison in which thirty-three crores are prisoners. If the horrors of repression will mutiply, India will not remain non-violent and the bureaucracy would learn the bitter lesson of its folly.

NAV BHARAT, 17th May, 1922.

Repression.

6. The *Nav Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of May 17, in an open letter to Lord Reading, says that the non-co-operation movement has beneath it highly explosive materials and no human agency can ever crush it. The country would become full of innumerable Gandhis who would sacrifice their lives for the liberation of their country.

KARTAVYA, 20th May, 1922.

The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of May 20 publishes a letter from Mr. Shadi Lall, Secretary, District Congress Committee, Ajitpur (Etawah), in which he says that the days of the British Government are numbered and the bureaucracy has lost all wisdom in dealing with non-co-operators.

AJ, 20th May, 1922.

Aj (Benares) of May 20 publishes a contributed article in which the writer complains that repression is again in full swing. He advises Lord Reading to realise the seriousness of the situation and to release forthwith all the leaders now rotting in jails.

KARTAVYA, 20th May, 1922.

The *Kartavya* (Etawah) of May 20 says "as non-co-operation makes headway, the horrors of repression will multiply. The power-loving bureaucracy has made up its mind to give quietus to the movement for ever, but so long as this system of government exists we should not expect anything better."

PRATAP, 22nd May, 1922.

The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of May 22 institutes a comparison between Mogul rulers and British administrators, and says that while the Mogul rulers were wont to punish their subordinate officers for misrule and injustice to their subjects, the British Government supports and justifies their misconduct by passing Indemnity Bills. The paper further observes that the Government of Sir Harcourt Butler does not care a fig for atrocities that are committed in Sitapore and elsewhere, while such things were unknown in pre-British days.

VARTMAN, 24th and 25th May, 1922.

The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 24 says that we should rather welcome repression as an indication of the Government's perplexity and as an index of our own success, as a stimulus to further efforts, and as a sure guarantee that we are nearing the goal of *swaraj* and freedom. In its wit and humour column, the same paper of May 25 says that the British Government can declare martial law without any rhyme or reason, as it has imprisoned Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru without any offence. In the same column the paper says that if peaceful picketting has been considered an offence, let twenty thousand volunteers come forward for this purpose.

AJ, 20th May, 1922.

Mr. Lloyd George.

7. *Aj* (Benares) of May 20 says that Mr. Lloyd George would tenaciously cling to his office though he may have to sacrifice his colleagues and Government measures may be defeated in Parliament, and thus his corrupt rule is not likely to come to an end soon.

8. The *Hindustani* (Lucknow) of May 21 is confident that Lord Reading would soon proceed to England on two or three months' leave, and says that if matters do not improve even after that, then it would be best for him to tender his resignation.

HINDUSTANI, 21st May, 1922.

Lord Reading.

9. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 18 says that the relief provided for the bereaved families of the unfortunate Moplah victims of the train tragedy by the Government has been very inadequate. Moslems should subscribe to the Moplah relief fund opened by the *Jamiat-ul-Ulemas*, and the Government in its turn should welcome all efforts that the public and the Musalmans may make to restore peace and order in Malabar.

HAMDAM, 18th May, 1922.

Indemnity to Moplah victims.

II.—Administration.

10. *Alaman* (Nagina) of May 19 compares the "generous" treatment of prisoners in the early days of Islam by the Prophet and his followers with the "mean" treatment of the political prisoners by the British Government in India. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 23 supports the suggestions made by Sheikh Shahid Husain regarding reforms in the conditions prevailing in the political jails of these provinces.

ALAMAN, 19th May, 1922.

Political prisoners.

HAMDAM, 23rd May, 1922.

11. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 21 considers that the Government *communiqué* on the Shohratganj affair is not as full as it might be; and that Budhai's death needs further enquiry. *Aj* (Benares) of May 22 criticising the Government *communiqué* about the Shohratganj incident, says that the causes that brought about the death of Budhai are still unrevealed. Instead of doing justice to sufferers and punishing offenders, Government conceals and justifies the acts of policemen.

LEADER, 21st May, 1922.

Shohratganj incident.

AJ, 22nd May, 1922.

12. Referring to the Mulshi Peta affair, the *Medina* (Bijnor) of May 17 says that even the blood-thirsty autocracies of the East can hardly furnish similar examples of oppression and cruelty. Have those people, who can employ Englishmen on big salaries, any right to perpetrate such excesses?

MEDINA, 17th May, 1922.

The Mulshi Peta affair.

13. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 26, referring to the Sitapur *communiqué*, says that it believed that the allegations made by Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru and Pandit Mohan Lal Saxena were unfounded. It thinks, however, that the villagers must have received encouragement from the authorities to attack the non-co-operators, and, as usual, the police are believed to have had a hand in organizing the so-called reprisals on 18th April, 1922.

LEADER, 26th May, 1922.

Alleged official terrorism in Sitapur.

14. The *Jyoti* (Almora) of May 15 appeals to Government for the establishment of Indian Territorial Forces throughout the country, and suggests the possible reduction of military expenditure by giving compulsory military training to all youths.

JYOTI, 15th May, 1922.

The Army.

15. The *Shakti* (Almora) of May 23 warns the inhabitants of Kumaun against the misleading statement of the Publicity Bureau that all jungles belong to Kumaunese, and urges them not to participate in any work connected with the clearing of forests.

SHAKTI, 23rd May, 1922.

Forests.

16. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 21 criticizes the personnel of the committee appointed for the abolition of Commissionerships as containing too many Indian Civil Service officials.

LEADER, 21st May, 1922.

Abolition of Commissionerships.

17. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of May 22 publishes a letter from a correspondent in which he expresses resentment at the thoughtless action of the bureaucracy in destroying in the Dead Letter office all postcards which have not affixed on them an additional one pice stamp according to the new regulations, and suggests that either these cards may be made bearing, as is done in the case of envelopes, or sufficient publicity may be given to these new regulations in villages, as was done in the case of war loan bonds.

PRATAP, 22nd May, 1922.

New postal regulations.

HAMDAM, 18th May, 1922.

Morning hours for Government offices.

18. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of May 18 welcomes the introduction of the summer vacation in the civil courts and urges that relief should be provided for other employés of Government also by holding morning offices during the hot weather.

AJ, 24th May, 1922.

Miscellaneous.

19. *Aj* (Benares) of May 24 says that the posts of Commissioners are quite useless and foresees that the committee appointed to consider this question, consisting as it does mostly of Commissioners, will decide it in their favour.

NATIONAL POEMS.

PHAKKAR, 22nd May, 1922.

The *Phakkar* (Cawnpore) of May 22 contains a poem headed "The Voice of Conscience," in which the following lines may be noted :—

"O wicked one, after ruining us you will soon be going away ;
O cruel one, see, there is nothing in the house to eat.
Like robbers and highwaymen, you are taking away all our wealth ;
When asked what you have done, you begin to frown.
Education that is imparted by you strengthens the bonds of slavery ;
Your unbridled Governors only know how to fire guns."

* * * * * * * *

"O afflicted nation, awake, arise, what sleep art thou sleeping ?
Your leaders are pining in jails for want of food.
Have you no love for your dear Motherland ?
Do you wish that you may figure in history as traitors to your country?"

SWARAJYA, 18th May, 1922.

The *Swarajya* (Unao) of May 18 publishes a poem headed "Destroy All" by Bahadur, the following more important lines of which are translated below :—

Besmear your sword with blood to your heart's desire ;
Let no man escape repression.
Turn the whole of India into *Jallianwala Baghs ;*
Destroy all the *Vedas*,, destroy the *Qoran* ;
Let no God's commands be obeyed in the world.
Let there be no Hindus or the followers of any other religion.
Let there be no greater Satan than yourself ;
Make ineffective the Royal Proclamation of Queen Victoria.
Let Dyer break all laws and promises."

ALAMAN, 23rd May, 1922.

Alaman (Nagina, Bijnor) of May 23 publishes a national poem, important lines of which are translated below :—

"Look here, this is the last chance for you to mend yourself soon ;
O Greek King! do not court death yourself.
Forget your dream of Thrace and Smyrna.
This dream of yours may be a nightmare.
O Britisher ! do not destroy the *Khilafat*,
If you want that storm may not rise.
Tell o *Jauhar* to the British Minister
That he should do what he might not be ashamed of."

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD :

The 27th May, 1922.

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4 JUL 1922
POLICE OFFICE

SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

Published in the UNITED PROVINCES

For the week ending the 3rd June, 1922

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I.—POLITICS.

Turkey.

1. The *Haqiqat* (Lucknow) of May 28 says that the mendacious propaganda regarding the massacre of the Greeks by the Turks is a fresh ruse of British diplomacy. It wonders why the British nation does not take away the reins of Government from these incompetent Ministers who have been instrumental in humiliating Britain and lowering its prestige all over the world. The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of May 29 says that Mr. Lloyd George is desirous of establishing temporary peace in Europe at all costs. But so long as the Turkish question which would be a standing menace to the future peace of the world is not satisfactorily settled, no peace would be possible.

HAQIQAT, 28th May, 1922.

ABHYUDAYA, 29th May, 1922.

Mr. Lloyd George.

2. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 28 condemns the crooked policy of Mr. Lloyd George which has been responsible for recent growth of disruptive tendencies in the British Empire and says that either Mr. Lloyd George or the Empire must go.

VARTMAN, 28th May, 1922.

Repression.

3. The *Mansoor* (Bijnor) of May 24 commenting on the report of the Punjab Congress publicity bureau regarding alleged official brutalities and repression in the Punjab says that the events of 1919 are very rapidly being re-enacted in the unfortunate Punjab and urges that the Government should inflict deterrent punishments on the officials who are disgracing its reputation for civilization. The *Swarajya* (Unao) of May 25 ridicules the British notion of justice, the trial and conviction of Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru and Saresh Nath and says that the souls of bureaucrats would be saved from the clutches of Satan for these iniquities if they declare all non-co-operators as outlaws and punish them in any way they like. The *Aj* (Benares) of May 25 observes that there has been serious miscarriage of justice in the trial of Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru. It says that though the conviction is utterly wrong in law yet during the regime of the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, such things are not strange.

MANSOOR, 24th May, 1922.

SWARAJYA, 25th May, 1922.

AJ, 25th May, 1922.

Native States.

4. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of June 1 appeals to Lord Reading either to secure reasonable measure of freedom for the subjects of Native States or to allow criticism of the administion of Indian States in British India. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of May 29 says that India of to-day will not submit to autocratic rule whether of the white

LEADER, 1st June, 1922.

VARTMAN, 29th May, 1922.

or of the brown bureaucracy. The democratic ideas have found their way into Native States and in spite of sternest repression by some rulers against Congress workers, the inhabitants of Native States are ready to co-operate with British Indian subjects in attaining their national freedom.

II.—ADMINISTRATION.

OUDH AKHBAR, 1st June, 1922.

Political prisoners.

5. The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of June 1 says that the Government *communiqué* on the death of Babu Avadh Narain Lal, a political prisoner in Lucknow jail, shows that the jail authorities were prompt in providing medical assistance for him. It is however a debatable question whether the failure to provide distilled water was in any way responsible for his death. Commenting on a letter by its special correspondent regarding ill-treatment of political prisoners in Lucknow jail, the

BHARAT BANDHU 18th May, 1922.

Bharat Bandhu (Hathras) of May 18 wonders that the Bureaucracy which has been brought up on our crumbs should devise strange methods for harassing us in the name of law and order. It says that a revolution would be inevitable if tragedies like the death of Avadh Narain Lal are brought about for lack of care and attention. Commenting on the enquiry made by the jail Superintendent into the death of Babu Avadh Narain Lal the

AJ, 31st May, 1922,

Aj (Benares) of May 31 says that nothing can be expected from an enquiry when the criminal himself is deputed to enquire into the crime. No good can come out of concealment of true facts, but feeling of hatred and discontent will develop day by day. The

OUDH AKHBAR, 25th May, 1922.

Oudh Akkbar (Lucknow) of May 25 urges that all prisoners convicted of political offences should be placed in one class and no differentiation should be made between them. The

MATRI BHUMI, 25th May, 1922.

Matri Bhumi (Cawnpore) of May 25 says that various measures are adopted to harass political prisoners in jails. They are severely punished for worshipping their idols and religious books are kicked and thrown away contemptuously. The same paper of the same date laments the death of Lakshman Rao, a political prisoner in Agra jail, and holds jail authorities specially responsible for the death. It contends that the political propagandist may be deprived of his liberty but to deprive him of life is an act inexcusable and intolerable.

Aj, 25th May, 1922.

The Aj (Benares) of May 25 invites attention to the case of Pandit Chandra Dhar Joshi, who is at present confined in the Naini jail. There have been startling chameleon-like changes in his treatment by Government since 1921, but there ought to be some explanation for this. The

DEMOCRAT, 36th May, 1922.

Democrat Extraordinary of May 26 publishes a report from a correspondent who complains of the brutal treatment received by Babu Chandmal and Yakub Ali Khan in the Naini jail. In another article a reference is made to the hardships endured by

PRATAP, 29th May, 1922.

eight prisoners from Almora confined in the Fyzabad jail. *The Pratap* (Cawnpore) of May 29 publishes a contributed article in which the writer describes in detail the inhuman treatment meted out to political prisoners in Gonda jail. Some of them are put in solitary cells; others are beaten till blood comes out of their mouths. One prisoner had his moustache shaved and top-knot cut. He says that he has heard of other things which have pained him deeply but which he does not like to describe. In view of that knowledge he would advise the young man to think twice before entering on this difficult path.

LEADER, 28th May, 1922.

Non-Civilian Governor for United Provinces.

6. *The Leader* (Allahabad) of May 28 quotes the opinions of the *Bengalee* and the *New India* to the effect that Sir Harcourt Butler should not be granted an extension of office and his successor should not be a civilian and that a civilian mind is no good to govern an Indian province in the new order of things and says that a perusal of the speeches made by civilian and non-civilian Governors during the last seven or eight months on the self-same topic of maintenance of law and order will bring out into bold relief the striking contrast between them.

MATRI BHUMI, 8th May 1922.

Sir Harcourt Butler.

7. *The Matri Bhumi* (Cawnpore) of May 18 condemns the proposals of the Taluqdars of Oudh to erect a statue of Sir Harcourt Butler whose regime is disfigured with such dark incidents as those of Rai Bareli, Sitapore, and Shohrat Ganj. *The Aj* (Benares)

Aj, 22nd May, 1922.

of May 22 says that it does not care even if its fears that Sir Harcourt Butler

would get an extension proved true. Individuals whether good, bad or indifferent cannot make any difference so long as the present undesirable system of government lasts. It concludes its article with the sarcastic remark that the continuance in office of Sir Harcourt Butler would at least save the terrible expenditure involved in refurnishing the Government House to suit the fancy of a new Governor.

The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of May 28, eulogises Sir Harcourt Butler's regime and urges an extension of his tenure of office. The *Haqiqat* (Lucknow) of May 28 publishes an article from a correspondent who styles himself as a "Nationalist Muslim" in which he eulogises Sir Harcourt Butler's treatment of the political prisoners and espousal of the *Khilafat* cause and condems the liberal party's agitation against him. The *Aj* (Benares) of May 28 sarcastically remarks that the erection of a statue of Sir Harcourt Butler at the expense of the Taluqdars would be a good thing for the poorer classes, as they would be provided with a memorial of their suffering. It also ridicules the Taluqdars' propaganda for the extension of his term of office. The *Pratap* (Cawnpore) of May 29 says that His Excellency's regime has been highly unpopular and has proved a veritable reign of terror to the *Kisans* whose *Kisan Sabha* and *Aika* movement have recently been ruthlessly suppressed by him.

OUDH AKHBAR, 28th May, 1922.
HAQIQAT, 28th May, 1922.
AJ, 28th May, 1922.
PRATAP, 29th May, 1922,

8. The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of June 1 says that the United Provinces Government should also institute an enquiry into the corrupt practices of the United Provinces Police in the light of the report of the Punjab Enquiry Committee. It urges Lord Reading to realise that root of the Indian unrest lies in the oppressive corruptions of the Police department. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 29 refers to the report of the Punjab Committee of Enquiry into corruption in the public services to the effect that honest sub-inspectors and inspectors of police are exceedingly rare and the belief is general that the higher ranks of Assistant Superintendents share in illicit gains and says that the conditions in the United Provinces are probably not much better and Lord Reading should take action. The *Aj* (Benares) of May 26 eulogises the action of the Punjab Government regarding corruption in the public services and says that the cause of strong feeling against the Government is the corrupt and oppressive police. It urges that while salaries of police officials may be increased, corrupt officials should be severely dealt with according to the common law of the land.

The Punjab Corruption Enquiry Committee.

OUDH AKHBAR, 1st June, 1922.
LEADER, 29th May, 1922.
AJ. 26th May, 1922.

9. The *Al Bashir* (Etawah) of May 23 says that the 84 civilians of the Punjab have created a new precedent in the annals of the Indian Civil Service by demanding their pensions from government as they are not willing to work under the reformed system of government. Their action smacks of non-co-operation. The Government should deal with them severely lest they might become a danger to the State.

Recalcitrant civilians.

AL BASHIR, 23rd May, 1922.

10. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of May 29 warns the Inchcape Committee against the tendency among departmental Heads to limit economy to reduction in the number of low-paid clerks and peons while preserving their own growing brotherhood. There should be drastic reduction of overgrown departments and the abolition of superfluous ones and extraneous considerations should not be allowed anywhere to stay the axe.

The Retrenchment Committee.

LEADER, 29th May, 1922.

11. The *Matri Bhumi* (Cawnpore) of May 26 ridicules the logic of the official mind which justifies the lawlessness of policemen and puts forward feeble and unconvincing arguments to show that the death of Budhai of Shohrat Ganj fame was due to natural causes. The *Aj* (Benares) of May, 26 finds fault with a moderate who justified the acts of policemen in Shohratganj and says that the statements of the Publicity Bureau are only half truths.

The Shoharat Ganj affair.

MATRI BHUMI, 26th May, 1922.
AJ, 26th May, 1922.

12. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of June 1, insists upon the early separation of Judicial from Executive functions in these provinces.

Separation of Judicial and Executive functions.

LEADER, 1st June, 1922.

AJ, 26th and 25th May, 1922.

The police.

13. The *Aj* (Benares) of May, 26, says that the police has been committing abominable atrocities in Benares and authorities condone their misdeeds and regard their false tales as Gospel truth. The same paper of May 25 says that owing to the unbridled power and highhandedness of the police, great injustice is done in these provinces. It cites the example of Pandit Kanhaiya Lall, Doctor-in-charge, Central jail, Benares, who was badly handled by a policeman and was taken to thana for no fault.

AJ, 25th May, 1922.

The Dehra Dun District Conference incident.

14. The *Aj* (Benares) of May 25 asks "Is the cancellation of the licence of the gentleman who fired a shot at the procession of Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra, the president of the Dehra Dun District Conference, adequate and just punishment? The paper says that if the procession had been an official one, the matter would have been dealt with otherwise.

ABHYUDAYA, 29th May, 1922.

Railway.

15. The *Abhyudaya* (Allahabad) of May 29 invites the atttention of the railway authorities to the inadequate supply of drinking water for third class passengers.

HALF-YEARLY LIST OF REPORTED NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

[Corrected up to May, 1922.]

No.	Name of publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste, and age of editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bareilly College Magazine ..	Bareilly ..	Twice a year	J. L. Maxwell	300 copies.
2	Sherwood Magazine ..	Naini Tal ..	Do. ..	Mr. U. Lilly	200 „
3	Canning College Magazine ..	Lucknow ..	Quarterly ..	Professor Ahmad Shah; Christian; 31	650 „
4	Christ Church College Magazine	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Revd. M. S. Douglas, M.A.	350 „
5	Ewing Christian College Magazine	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Prof. N. C. Mukerjee; 45 ..	300 „
6	Hostel Magazine (Oxford and Cambridge).	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Revd. V. G. H. Shaw; 35 ..	250 „
7	Meerut College Magazine ..	Meerut ..	Do. ..	Prof. Lochan Pershad, B.A., LL.B. ..	450 „
8	Muir College Magazine ..	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Prof. Amar Nath Jha	750 „
9	St. John's College Magazine ..	Agra	Do. ..	J. D. Sully; 31	575 „
10	Boyscout Gazette of India ..	Lucknow ..	Monthly ..	Mr. St. G. Jackson	700 „
11	British India Police Magazine	Lucknow ...	Do. ..	S. M. Mohsin; 30	5,000 „
12	Cawnpore Church Magazine ..	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Revd. C. B. Martyn Johns ..	250 „
13	Central Hindu College Magazine	Benares ..	Do. ..	Seshadri Iyer; Brahman; 38 ..	2,500 „
14	Franciscan Annals of India ..	Agra	Do. ..	Fr. Christopher	500 „
15	Indian Forester	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Mr. J. Macpherson	850 „
16	Lucknow Diocesan Chronicle ..	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Revd. Canon B. H. P. Fisher ..	700 „
17	Mahamandal Magazine ..	Benares ..	Do. ..	Kunj Behari Bose	1,000 „
18	Miracles of Healing	Gonda ..	Do. ..	James Harvey	..
19	Parish Magazine	Meerut ..	Do. ..	The Senior Chaplain	80 copies
20	Prabudha Bharat	Almora ..	Do. ..	Swami Raghavanand; 31	2,000 „
21	Rachabite Magazine ..	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	F. W. Perry; 55	180 „
22	Scout Craft	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	A. T. L. Moone	550 „
23	Theosophy in India.. ..	Benares ..	Do. ..	Miss H. Veale	4,500 „
24	U. P. Education	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Mr. Dev. Narain Mukerjee, Brahman; 33	400 „
25	Allahabad Men	Allahabad ..	Bi-monthly	Revd. W. Harlow, 40	750 „
26	Christian Nationalist ..	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Mohan Joshi	500 „
27	Eastern Tidings	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Mr. A. H. Williams	300 „
28	Awaza-i-Khalq	Benares ..	Weekly ..	Gulab Chand; Kayasth; 37 ..	300 „
29	Cawnpore Journal and People's Realms.	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Bishwa Nath; Brahman; 40 ..	250 „
30	Democrat	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Pt. Harsh Dev.; 26	800 „
31	Illustrated Pioneer Mail ..	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	F. E. Woolacott	2,500 „
32	Indian Witness	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Revd. F. B. Price; 60	2,000 „
33	Kaukab-i-Hind	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	G. L. Lorenzo	2,100 „
34	Mussooree Times	Mussooree ..	Do. ..	F. Bodycot; 52	1,000 „
35	Northern Star	Dehra Dun ..	Do. ..	Thakur Chandan Singh	300 „
36	Naini Tal Gazette	Naini Tal ..	Do. ..	C. Philipps O'Leary; 57	500 „
37	People's Herald	Agra	Do. ..	Frederick Ellis; 52	700 „

Half-yearly list of reported newspapers and periodicals—(continued).

No.	Name of publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste, and age of editor.	Circulation.
38	Pioneer Mail	Allahabad ..	Weekly ..	F. E. Woolacott	4,000 copies.
39	Saturday Gazette	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	C. T. Robbie	500 ,,
40	Advocate	Lucknow ..	Bi-weekly ..	Mukut Behari Lal Bhargava ..	250 ,,
41	Leader	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Krishna Ram Mehta	600 ,,
42	Indian Daily Telegraph ..	Lucknow ..	Daily ..	J. M. K. Mackenzie; European; 36 ..	2,000 ,,
43	Leader	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Krishna Ram Mehta; 45; Brahman ..	5,000 ,,
44	Pioneer	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	F. E. Woolacott	8,500 ,,
	ANGLO-URDU.				
45	Aligarh Magazine	Aligarh ..	Monthly ..	Prof. Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi, M.A.; 38	1,000 copies.
	URDU.				
46	Al Imdad	Muzaffarnagar ..	Monthly ..	M. Rafiq Ahmad; 48	600 copies.
47	Al Qasim	Deoband ..	Do. ..	Habib-ur-Rahman; 55	450 ,,
48	Al Rashid	Deoband ..	Do. ..	Habib-ur-Rahman; 55	300 ,,
49	British India Police Magazine..	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	S. M. Mohsin, 30	5,000 ,,
50	Diwanah	Meerut ..	Do. ..	Surat Singh	150 ,,
51	Gujar Gazette	Saharanpur ..	Do. ..	Babu Mangat Singh; Gujar; 28 ..	250 ,,
52	Hamdard-i-Qaum	Muzaffarnagar ..	Do. ..	Lala Kure Mul Anand; 48 ..	300 ,,
53	Hindustan	Aligarh ..	Do. ..	Peare Lal	..
54	Jain Pradip	Deoband ..	Do. ..	Joti Prasad; 38	550 copies.
55	Muaarif	Azamgarh ..	Do. ..	Saiyid Suleman Nadwi; 34 ..	700 ,,
56	Naqib	Budaun ..	Do. ..	Shaikh Wahid Ahmad; 27 ..	800 ,,
57	Pardah Nashin	Agra	Do. ..	Mrs. Khamosh; 40	500 ,,
58	Satopkari	Bareilly ..	Do. ..	Ramdhan Das; Khattri; 66 ..	1,400 ,,
59	Tyagi Brahman	Meerut ..	Do. ..	Babu Chand Kiran Sharma; 25 ..	600 ,,
60	Vaishya Hitkari	Meerut ..	Do. ..	Ram Dayal Vidyarthi; 38.. ..	800 ,,
61	Zamana	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Daya Narayan Nigam; Kayasth; 39 ..	2,000 ,,
62	Kshattriya	Meerut ..	Bi-monthly	Shadi Ram; Jat; 44	500 ,,
63	Muraqqa-i-Tasawwar ..	Fatehpur ..	Tri-monthly	Mathura Prasad; Kayasth; 41 ..	175 ,,
64	Municipal Review	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Sham Sundar Lal; 37	150 ,,
65	Agra Akhbar	Agra	Weekly ..	Khwaja Sadiq Husain; Shaikh; 46 ..	850 ,,
66	Aftab	Fyzabad ..	Do. ..	Shambhu Dayal; 36	1,000 ,,
67	Al Bashir	Etawah ..	Do. ..	Bashir-ud-din; Kamboh; 63 ..	600 ,,
68	Anand Pracharak	Muttra ..	Do. ..	Narayan Prasad Singh; Kayasth; 32 ..	1,000 ,,
69	Arya Patra	Bareilly ..	Do. ..	Dr. Sham Swarup, L.M.S.	450 ,,
70	Aryavart	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Pandit Raja Ram; 28	1,000 ,,
71	Azad	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Daya Narayan Nigam; Kayasth ..	1,600 ,,
72	Badari	Gorakhpur ..	Do. ..	Syed Kamil Husain, M.A. ..	..
73	Dabdaba-i-Sikandari ..	Rampur State ..	Do. ..	Muhammad Farruk Husain Sabri; 68..	300 copies.
74	Darbar	Agra	Do. ..	Ahmad Husain; 50	100 ,,
75	Haqiqat	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Anis Ahmad Abbasi; B.A.; 27 ..	1,000 ,,
76	Hindu Gazette	Saharanpur ..	Do. ..	Sital Prasad Vaishya Agarwal; 27 ..	750 ,,

Half-yearly list of reported newspapers and periodicals—(continued).

No.	Name of publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste, and age of editor.	Circulation.
77	Hindu	Dehra Dun ..	Weekly ..	..	..
78	Ittihad	Amroha (Moradabad).	Do. ..	Mujahid Husain; Saiyid; 50 ..	300 copies.
79	Kayasth Hitkari	Agra	Do. ..	Kamta Prasad; Kayasth; 50 ..	450 ,,
80	Mashriq	Gorakhpur ..	Do. ..	Abdul Karim Khan; 55	1,400 ,,
81	Mukhbir-i-Alam	Moradabad ..	Do. ..	Qazi Saiyid Abdul Ali; 50 ..	750 ,,
82	Muslim University Gazette ..	Aligarh ..	Do. ..	Muhammad Muktda Khan Sherwani; 42	500 ,,
83	Mazdur	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	A. H. Malik	..
84	Naiyar-i-Azam	Moradabad ..	Do. ..	Ibn Ali; Saiyid; 59	500 copies.
85	Oudh Punch	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Mumtaz Husain; Shia; 35 ..	600 ,,
86	Rahnuma	Moradabad ..	Do. ..	Muhammad Ashfaq Husain Siddiqi; 32	500 ,,
87	Rohilkhand Gazette ..	Bareilly ..	Do. ..	Abdul Aziz; Shaikh; 55	800 ,,
88	Reformer Gazette	Meerut	Do. ..	Dharm Vir; Vaishya; 27 ..	250 ,,
89	Safina	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Sheikh Aulad Husain	300 ,,
90	Shia College News	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Habib Hasan; Saiyid; 30	900 ,,
91	Surma-i-Rozgar	Agra	Do. ..	Mr. Itrat Husain; Saiyid; 60 ..	500 ,,
92	Tohfa-i-Hind	Bijnor	Do. ..	Abdul Wahid; 32	400 ,,
93	Updeshak	Jaunpur ..	Do. ..	Sankatha Pershad; 55	400 ,,
94	Zul Qarnain	Budaun ..	Do. ..	Nizam-ud-din Husain; Shaikh; 50 ..	1,000 ,,
95	Alaman	Nagina (Bijnor) ..	Bi-weekly ..	Mazhar-ud-din; 35	2,500 ,,
96	Al Bureed	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Fazl Hasan, Shaikh; 43	1,050 ,,
97	Aligarh Gazette	Aligarh ..	Do. ..	M. Mukhtada Khan Sherwani; Pathan; 43	500 ,,
89	Al Khalil	Bijnor	Do. ..	Khalil-ur-Rahman; Shaikh; 57 ..	3,000 ,,
99	Aftab	Unao	Do. ..	..	..
100	Hindustani	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Saiyid Sakhawat Husain	1,000 copies.
101	Iqbal	Moradabad ..	Do. ..	Mirza Ishaq Beg; 30	1,200 ,,
102	Mansur	Bijnor	Do. ..	Hasan Riaz; 30	1,000 ,,
103	Medina	Bijnor	Do. ..	Razi Muhammad Abdul Abbasi; 30 ..	12,500 ,,
104	Mecca Medina	Moradabad ..	Do. ..	Syed Habib Raza	500
105	Najat	Bijnor	Do. ..	Qazi Muhammad Rafiq; 25 ..	1,300 ,,
106	Hamdam	Lucknow ..	Daily ..	Basharat Ali, Saiyid; 50	4,000 ,,
107	Oudh Akhbar	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Naubat Rai; Kayasth; 42	500 ,,
108	Rozana Akhbar	Bareilly ..	Do. ..	Karam Ilahi; 40	600 ,,
109	Khilafat	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Shah Habibur Rahman	..
110	Kausar	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Liakat Ali	..
	HINDI-BENGALI.				
111	Trishul	Benares ..	Monthly ..	Ambika Charan	500 copies.
	HINDI.				
112	Agraval Bandhu	Agra	Monthly ..	Permeshwar Sahai; 35	1,000 copies.
113	Bharat Mata	Muttra ..	Do. ..	Shanti Bai; 22	248 ,,
114	Brahmachari	Agra	Do. ..	Hari Ballabh, M.A.; 36	750 ,,
115	Brahman Sarvaswa	Etawah ..	Do. ..	Brahmadeo; Brahman; 30 ..	600 ,,

Half-yearly list of reported newspapers and periodicals—(continued).

No.	Name of publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste, and age of editor.	Circulation.
116	British Indian Police Magazine	Lucknow ..	Monthly ..	S. M Mohsin;	5,000 copies
117	Dharmabhyudaya.. ..	Agra	Do. ..	Gauri Shankar Sukul; 28	300 ,,
118	Dharam Prakash	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Tara Mohan and Devi Prasad ..	500 ,,
119	Grih Lakshmi	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Sudarshana Acharya; Arya; 48 ..	1,600 ,,
120	Himalaya	Ranikhet (Almora)	Do. ..	Pandit Ambika Datt Pant; 46 ..	200 ,,
121	Jain Martand	Hathras (Aligarh)..	Do. ..	Misri Lal Jaini; 30	550 ,,
122	Jasus	Gahmar (Ghazipur)	Do. ..	Gopal Ram; Bania; 55	1,500 ,,
123	Kalwar Kshattriya Mitra ..	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Raghu Nath Prasad; Kalwar ..	450 ,,
124	Kanyakubj Hitkari	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Pandit Murli Manohar; 32	900 ,,
125	Kavi	Gorakhpur ..	Do. ..	Trishul	500 ,,
126	Khangar Hitaishi	Orai	Do. ..	Matadin Singh; Hindu, 30 ..	100 ,,
127	Kushwaha Kshatria Mitra ..	Benares ..	Do. ..	J. P. Chaudhari; Hindu	500 ,,
128	Mahila	Jhansi ..	Do. ..	.. ..	
129	Maryada..	Benares ..	Do. ..	Mukandi Lal; Kayastha; 25; and Rajbhakar; Kayastha	500 ,,
130	Mathur Vaishya Hitkari ..	Agra	Do. ..	Shiam Sunder Lal Vaishya; 25 ..	1,000 ,,
131	Nigmagam Chandrika ..	Benares ..	Do. ..	Govind Shastri	1,000 ,,
132	Prabha	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and Deva Datt Sharma, B.A.	3,000 ,,
133	Pursharath	Bijnor ..	Do. ..	Girja Dat Naithani; 45	..
134	Sammelan Patrika	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Prof. Brij Raj, M.A. LL.B.	400 copies.
135	Sanatam Dharm Pataka ..	Moradabad ..	Do. ..	Ram Sarup Sharma; Brahman; 48 ..	2,500 ,,
136	Sangar	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Pandit Adya Narain; 40	250 ,,
137	Saraswat Khatri Sewak ..	Unao	Do. ..	Prayag Narain and Ram Charan ..	..
138	Saraswati	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Padam Lal and Punna Lal Baksi ..	3,000 copies.
139	Saudagar..	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Shyam Sundar Lal Kayastha; 40 ..	400 ,,
140	Stri Darpan	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Srimati Rameshwari Devi Nehru and others; 24	900 ,,
141	Stri Dharm Shikshak ..	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Srimati Jasoda Devi; Arya; 32 ..	1,600 ,,
142	Sudha Nidhi	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Jagannath Prasad Shukla; 38 ..	600 ,,
143	Swarth	Benares ..	Do. ..	Professor Jiwan Shankar, M.A., LL.B. ..	300 ,,
144	Veda Prakash	Meerut ..	Do. ..	Pandit Chhuttan Lal; Brahman; 50 ..	500 ,,
145	Vidyarthi	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Ramji Lal Sharma; Brahman; 35 ..	800 ,,
146	Vishwa	Allahabad ..	Do. ..	Vishwambhar Dayal	100 ,,
147	Abhir Samachar	Urawar (Mainpuri)	Bi-monthly	Kidarnath B sc. and Ranjit Singh ..	350 ,,
148	Bishal Kirti	Garhwal ..	Do. ..	Brahma Nand	2,650 ,,
149	Brahman Hitaishi	Mainpuri ..	Do. ..	Bihari Lal Gaur	200 ,,
150	Garhwali	Dehra Dun ..	Do. ..	Bishambhar Dutt Chandola; Brahman; 38.	800 ,,
151	Gorakshan	Benares ..	Do. ..	M. L. Malaviya	..
152	Kshattriya Mitra	Benares ..	Do. ..	Lalji Singh; Thakur; 37	1,850 copies.
153	Nace Mitra	Moth (Jhansi) ..	Do. ..	Gaya Prasad Mohoia, Barber; 28 ..	250 ,,
154	Rajput	Agra	Do. ..	Kunwar Hanwant Singh; Thakur; 52	1,700 ,,
155	Sanadhyopkarak	Agra	Do. ..	Braj Nath Sharma; 36	400 ,,
156	Siksha Prabhakar	Aligarh ..	Do. ..	N. Jha: Maithil Brahman, Patna; 40	2,000 ,,
157	Sadhvi Sarwasya	Allahabad ..	Weekly ..	Raghunandan Jha	

Half-yearly list of reported newspapers and periodicals—(continued).

No.	Name of publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste, and age of editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-HINDI.				
158	Khichri Samachar	Mirzapur ..	Weekly ..	Madho Prasad ; Khatri ; 65 ..	200 copies.
	HINDI.				
159	Abhyudaya	Allahabad ..	Weekly ..	Pandit Sitaram Pindarkar ; Maharashtra ; 35	3,000 copies.
160	Ahinsa	Benares ..	Do. ..	Jananand	600 ,,
161	Arya Mitra	Agra	Do. ..	Brahmachari Dharm Inder, Sunar ; 22	1,850 ,,
162	Avadhbasi	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Sheo Behari Lal Bajpai ; 40 ..	2,000 ,,
163	Bharat Bandhu	Hathras (Aligarh)..	Do. ..	Bhagwan Das Halna ; 35	450 ,,
164	Bharat Jiwan	Benares ..	Do. ..	Shankar Dat Bajpai ; Brahman ..	700 ,,
165	Brahmarshi	Meerut ..	Do. ..	Swami Chhuttan Lal ; Brahman ; 48..	500 ,,
166	Cawnpore Samachar ..	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Ramadhar ; Brahman ; 45.. ..	1,000 ,,
167	Hindi Kesari	Benares ..	Do. ..	Ganga Prasad Gupta ; Arya ; 29 ..	4,000 ,,
168	Hindu	Dehra Dun ..	Do. ..	Pandit Kishun Chand Azad ..	..
169	Jain Gazette	Muttra ..	Do. ..	Raghunath Das ; 52	900 copies.
170	Jnan Shakti	Gorakhpur ..	Do. ..	Shiva Kumar Ojha; Shastri; Brahman; 30	1,800 ,,
171	Jyoati	Almora ..	Do. ..	Bhawani Datt Joshi ; 28	500 ,,
172	Kartabya	Etawah ..	Do. ..	Rikheshwar Nath Raina ; 25 ..	900 ,,
173	Mahila Sansar	Fatehgarh ..	Do. ..	Saraswati Devi, Ahir ; 19 ..	200 ,,
174	Nava Bharat	Dehra Dun ..	Do. ..	Thakur Chandan Singh ..	300 ,,
175	Pratap	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Sri Krishna Dutt ; 35	10,000 ,,
176	Prem	Brindaban ..	Do. ..	Bhagwan Das Kaila	300 ,,
177	Shakti	Almora ..	Do. ..	Badri Dat Pande ; Brahman ; 39 ..	1,000 ,,
178	Shradha	Kangri (Bijnor) ..	Do. ..	Swami Shradha Nand	2,000 ,,
179	Sudharak	Agra	Do. ..	Pandit Badri Nath ; 30	275 ,,
180	Surya	Benares ..	Do. ..	Janki Saran Tripathi	1,000 ,,
181	Satya Vadi	Aligarh ..	Do. ..	Chota Lal Bhargava, B.A., LL. B. ..	..
182	Swarajya	Unao	Do. ..	Bishambhar Nath Bajpai	..
183	Yugantar	Gorakhpur ..	Do. ..	Bindheshri Prasad, B.A., LL.B. ..	500 copies.
184	Mathura Gazette	Muttra ..	Bi-weekly ..	Narain Prasad Singh ; Kayasth ; 32 ..	800 ,,
185	Utsah	Jhansi.. ..	Do. ..	Krishna Gopal Sharma	3,000 ,,
186	Phakkar	Cawnpore ..	Tri-weekly ..	Ved Narain Bajpai	4,000 ,,
187	Udyog	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Harinarain Tandan	500 ,,
188	Aj	Benares ..	Daily ..	Shri Prakash, B.A.	4,000 ,,
189	Anand	Lucknow ..	Do. ..	Mahesh Nath Brahman	1,750 ,,
190	Adarsha	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Kasturi Narain	4,000 ,,
191	Matri Bhoomi	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	R. V. Dhulekar, M.A.	..
192	Vartman	Cawnpore ..	Do. ..	Rama Shankar Awasthi	8,000 copies.

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CONFIDENTIAL] No. 23 OF 1922

SELECTIONS FROM NEWSPAPERS

Published in the UNITED PROVINCES

For the week ending 10th June, 1922.

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NOTICE.

THERE will be no issue of the "Selections" for the week ending June 17. The Publicity department will take over the Newspaper Branch with effect from June 11, 1922. and will compile a weekly note showing the tone of the Press on current topics. This note will be circulated to officers who now receive the "Selections," and the first publication will be for the week ending June 24.

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD:
The 7th June, 1922.

13 JUL

3. *Aj* (Benares) of June 5 observes that Britain is rushing headlong towards the dismal depths of ruin and desolation under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George who is a standing menace to the future peace of the world and to the satisfactory solution of the Turkish question. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of June 5 very strongly supports the opinion expressed by General Townshend on the Turkish question in the

Mr. Lloyd George.

AJ, 5th June, 1922.

MEDINA, 5th June, 1922.

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NATIONAL POEMS	

I.—POLITICS.

Turkey.

1. The *Najat* (Bijnor) of May 27 wonders why the British Government is moved with sympathy for the rebellious Greeks and Armenians when the Turks deal severely with them and keep silent when the Bolshevicks perpetrate atrocities, the French and the Spaniards grind their subjects in their African possessions or the Belgians and the Japanese practise oppression in Congo and Korea. The *Mashriq* (Gorakhpur) of June 1, commenting on the Turkish question, says that British diplomacy is no longer a sealed book to the Muslims of India. When the Greeks massacre the Turks the British Foreign Office conveniently observes silence, but clamours whenever the Turks deal severely with the Greeks. Indian unrest cannot be calmed unless the *Khilafat* problem is solved satisfactorily. *Al Bureed* (Cawnpore) of June 4 refuses to believe in the authenticity of the report of the allied High Commissioner at Constantinople that the Turks have massacred the Greeks and says that it is only a piece of British propaganda to win over the sympathy of the powers for the Greeks. The *Matri Bhumi* (Cawnpore) of June 4 doubts the authenticity of the reports of the massacre of the Greeks by the Turks and says it is only a fabrication to serve British pro-Greek propaganda.

NAJAT, 27th May, 1922.

MASHRIQ, 1st June, 1922.

AL BUREED, 4th June, 1922.

MATRI BHUMI, 4th June, 1922.

The *Khilafat* question.

2. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of June 2 says that the non-co-operation movement has failed to produce any tangible results in the direction of the early solution of the *Khilafat* problem. The leaders should devise some other means which might expedite the early solution of the Turkish question. It suggests that Indian labour should be organized and made a real power to be utilised for political purposes.

HAMDAM, 2nd June, 1922.

Mr. Lloyd George.

3. *Aj* (Benares) of June 5 observes that Britain is rushing headlong towards the dismal depths of ruin and desolation under the leadership of Mr. Lloyd George who is a standing menace to the future peace of the world and to the satisfactory solution of the Turkish question. The *Medina* (Bijnor) of June 5 very strongly supports the opinion expressed by General Townshend on the Turkish question in the

AJ, 5th June, 1922.

MEDINA, 5th June, 1922.

Commons and wonders why the public of England does not remove from office Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon who have estranged the entire Muslim world, weakened the relations of England with the allies and made matters worse in Ireland, Egypt and India.

ANAND, 1st June, 1922.

Self-government for India.

4. The *Anand* (Lucknow) of June 1 says that the prophecy that the downfall of the British Empire in India would be inevitable on the awakening of the nation will prove too true unless Government marches with the times and grants India responsible government.

AJ, 1st June, 1922.

LEADER, 7th June, 1922.

The Reforms.

5. *Aj* (Benares) of June 1 says that the utter futility and worthlessness of the much applauded Reforms have come to light. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of June 7 appeals to Burmans to "put aside their feelings caused by disappointment and delay" and "to work the substantial reforms they have received to early and complete success."

DEMOCRAT, 31st May, 1922.

Non-co-operation.

6. The *Democrat* (Allahabad) of May 31 says:—Whatever a stray Shastri or Wacha may say—they never do anything—the people of India have determined to free the country from the incubus of a system under which Viscount Peel can display greater solicitude for the careers of Lt.-Col. Macrae and Mr. Marsdon who had grievously misbehaved in the Punjab in 1919 than for the united pleadings, coaxing and appeals of some millions of men and women. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of June 3 advises the people to follow the Indian National Congress as a bright future is before them.

VARTMAN, 3rd June, 1922.

MATRI BHUMI, 7th June, 1922.

Anti-non-co-operation activities.

7. The *Matri Bhumi* (Cawnpore) of June 7 publishes an article by Dharambir Secretary, Benares Tahsil Congress Committee, in which the writer warns his countrymen not to sign a certain anti-non-co-operation paper issued by the Government as the non-co-operation movement is a heaven-sent boon to combat the forces of evil.

NORTHERN STAR, 30th May, 1922.

Repression.

8. The *Northern Star* (Dehra Dun) of May 30 inveighs against the ethics of justifying tyrannical acts in the name of law and order and says that Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru's conviction strikes at the social freedom of Indians to hold *panchayats* and levy fines. The *Democrat* (Allahabad) for May 31 says that the Allahabad Magistrate has wrongly characterised freedom of speech and freedom of action as intimidation and extortion and the conviction is utterly bad in law. This twisting of the law will only make Indians sick of the British connection. *Aj* (Benares) of June 3 says that Lord Reading's Government and its repression are responsible for the Chauri Chaura tragedy and Malabar disturbances.

DEMOCRAT, 31st May, 1922.

AJ, 3rd June, 1922.

AJ, 1st June, 1922.

Moderates.

9. *Aj* (Benares) of June 1 says that the co-operators have been guilty of suicidal folly in supporting the present repressive policy of the Government which, most of all, wants to non-co-operate with Indians in matters of administration. If the non-co-operation movement fails, the prestige of the moderates would be gone in eyes of the Government.

AJ, 2nd June, 1922.

Entry into Councils.

10. *Aj* (Benares) of June 2 advocates the total boycott of legislative bodies as they have not been nor will they ever be conducive to the good of the country so long as the present system of Government exists. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of June 8 supports the *Tribune's* suggestion in favour of non-co-operators entering the Councils and says that it will not only make for harmony in the Congress camp, but also strengthen the hands of the constitutionalist party. Every means should be utilised to attain the goal.

LEADER, 8th June, 1922.

VARTMAN, 2nd June, 1922.

The Retrenchment Committee.

11. The *Vartman* (Cawnpore) of June 2 observes that the bureaucracy thinks that a little dalliance with the schemes of retrenchment would succeed in heading off popular resentment and in hiding the bankruptcy and utter futility of the Reforms, for the working of which such heavy expenditure is being incurred.

II.—Administration.

Military matters.

12. The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of June 7 advises Government not to delude the public with the frontier bogey, but to reduce military expenditure. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of June 11 urges the early publication of the report of the Indian Military Requirements Committee.

OUDH AKHBAR, 7th June, 1922.

LEADER, 11th June, 1922.

Non-Civilian Governor for United Provinces.

13. The *Mansoor* (Bijnor) of June 4 supports the suggestion that a civilian should not be appointed in place of Sir Harcourt Butler as these provinces have had bitter experience of civilian repression and says that an Indian public man should replace Sir Harcourt at the expiry of his present term of office in February next. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of June 8 discounts the *Pioneer's* view that civilians were working the reforms whole-heartedly and points to the talk of retirement on proportionate pensions and to Anglo-Indian jubilation over Mr. Montagu's resignation. The civilian cannot get over his service prejudices and a non-civilian Governor should succeed Sir Harcourt Butler in February next. The same paper of June 10 publishes a contributed article in which the writer says that civilians and specially Sir Harcourt Butler have rendered great services to India and that his term of office should be extended, more so because certain land questions with which he is specially acquainted are to come up before the Legislature. Commenting on the above the editor says that he has no objection to Sir Harcourt Butler as an individual, but he would like that an Indian or English public man should take his place in February next and there should be no extension. The same paper also publishes a contributed article in which the writer takes Qazi Azizuddin to task for urging an extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term and says that his presence is no longer needed in these provinces as all his special schemes have either been completed or are approaching completion. He points out that civilians are incapable of working the reforms and Sir Harcourt Butler's successor must be a public man.

MANSOOR, 4th June, 1922.

LEADER, 8th and 10th June, 1922.

Frontier Province officials.

14. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of June 3 appeals to the Government of India to take severe notice of the action of those Frontier Province officials who have been abusing their position of authority to influence non-official opinion against the amendment of the partition of the Punjab.

LEADER, 3rd June, 1922.

Corruption in public services.

15. The *Mansoor* (Bijnor) of June 4, commenting on the report of the Committee of Enquiry into the corruption of the public services of the Punjab, says that such corruptions are not the chief characteristics of the public services of the Punjab alone, but exist more or less in all the provinces. The Police, Public Works and the Railway departments are chiefly notorious for these corruptions. It strongly urges Government to have an eye on the actions of its officers and inflict deterrent punishments on those found guilty.

MANSOOR, 4th June, 1922.

The taluqdars.

16. The *Oudh Akhbar* (Lucknow) of June 3 appeals to the taluqdars of Oudh to do away with the abuses which have been responsible for the *Eka* movement.

OUDH AKHBAR, 3rd June, 1922.

The Honours list.

17. The *Leader* (Allahabad) of June 7 protests against the conferment of titles on the Home Member, Chief Secretary and the Inspector-General of Police, even though the Police department has recently come in for a good deal of hostile criticism.

LEADER, 7th June, 1922.

The police.

18. *Aj* (Benares) of June 5 publishes a letter from Dharambir, Secretary, Tahsil Congress Committee, in which the writer says that the policemen abused the women and threatened to break open the doors when they went to make a search in the house of Pandit Mangal Prasad in Shivapore. It appeals to its countrymen to endure with patience the blows of the police as the days of victory are nigh. The same paper of June 8 observes that the atrocities committed by policemen have reached their climax. They rob the non-co-operators of everything they can lay their hands on when making searches without giving any receipt for the articles seized. The boycott of law courts by non-co-operators have left them at the mercy of policemen, but India is prepared to suffer hardships till she realises her cherished aim.

AJ, 5th and 8th June, 1922.

HAMDAM, 8th June, 1922.

19. The *Hamdam* (Lucknow) of June 8 complains of the inconvenience caused by the exhaustion of the supply of one pice stamps in the Lucknow head post office, and suggests that when stamps are not available the post office should accept payments in cash and affix red seals on packets and letters.

The post office.

AJ, 1st June, 1922.

20. *Aj* (Benares) of June 1 deplores the notifications of the Government every year forbidding people to go on pilgrimage to Badrinath owing to the prevalence of famine there. It enquires why the Government which spends millions in entertaining Princes and Dukes, should abstain from spending any sum in affording facilities for pilgrimage. It suggests the attainment of *swaraj* as the only panacea for all these evils.

The Badrianth pilgrimage.

NATIONAL POEMS.

NAJAT, 23rd May, 1922.

The *Najat* (Bijnor) of May 23 publishes a national poem, the important lines of which are translated below :—

* * * * * * *

There will be neither war, struggle nor rebellion,
You will see that the Government will be destroyed automatically.
The truth is that we will be happy on that day
When Britain will depart from India with tears in its eyes.

* * * * * * *

* * * * * * *

What is comfort ? Where is ease ?
We will now rest content only when we have destroyed the enemy.

O Shaida, if anybody were to ask me what would be the end of the Government, I would tell him that it would meet the plight of the deceitful.

The same paper of May 30 publishes a national poem in which occurs a line which is translated below :—

Let the *swaraj* question be settled,
Retaliation for murder and blood would come afterwards.

NAV BHARAT, 31st May, 1922.

The *Nav Bharat* (Dehra Dun) of May 31 publishes a poem by Pandit Agam Ram Baheri, Garhwal, the following important lines of which are translated below :—

Look, Nav Bharat is coming.
Devils will be made to weep.
The wicked will be driven away.
It will relieve the terrible load of the earth.
India will be made free.
The flag of freedom will fly in India.

* * * * * * *

It is terrible to the wicked.
It teaches the lesson of freedom.

* * * * * * *

It kills the devils and evil-doers.
It quenches its thirst with blood.
It will win the battle without any weapon.
Its cry is "Be free."

M. J. O'DRISCOLL,
Asst. to Dy. Inspector-General of Police,
Criminal Investigation Department,
United Provinces.

ALLAHABAD :

The 10th June, 1922.

PRINTED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

J. & P.
5812
1922

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Nos. 12-13 are missing but they will have to be left out

922.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA

For the week ending the 8th October

Near and Middle East.

THE Muhammadan Press continues to take interest in Near and Middle East politics. Extracts from Turkish, Arabic and certain French and English papers have been extensively published and the British Cabinet, specially Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon have been attacked for their anti-Turkish policy. The *Medina* prophesies that if the Ministry of Mr. Lloyd George persists in its present policy and refuses the Turks the elementary rights of a free and living nation a war more severe and disastrous than the last one will follow. The *Hamdam* points out that the patronage of Greeks by Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon has completely alienated the Turkish nation from England and is throwing it into the hands of the Bolsheviks. It appeals to the British Government to make an attempt to understand important and delicate aspects of the *khilafat* question and to devise means to secure an honourable peace to Turkey in its own interest as well as of humanity. The *Mansur* quotes from the *Chicago Tribune* to show that the Americans do not believe stories circulated by the British regarding the Turkish atrocities in Anatolia.

The news of commotion and civil war in Bokhara has attracted considerable attention. The *Mansur* expresses the hope that under the leadership of Ghazi Enver Pasha all the Islamic states of Central Asia will be able to free themselves from Bolshevik influence. The *Hamdam* looks upon the news concerning Bokhara, received through English sources, with scepticism. It thinks Enver Pasha is a true patriot and is serving Islam by organizing the Musalmans of Turkistan. The *Nijat* blames the British news agency for spreading conflicting and false news about the relations of Musalmans with Bolsheviks in Central Asia. The *Hindustani* says that such news is meant to sow discord between Bolsheviks and Musalmans. The *Hamdam* thinks that the British Government must have found out by now that the Arabs of Mesopotamia will not brook the yoke of subjection, and that if it is imposed upon them by force the British exchequer will bear a heavy burden for years. Almost all the vernacular papers have repudiated the allegation that Russian money was sent to India for the help of non-cooperators. The *Aj* says that such stories are fabricated from time to time to discredit the non-cooperation movement. The agitation inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi does not stand in need of foreign money.

Indians in colonies.

The position of Indians in colonies continues to be eagerly discussed. The letters of Messrs. Andrews and Polak and Mr. Shastri's tour have revived public interest. The *Leader* exclaims: "It must be a matter of shame to us that we should have so forgotten our duty to our own countrymen settled abroad that these friends of India and Indians feel the necessity of making these calls on us over and over again." It seriously invites the attention of His Majesty the King-Emperor, the India Office and the Government of India to the opportune warning contained in the statement of Messrs. Polak and Andrews that "there is no possibility of the people of India being willing to remain permanently within the British Commonwealth of nations except upon the terms of actual and not merely theoretical racial equality." The *Oudh Akhbar* considers the restrictions imposed on Indians in Natal unjust, and thinks that the problem of Indians in colonies can never be solved. The

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Hindi Kesari says that the resolution about the equality and the status of Indians passed in the Imperial Conference was merely an attempt to appease Indians by verbal sympathy and was not intended to be carried out. Mr. Shastri's tour is regarded as having been devised for the same object. He has not gone abroad as a representative of the people to plead their cause, but has been deputed by Government at its expense for doing its own work. He is only a puppet in Government's hands. The *Aj* strongly criticises Mr. Shastri's speeches in Australia and says that they are indicative of slave mentality. It takes exception to Mr. Shastri's eulogy of the British Empire and says that he is speaking for himself and not for the country. The *Abhyudaya* warns the Government that the passing of the "Rural Dealer's Licensing Ordinance Bill" through the Natal Legislative Assembly would intensify the prevailing discontent in India. The *Mansur* deplores the colour prejudice in New Zealand and asks whether the Indian Government can take no measures to prevent such humiliating treatment of Indians abroad.

Political propaganda.

The *Northern Star* in a vigorous article on the present situation says that the Indian nation is burning with ever rising indignation and anger at its wrongs. Like a wounded tiger this great nation of thirty-three million souls is in a state of exasperation, and the spirit of reckless desperation is slowly but surely taking hold of the popular mind and the attitude of the Government is growing more and more maddening. India is now seriously thinking of resorting to mass civil disobedience as the only remedy of mal-administration. Several Hindi and Urdu papers publish a message from Raja Mahendra Pratap now in Germany, calling upon the Rajas, Maharajas, Nawabs and Zamindars and Merchants of India not to side with the Government but to carry out the injunctions of Mahatma Gandhi, Ali Brothers and Mr. Malaviya. He warns them against persistence in their present indifference, idleness and hypocrisy. No comments have so far been made on this appeal. The *Najat* says that Government is at its wits' end owing to the non-cooperation movement, and only shows its nervousness by cancelling the licences for arms of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Babu Bhagwan Das. *Al Bashir* ascribes the popularity of Mr. Gandhi's propaganda to the disgust of the people with the present system of Government. So long as the causes of unrest are not removed discontent will go on increasing. In this paper's opinion *Aman Sabhas* only provoke controversies and mislead Government. It condemns the non-cooperating lawyers who are resuming practice at the bar as their action is calculated to dishearten others, and urges Government to forfeit their diplomas. Even if the Government allows such lawyers to resume their practice the public should not engage them as lawyers. The *Nava Bharat* warns the people that if they do not give a suitable reply to the tyrannies of the Government, it will be encouraged to make the fullest use of repressive laws in the belief that their enforcement has proved a success. It apprehends that the Congress may be declared a revolutionary body and that the people may be hanged as rebels from the branches of trees even on trivial grounds. The *Khilafat* Committee should merge itself into the Congress, and the Hindus and Musalmans should rally under the banner of the Congress to strive for *swaraj*. The *Pratap* urges the people to realize their utter helplessness and to consider it a sin to eat, drink and rest peacefully until they have obtained *swaraj*. The *Vartman* on the other hand says that what India suffers from is not helplessness but fear. Thirty crores of people cannot be called helpless. "The Goddess of Liberty has to be worshipped with blood. She will depart in anger the very day she is not presented with a cup full to the brim with blood. When the need for blood comes, it will have to be offered lavishly. With their eyes open they will have to enter the jaws of death." The *Bharat Bandhu* says

that wars are indispensable for the real progress of the world. India has no choice but to prepare for war. So far the battle is non-violent, but God knows what form it will take in future. It prays to God to grant victory to the country through non-violent war. The *Garhwali* wishes the Civil Disobedience Committee to come to the conclusion that in spite of such mighty efforts and huge sacrifices the non-cooperation movement has remained unsuccessful and advise the country to adopt the policy of "responsive cooperation." The *Postal Union Bulletin* after an attack on the Moderates recommends the non-cooperators to oust them from the Councils. It advises the Congress to stand wholeheartedly for the elections as there is no use in keeping aloof when they have already decided to capture the municipalities and the boards which are as much official bodies as the Councils. The *Hamdam* protests against the *Pioneer's* advice to Government to take strong action against the members of the Civil Disobedience Committee, and says that the decline in popularity of British rule is the result of following the counsels of such reactionary papers. The *Mashriq* holds that the reason why the Congress Working Committee did not endorse the opinion of the *Jami'at-ul-Ulema* to boycott all English goods is that Hindus are very cunning and want to drive out not only the English but also the Muhammadans. The *Hamdam* urges the enlistment of one crore members by the *Khilafat* Committee to strengthen the *khilafat* organization and to collect a substantial income for carrying on its various activities. The *District Gazette*, Bijnor, asks the Musalmans to organize meetings and approach the Councils of Europe through the assistance of the Government of India. Commenting on the gagging order against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pandit Harkaran Nath Misra the *Leader* asks if it would not be more straightforward to declare the whole non-cooperation movement illegal and prohibit all speeches in support of even the most inoffensive parts of its programme. It thinks it is high time for the Government to revise its policy in view of altered circumstances and to see that freedom of speech is not needlessly interfered with.

Kumaun Forests.

Commenting on the resolution recently issued by Government with regard to the Kumaun Forests, the *Shakti* says that the intention is to deceive the people who cannot be satisfied without the reversion to *Assi Sal* boundaries, but this is impossible without *swaraj*. It, therefore, calls upon the people to devote all their energies to the winning of *swaraj*, and not to accept any thing from a Government of shopkeepers. The *Leader* finds it difficult to say what the effect of the recommendations of the Committee will be, but admits that they make on the whole an agreeable modification of the existing forest policy. The recommendation that excluded areas may be managed by *panchayats* will be welcomed.

Retrenchment.

Several papers have interested themselves in retrenchment. The *Hamdam* looks with suspicion on the action of the Military authorities in cutting down the expenditure on the Waziristan expeditionary force. It wants the Inchcape Committee not to be misled by temporary curtailments of this kind. The *Mashriq* urges that retrenchment should begin at the top. The salaries of Ministers should be cut down to 2,000 rupees. An effort to reduce the number of chaukidars and petty officials will result in great hardship to the poor thereby increasing the present unrest.

Local Government's policy

The responsibility of Ministers for the present policy of Government *vis à vis* non-cooperation has been the subject of much heated discussion. While the *Leader* maintains that the Hon'ble the Home Member as head of the department concerned is primarily responsible, the Ministers having agreed only to the inception of a strong policy and not the manner of its enforcement, the *Hamdam* and the *Haqiqat* are of opinion that the Ministers are as much responsible for the policy

of repression as the Home Member and the Governor. The *Aj* of Benares says that section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, is being illegally enforced and frightfully abused. If the irresponsible and despotic magistrates cannot behave like sensible men they should at least try to act in accordance with law. The *Swarajya* says that incidents like the application of the section against Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya show that Indians are now being forced to resort to civil disobedience and that the responsibility for this will be on the shoulders of Government. The *Abhyudaya* says that the abuse of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, is calculated to increase the ill-feeling between the rulers and the ruled.

Jail administration.

Several papers have criticised the jail administration with reference to the treatment of political prisoners. The *Hamdam* insists that the jail authorities should meet the ever-growing public demand for full information about the sad death of Avadh Narayan and wonders why the Local Government fights shy of an open enquiry into the matter.

Public services.

The *Hamdam* says that in spite of agitation in the Anglo-Indian and British press against the increase of the Indian element in public services, there is no power on earth which can deprive Indians of their just and proper rights much longer.

Earl Winterton's speech.

Earl Winterton's speech still continues to agitate the press. The *Hamdam* says that his remarks on military expenditure were highly disappointing and that he holds out no hope for a further instalment of reforms which shows that the English make concessions only under stress of circumstances. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the doubts regarding a change in the angle of vision of the British Cabinet, which were heard at the time of Mr. Montagu's resignation, have been confirmed by the speech of the Under Secretary of State. The extremist papers regard the statements of Messrs. Jamnadas Dwarkadas and Sheshgiri Iyer regarding Earl Winterton's speech as indicative of the moderate's loss of faith in the reforms. The *Pratap* says that "after all Mr. Sheshgiri Iyer has realized that he could do no good to the country through reforms. It is not the first time that our moderate friends have been deceived. There is yet time for them to come into the right path. The *Aj* writes in a similar strain and appeals to all Indians to gather at a temple of the motherland and cease running after the mirage of reforms.

Extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office.

The majority of Urdu papers strongly press for the extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office, in order to enable His Excellency to carry his various progressive schemes to completion, and handle the existing delicate and political situation tactfully. The *Hindustani* opposes it while the *Hamdam* and *Al Bashir* profess indifference. In reply to the view expressed by the United Provinces Liberal League that this agitation is not supported by the public, the *Anand* asks if the League can venture to claim that it represents public opinion. The *Mansur* looks upon the action of the Liberal League with suspicion, and thinks its success in this matter will spell disaster to Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Nijat* severely attacks the *Leader* and the Liberal League.

Dr. Sapru.

Several papers doubt whether Dr. Sapru's resignation was really caused by ill-health. The *Leader*, which eulogizes the services of the Law Member, hopes that dissatisfaction has nothing to do with his resignation, and that the prospects are brighter than they appear. The *Pioneer* says that Dr. Sapru has been one of the strongest and keenest supporters of the reforms and considers it unfortunate that his tenure of office in the Government of India is not destined to run its full course. *Al Khalil* says that his régime as Law Member cannot be forgotten owing to the abuse

of Criminal Law against political prisoners. The *Hamdam* welcomes his return to the public life of these provinces. All the Hindi papers which have so far commented on the resignation insinuate that the cause is not ill-health, but disagreement with the Government's policy in some important matters. The *Anand* expresses regret and eulogizes Dr. Sapru's services in the repeal of repressive laws and in connection with racial discrimination. The extremist papers unanimously blame Dr. Sapru for his share in the repressive measures and the prosecution of the Ali Brothers. The *Matri Bhumi* holds him responsible for thousands of young men having been sent to jail, but is inclined to think that patriotism has reasserted itself in the heart of Dr. Sapru and that he has realized his inability to do any good to the country from within the Government. The *Aj* holds that India did not benefit in any way from Dr. Sapru's appointment as Law Member and says :— "The soul of Lord Macaulay must have trembled in the other world to see the way in which the Indian Penal Code was interpreted during Dr. Sapru's time." It adds that it was neither glad at his appointment nor is sorry at his departure, for so long as the system of Government does not alter, no one, however high his position, can do harm or good.

NAINI TAL :
The 8th July, 1922.

J. E. GOUDGE,
Publicity Commissioner.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT CAMP PRESS, NAINI TAL.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 15th July, 1922.

The Civil War in Ireland.

THE Civil War in Ireland is receiving considerable attention in the Vernacular press and has been made the subject of comparison with the political situation in India. The *Azad* in a leading article points out that in spite of the bloodshed and anarchy now prevailing in Ireland, it is never said that Ireland is unfit for self-government. But Indian affairs are seen with other eyes and the English papers promptly preach the unfitness of India for self-government whenever there is any breach of the peace in a vast continent like India. Some papers are of opinion that but for Mr. Gandhi's inculcation of non-violence and soul-force in the country's struggle for freedom, the chapter of Irish anarchy and frightfulness would have been repeated in this country. The *Chattri* holds British policy in Ireland to be responsible for the Civil War and says that if India had adopted a creed of violence, she would have witnessed a civil war between the cooperators and the non-cooperators.

Turkish affairs.

The Muslim press has been convulsed at the news of the Greek bombardment of the unfortified port of Samsun and many bitter attacks have been made on the attitude of the British officers who are now controlling the straits and Constantinople, for having permitted the Greeks to turn the very seat of *khilafat* into a base for operations against the Muslim population of Anatolia. The *Medina* protests at the unwarrantable violation of the British pledge to treat Constantinople as a neutral territory and calls it a fresh move on the part of the enemies of Islam to destroy the *khilafat* and enslave Muslim populations. "All this goes to show that promises made to Musalmans are only made to be broken." Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon should be removed from the British Cabinet forthwith, if the world is to be saved from the catastrophe of a second and more bitter war, which is bound to be the outcome of their anti-Muslim activities. The *Hamdam* urges the British Government to prevent the impending war between Greece and Turkey and afford an opportunity to the Turks to secure a lasting and honourable peace. The *Najat* prophesies that the day is not distant when the sacred soil of Asia Minor will be free from the unholy presence of the Greeks. "Britain will then know what it is to be pro-Greek and how the lamentations of the oppressed cause the destruction of the oppressor." The refusal of American papers to give credence to the tales of Turkish atrocities in Asia Minor has been ascribed to American ideals of fair-play and justice. On the other hand the attitude of the *Times* and other English papers, which published accounts of the alleged atrocities, has been held up as an example of British policy which aims at finding an excuse for harming the Turks, who are fighting the battles of Islam. The *Medina* says that owing to the hostile nature of the British policy the Persians will also follow the Turks and ally themselves with the Bolsheviks. The Russian menace will then be brought perilously near to the doors of India. Unless the present British Cabinet is forced to resign the whole of Asia will rise against England.

The Near East Conference.

The *Independent* does not see the slightest reason for holding a Conference. It prophesies that it will be as empty of result as those that have preceded it. The East is now no longer to be impressed by Near East Conferences. It is to-day very well aware that Britain enters each such Conference

to intrigue and plot against the Turks; and at this latest Conference Britain will doubtless appear to the East completely unmasked as a foe of Turkey. The *Leader* on the other hand greets the news with satisfaction and hopes that this time some definite results might be arrived at. The Greeks have proved their unfitness for playing an Imperial rôle. They must clear out of Asia Minor bag and baggage. They have no Imperial or legal right to remain there.

British policy in Arabia.

Several Muslim papers have given copious extracts from the Egyptian and Turkish press relating to the conditions prevailing in Arabian lands. The series of articles written by Syed Rashid Raza, editor of *Al Manar* of Cairo who is described as the father of the pan-Arabian movement, have attracted considerable attention. The terms of various agreements between the British Government and the King of Hedjaz are described as aiming at the vassalage of King Husain to Britain and as her domination over Arab states. *Al Burid* reproduces extracts from Syed Rashid Raza's articles on British policy in Iraq, to show that British promises of help to the Arabs in establishing an Arab Empire were but a thin veneer. The same paper gives instances of Wahabi distrust of British policy in Central Arabia and describes their prowess on the borders of Iraq and Hedjaz. The liberty-loving Arabs are now disenchanted and even the people of Iraq demand that the British shall evacuate their country.

Indians in colonies.

The *Leader* regards the settlement of the question of Indians in Kenya as the acid test of Britain's good faith and acceptance of the principle of equality on which alone the Empire can stand. To trifle with it is to jeopardise Britain's Imperial future.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Northern Star* urges the necessity of closer union between different sections of the Indian population. Ever since the Musalmans came to India, their sympathies have been more with outside Musalmans than with their own country and motherland, India. "But if the *khilafat* question is the only or the chief issue which united our Muslim countrymen with the rest of the nation in the present non-cooperation movement, we fear the ultimate result of civil disobedience, if launched at once now, may not be as satisfactory as we wish it to be." National interest now demands that *khilafat*, and Congress shall be one, and civil disobedience should never be launched unless and until this union has been completely and irrevocably effected and established. The paper advises the Hindus and Musalmans of India to make the *khilafat* question a national one because a strong Turkey will constitute a bulwark of defence against the sweeping tide of occidental onrush on Asia. Similarly it urges that the cow-protection movement should be made a national item as the protection of the cow will cement the bonds of Hindu-Muslim unity which is the one and the only key to *swaraj*. With regard to the proposal of certain Punjab papers to hold a Conference of journalists to promote Hindu-Muslim unity in the province the *Hamdam* asserts that a change of hearts is what is needed and not a conference.

Moderates and Liberals.

In reply to the *Leader's* invitation to non-cooperators to join hands with the moderates in fighting the reactionary forces, the *Democrat* says "What is the use of mending the policy that you propose to follow? It has been tried times out of number and found wanting. It does not benefit mighty India's sons and daughters to take a bowl in their hands and go a begging for a few crumbs at the master's table. It is doubly debasing for it debases one who gives and one who receives. It is through direct action alone that subject nations have won their freedom; and as for constitutional agitation it is nonsense to talk of it, for constitution we have none."

Civil Disobedience Committee.

The *Najat* expects a revival of enthusiasm owing to the activities of the Civil Disobedience Committee. The *Hamdam* says that the omission of Oudh from the tour programme of the committee will cause deep disappointment among the victims of repression, and invites the committee to investigate locally into the unpleasant occurrences, specially in the Sitapur district. *Al Khalil* expresses apprehension that an anarchical party might arise in the country if the *Pioneer's* suggestion to put down the Committee's activities is carried out.

Political prisoners.

The Under Secretary of State's announcement that the number of political prisoners was not more than four thousand has been challenged by many papers. The *Leader* thinks that the round figure of twenty thousand is nearer the truth and urges upon Government to obtain from Local Governments the number of all political prisoners sent to jail during the last 18 months. Several papers speak of the Under Secretary of State's ignorance of Indian affairs. The *Swaraj* writes: "The truth is that the Secretary of State and other officers in England do not care to know how grossly the people are suffering from the atrocities perpetrated by the bureaucracy in this country." The *Hamdam* is of opinion that the Under Secretary of State has shown himself unfit to hold his high position owing to his lack of knowledge of Indian affairs. Extremist papers have continued to publish untrue and exaggerated accounts of ill-treatment of political prisoners in jails. The *Hamdam* expresses entire agreement with the view of the *Deccan Sabha* on the treatment of political prisoners in Bombay jails and reminds the Bombay Government that it holds in its jurisdiction the most highly respected leaders. The ill-treatment of distinguished prisoners wounds not only the feelings of the entire nation but also injures the interest of the British Empire. The *Aj* reiterates that the arrest and imprisonment of the 55 members of the Provincial Congress Committee in December last was a gross injustice and says that false idea of official prestige is preventing Government from righting the wrong. A writer in the *Pratap* signing himself as a cooperator appeals to Government to give up obstinacy and to release the prisoners out of regard for justice.

Law and order.

Commenting on the *Servant* defamation case the *Advocate* remarks "this case clearly proves that the liberty of press in this country is nothing but a mere dream. There was not a trace of it either when the act was on the Statute Book or after the repeal of the Act." The same paper characterizes the gagging order of the Magistrate of Kheri against Pandit Har Karan Nath Misra as an instance of the deprivation of the liberty of private individuals.

The services.

Some papers strongly criticise the abolition of the time limit for the retirement of Imperial officers on proportionate pensions. The *Hindi Kesri* says that to permit civil servants to go away whenever they like with their pockets full of Indian money would be intolerable any time, but is a hundred times inexcusable in the present financial stringency. The *Aj* holds that the officers retiring on proportionate pensions are virtually guilty of non-cooperating with the Reformed Government and yet they are regarded as loyal, and tears of sympathy are shed over their difficulties, but if any non-official non-cooperates with the reformed system of Government, he is treated as a seditionist and revolutionary and is sent to jail.

Retrenchment.

The *Aj* ridicules the attempt to effect economy in minor branches of the administration. Such economies will not lighten the burden of the people. It advocates substantial cuts in the Military department and the pay of high officials. The *Hindi Kesri* criticises the policy of Government with

regard to Waziristan and says that the question of reducing military expenditure cannot be solved until radical change is made in the policy advocated by the militarists. The *Najat* observes that the Inchcape Committee will serve no useful purpose if it fails to curtail the crushing military expenditure imposed upon India for Imperial purposes.

Zamindars and tenants.

The Raja of Jahangirabad's letters have revived the controversy with regard to the relations between zamindars and tenants. The *Leader* exposes the taluqdars and reveals their attitude towards their tenants and warns them that Bolshevik tendencies will take hold of the people if the zamindars remain insensible to the rights of the peasants. The *Pratap* denies that the taluqdars made any concession in connection with the Oudh Rent Bill. The condition of the tenants has become worse than it was before. The paper warns the Raja that the days of privilege are numbered and that the tide of democracy which swept away the Czar and the Kaiser cannot be expected to spare the taluqdars if they resist it.

Extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office.

The *Leader* continues to lead the opposition to an extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office, and has protested more than once in the course of the week against the insinuation that its activity in this controversy is due to personal considerations and the narrowness of the liberal policy. In defending the policy of the liberals the *Leader* says: "But amidst scorn and abuse, they have kept aloof, fighting against heavy odds, the banner of constitutional progress, which they believe is the only right method for India to adopt in the existing circumstances. The revolutionaries may call them traitors, the reactionaries among Indians may boycott them, the officials may distrust them, the ignorant may not understand their principles, and the socalled "nationalists" may despise them, but they cannot be diverted from their purpose of steadily pressing forward to the desired goal. The scions of an effete order, growing fat at the expense of a starving and rackrented tenantry, forgetting the fate of such powerful autocrats as the Czar and the Kaiser, may boast of their inflexible determination not to yield an iota of their unnatural and antiquated privileges to any power on earth and prance about in gaudy colours as the elect of society, and seek salvation in doing *puja* to tin-gods, but it is not from such people that India can expect anything in her struggle for freedom. It is the much condemned moderate fighting against forces of anarchy and reaction, who is trying to steer the national bark safely to the desired goal." In a leading article entitled 'A Moral Issue' the *Independent* argues that this question turns really on the desire of the landowning classes to maintain their privileges against the ryots and writes "If the agitation of the Taluqdars succeed and Sir Harcourt receive an extension of office, the fact will be made patent that the Reformed Government of India sets the interests and opinions of the landlords of this province above the interests and opinions of the ryots and the liberals,—and this even though the campaign of the landlords of which the agitation is a piece is one utterly indefensible on moral or democratic grounds." The *Mansur*, the *Nair-i-Azam*, the *Kayastha Hitkari* and the *Haqiqat* support Sir Harcourt Butler's extension on administrative and political grounds. The *Pratap* of Cawnpore opposes the extension on the ground that he tried his best to root out the non-cooperation movement and on account of his intensive repressive measures against political workers. The *Aj* while criticising the administration of Sir Harcourt Butler on the ground of repression, urges an extension till the battle of *swaraj* is over on the plea that every new Governor comes with some whims of his own, the satisfaction of which entails additional burdens on the taxpayer. The *Chattri* is of opinion that the mischief created by the Liberals by sowing discord between zamindars and their tenants requires the presence of a tactful and strong Governor like Sir Harcourt

Butler. The *Oudh Akhbar* deprecates further discussion as it is satisfied that the popular feeling with regard to the extension has been properly ventilated.

Dr. Sapru's resignation.

The Democrat describes Dr. Sapru's term of office as that of many illegalities and irregularities in the administration of law and justice. Never before was the law so much distorted for political ends as during the time of Dr. Sapru. The *Advocate* pays a tribute to Dr. Sapru's services, and the *Meerut Opinion* thinks that his departure from the Government of India will make the latter decidedly weaker. The *Swarajya* says that Dr. Sapru will be more entitled to the people's respect as a lawyer than as a Law Member.

Boycott and *swadeshi*.

Several Urdu and Hindi papers have published poems advocating *khaddar* and praising *charkha* which is considered powerful enough to ruin Lancashire. The *Matri Bhumi* warns dealers in foreign cloth that if they do not keep their promise the non-cooperators will then have to fight against them as they are fighting against the bureaucracy.

District Board Bill.

In a leading article the *Leader* attacks the Taluqdars of Oudh for trying to ruin the District Board Bill and says that the zamindars of Agra as well as the disinterested Taluqdars of Oudh should refuse to be stampeded into a position of hostility to this progressive measure. "Public opinion will not support the landed classes if they oppose the very principle of taxation in the Bill, but will condemn them for their extremely selfish, reactionary and shortsighted action." The *Hamdam* is of opinion that the Bill in its present aspect is satisfactory to no class or community and that if it is passed without improvement it will do no good to villagers, but will cause disputes and ill-feeling among the people. The same paper contains an appeal issued on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Zamindars' Conference in Lucknow in which the District Board Bill is entitled, in bold letters, as "a new misfortune." The zamindars and cultivators are both in danger and are asked to rally at Lucknow to protest against the new taxation proposed by a party which seeks its own ends by creating ill-feeling between landlords and their tenants.

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J. E. GOUDGE,
Publicity Commissioner.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 22nd July, 1922.

The Near East Conference.

THE Muslim press in general is apprehensive of the result of the Near East Conference. The *Hamdam* is afraid that the Conference will prelude future wars and bloodshed. The insistence of the British Government that the Paris proposals shall form the basis for discussion in the next Conference, only betrays the anti-Turkish policy of the British ministers. In the circumstances, its failure is a foregone conclusion. The *Haqiqat* is of opinion that the Near Eastern question has now passed the limit of Conferences where Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon's policy could be effective. A solution of this affair can now be reached only at the point of the sword. *Al Khalil* says that British statesmen are not yet inclined to do justice to the Turks. The *Medina* declares that if the Ministry of Lloyd George does not leave its pedestal of prestige and power and give up its pro-Greek attitude the proposed Conference will have the same fate as the Genoa Conference. The British join the Conference with the object of saving the Greeks from defeat by the Kemalists and of improving the financial position of the former. The *Matri Bhumi* accuses the British of having adopted an hypocritical policy towards Turkey and other nations and says that if John Bull would relinquish that policy peace would be restored not only in Turkey, but in the whole of Europe and Asia. The Paris programme, on the maintenance of which Britain insists as a condition of her participation in the Conference, is designed to ruin Turkey and to place her at the mercy of Greece.

Britain and Arabia.

The *Mecca Medina* protests against the reported exchange of territory between Britain and the King of Hedjaz and reminds the latter that his friendship with England can do him no good in this world or the next. It urges Amir Feisal not to acknowledge British suzerainity, otherwise Mesopotamia will prove another Ireland or Egypt. The *Hamdam* remarks that the proceedings of the Arab Conference at Karbala show that the English have not succeeded in Mesopotamia in their policy of "divide and rule" and commercial exploitation.

Indians in colonies.

The condition of Indians in British colonies continues to agitate the press. The *Northern Star* in a leading article asks: "What is the status of an Indian under the laws of the so-called Commonwealth of free nations, which passes by the name of the British Empire? We are no better than Helots and Serfs of the British people not only in their country, but alas, in our own home and country also!" The Imperial White race will never tolerate absolute equality of status to India and Indians as long as they hold the reins of power and we remain in our present lamentable condition of sheer dependability. The *Hamdam* says that the indifference of the Imperial Government towards the miserable plight of Indians in the dominions and colonies cannot but turn the hearts of the Indians from the English, and that the attitude of Mr. Churchill on the question does not augur well for the Empire. Mr. Shastri's tour has been the object of bitter attacks in the extremist press. The *Pratap* says that Mr. Shastri cannot succeed where even Mr. Gokhale failed. Vigorous agitation may temporarily ward off the impending difficulties of the Indians in colonies but nothing short of *swaraj* can solve the problem satisfactorily. The *Aj* exhorts the people to study the position of Indians in the colonies, not in the vain hope of being able to help

them, but in order to get an insight into the real nature of the Imperial policy towards India. The *Abhyudaya* complains that new acts are being enforced in South Africa, which are detrimental to Indian interests. The *Bharat Bandhu* calls upon all parties to sink their differences in order to speedily attain *swaraj*. It is the only means of redressing the wrongs done to Indians in the colonies.

The Hague Conference.

The pleasure which the failure of the Hague Conference has given to the extremist is demonstrated in the remarks of the *Najat*, which says that Mr. Lloyd George's egotism and obstinacy are paving the way for a terrible deluge in Europe. His policy has sounded the death knell of peace in the world.

Political propaganda.

Several papers have discussed whether the non-cooperation movement has succeeded or failed. The *Abhyudaya* is of opinion that the sufferings entailed by the movement have not been in vain. The tyrannies of Government have removed from it the support of world opinion, according to which the Indian Government has transgressed the limit of civilization and justice and has evoked sympathy for Indians in their just struggle. The paper, however, urges a reconsideration of the question of boycott of schools, colleges and law courts. The *Shakti* thinks that the people as a whole are indifferent to their condition in spite of untold sacrifices undergone by non-cooperators. "To help the bureaucracy to remain in this country even for a minute is a crime." The *Sudharak* thinks that nothing but bloodshed can result from *Satyagrah*, while everything can be achieved through cooperation. The *Vartman* holds that the people are not bound to obey the laws of the bureaucracy as they are detrimental to their interests. The paper is very optimistic about the results of the non-cooperation movement, and says that full preparations have been made in June and July and the agitation will soon assume a fiercer form and the repression of the bureaucracy will be entirely defeated. When the flag of non-cooperation is raised the brave soldiers who are resting now will rally under it. Picketing will again be commenced and the traders will quickly sign the pledge not to import foreign cloth. A lakh or two of the workers can go to jail and ten or twenty thousand can give up their lives. In a leading article entitled "can repression succeed," the *Meerut Opinion* appeals to Government to revise its policy. Government cannot bring peace into the country by keeping the leaders in jail, or by the use of *Aman Sabha* propaganda and its negative policy. "Non-cooperators have suffered enough and the might of Government has shown itself sufficiently. Now is the time to show magnanimity and release all the political prisoners."

Civil disobedience.

The *Oudh Akhbar* urges moderates to oppose the revolutionary activities of the Civil Disobedience Committee. Referring to the *Pioneer's* advice to Government to suspend the activities of this committee, the *Azad* declares that the members of the committee are only concentrating on *khaddar* and *swadeshi* and are urging the people to join the Congress and subscribe to the Tilak *Swaraj* fund. If this is rebellion then no educated Indian is free from sedition. The *Hamdam* and the *Mecca Medina* also condemn the *Pioneer* and hope that the Government will not act upon its advice. The *Haqiqat* is despondent as to the success of civil disobedience considering that the easiest and the simplest items in the programme have not been generally acted upon. People who cry for civil disobedience should first think within themselves how far they are personally prepared to undertake it. The present signs go to show that the success of the movement is almost impossible. *Al Bureed* urges that instead of the impracticable scheme of civil disobedience the leaders of the country should devote themselves to the establishment of mills and factories in order to provide the

necessary sinews of war and to make the country independent of English and foreign goods.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The question of Hindu-Muslim unity has received considerable attention in the press during the week and the Muslim papers in general blame the *Leader* and the *Tribune* for having added to the intensity of this controversy by attacking the Musalman members of Government in the Punjab and the United Provinces. *Al Bashir* ascribes the *Leader's* adverse comments on the Hon'ble the Home Member to religious prejudice and asks all justice loving persons to despise the *Leader's* opinion. The *Hamdam* considers it undignified that the Hon'ble Lala Har Krishna Lal's paper the *Tribune* in the Punjab and the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani's paper the *Leader* in United Provinces should have participated in attacking Musalman members of Government. The *Agra Akhbar* deplores the participation of Delhi Muhammadans in the religious festivals of Hindus and complains against the "touch-me-not" spirit and practice of Hindus towards Musalmans. *Al Bureed* is of opinion that cow protection should not be made a condition of Hindu-Muslim unity and that Hindus cannot expect Muhammadans to give up what is enjoined by their religion. The *Oudh Akhbar* considers the revival of the cow sacrifice controversy as injurious to Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Mashriq* holds that unity between Hindus and Musalmans is impossible. Musalmans can cultivate friendly relations with the Christian community only. The association of Hindus in the *khilafat* movement has given it a political complexion. The *Abhyudaya* holds Government policy to be responsible for the disunion between Hindus and Muhammadans. The Government's game is to increase and organize the strength of capitalists and zamindars and to divide Hindus and Muhammadans. Hindu-Muslim unity is the only infallible means of frustrating the tactics of Government.

***Swadeshi* and boycott.**

The *Aj* expresses its satisfaction at the decrease in the import of foreign cloth last year and urges the continuance of strenuous efforts to promote *swadeshi*, both on economic and political grounds. It thinks that the decrease in demand for foreign goods will compel the attention of foreign traders towards misgovernment in this country.

Labour and capital.

Several references have been made in the press to the effect that capitalists and landed classes are retarding the country's march towards *swaraj*. The *Mazdur*, the organ of the labour party, warns capitalists against the ill-treatment of labouring classes, who are awakening to a sense of their rights and importance and will soon assert themselves. It urges the need of active propaganda in order to awaken labour by means of speeches, pamphlets and newspapers with a view to enable it to take its proper share in the national struggle for freedom.

Zamindars' Conference.

The *Leader* has concentrated its energy in attacking the Zamindars' Conference held at Lucknow on July 14. In its opinion the conference was not a representative one. The zamindars whether of Agra or Oudh, who attended it represent none but themselves. Little value ought to be attached to such an unrepresentative conference by the zamindars in Agra and Oudh or by the Government. The speech of Raja Ram Pal Singh, the president of the Association, "was not worthy of him, but he spoke as the mouthpiece of that organization of Indian 'die-hards' misnamed the British India Association, which has nothing British about it except the membership of Sir Harcourt Butler." It warns the zamindars that the forces of democracy are undermining the foundation of feudal ownership. "No position is 'unassailable' these days, however tenaciously one may stick to it." It complains that the audience was deliberately misled

with regard to the District Board Bill, specially in relation to the taxation clauses. The *Anand* regards the Zamindars' Conference as a sign of awakening among them, which will ultimately be for the good of the country. It hopes that in their efforts to protect their interest they will do nothing to injure those of others. The *Matri Bhumi* holds that the real object of the promoters of the conference was to advertise their loyalty. It does not redound to the credit of the landowners to waste time in futile conferences when the flower of the country is being crushed and the noblest men in the province are rotting in jails. If the taluqdars and zamindars want to be real leaders of the country they ought to voice the real demands of the public. The *Abhyudaya* suspects that the real motive of the opposition to the District Board Bill and the demand for the extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office is to crush the political life of the country by compelling the ministers to resign, giving the taluqdars and zamindars a prominent position and placing the tenants entirely at their mercy. The *Oudh Akhbar* welcomes the activities of the zamindars and their entry into public life, which augur well for the future. They have been aroused to a sense of their delicate position brought about by the activities of the Liberal League. The *Hindustani* takes the meetings to be a failure. There was no warmth in spite of a lavish supply of refreshments.

Retrenchment.

The *Hindi Kesari* does not expect any benefit from the Inchcape Committee. "Economy in the use of paper will be effected, and the number of low paid clerks will be reduced, but all the money thus saved will not even cover the expenses of the committee." In addition to the drastic reduction of military expenditure, the paper recommends the abolition of a number of posts, such as those of Divisional Commissioners, Superintending Engineers, Deputy Directors of Agriculture, Deputy Commissioners of Salt and Excise departments, Conservators of Forests, Assistant Registrars of Co-operative Societies and Deputy Sanitary Commissioners, who act only as post offices and delay the disposal of work.

Extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office.

While the *Hindustani* and the *Surmai Rozgar* oppose the extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office because of the action taken under the Criminal Law Amendment Act, the *Rahnuma*, the *Zulqarnain* and the *Mashriq* publish leading articles in favour of the extension on the ground of the delicate political situation in the country and for the completion of various progressive schemes now in hand, and maintain that with the exception of the miscroscopic minority of the members of the Liberal League the whole province supports the extension.

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J. E. GOUDGE,

Publicity Commissioner.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 29th July, 1922.

The Near East Conference.

THE Near East Conference continues to be the subject of discussion in the press. The *Independent* which under the new editor is showing strong Muslim sympathies says that the terms which are sought to be enforced "are the final expression of the cowardly spirit of that crusade which the Christian people of Europe have waged overtly against the Muslim Turks and the world of Islam for the past sixty years." There are few Muslims alive to-day, adds the paper, who do not know the policy of the British diplomats and in the very near future "there will not be a Muslim in the world who will lift a hand to save the British Empire from the doom towards which the capitalist policy-moulders drive it." The Muslim papers persist in prophesying that the Conference will be a failure. According to the *Zulqarnain* the Conference will be fruitless unless the allies compel Greece to evacuate Turkish territory. The *Hamdam* opines that the Turks cannot commit suicide by accepting the deceitful terms proposed by the allies as a basis for negotiations at the Conference. *Al Khalil* condemns the British proposals as anti-Turkish and hopes that the British Government will change its attitude towards Muslim States in view of the reported Turkish alliance with Russia and Germany.

The Mandates.

The *Independent* regards the confirmation by the Council of the League of Nations of the terms of the mandate for Syria and Palestine as a disregard of the demands of Indian Muslims that their Holy Places should be returned to the wardenship of the Sultan-Khalifa. It regards mandates as an euphemism for robbery of other peoples' territories and says that the ultimate future of these Eastern lands will be decided not by the "non-existent" League of Nations, but by the wide-awake and resentful East. The Muslim Press continues to protest against the British occupation of Mesopotamia. The *Hamdam* says that the Arabs fully realize that the British mandate of Mesopotamia means its subjugation for the benefit of British capitalists and that Mr. Churchill's speech on the subject is calculated to increase Muslim distrust of England. The *Hamdard* warns Britain that the Arabs in Mesopotamia, though quiet at present, may rise in revolt as soon as British forces are reduced. The *Medina* accuses the British of being anti-Muhammadan and of breach of promises made to Mesopotamians and says that Emir Feisal being a mere puppet, the country is virtually under the rule of the British High Commissioner. The *Najat* apprehends a conflagration in the East and says that it will be very difficult for Muslims to keep aloof from it owing to the spirit of Muslim brotherhood. The paper adds that for the sake of the peace of the world British statesmen should realize the gravity of the situation and give up their present policy.

Indians in colonies.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* approvingly refers to the resolution of the Bombay meeting threatening virtual non-cooperation by India in inter-Imperial affairs so long as the status of Indians is not acknowledged as equal to that of the Colonials. The paper adds that the proud assertion of privileges of colour in everything, is fatal to the future relations between the East and the West.

Mr. Shastri's recent statement that Mr. Gandhi's trial was a splendid example of British justice has elicited many bitter comments. The *Medina* regrets that India's money is being wasted on his tour. *Al Bashir* remarks that the Liberal party led by Mr. Shastri consists of selfish men who seek their own aggrandisement regardless of the interests of the country. The *Hamdard* says that Mr. Shastri's utterances should not be taken as representing the real sentiments of India. The *Matri Bhumi* says:—"Let Mr. Shastri have a few more dinners and he will go to the length of saying that to keep India in slavery is the noblest example of British justice." The *Aj* regards Mr. Shastri's statement as the limit of slave mentality and says that his utterances instead of raising the status of Indians in the Colonies are calculated to lower it. The *Abhyudaya* says that it has been deeply pained by Mr. Shastri's utterance and prays to God to have mercy on Mr. Shastri. The *Independent* insinuates that in order to defend the British Government in his tours Mr. Shastri has to resort to prevarications and suggests that the only prudent course for him is to run back to India and work for and win *swaraj*.

Military expenditure.

The Leader vehemently protests against India being saddled with additional military expenditure on account of British troops in this country without any formal consultation with the India office or the authorities in India. It goes on to say:—"The real danger lies not in any external foe but in the internal dissatisfaction which has been growing apace with rising prices and increasing taxation. The intolerable improductive military expenditure is the potent cause of it. Unless this is brought under the control of the Indian Government and the legislature it will ruin the Government and the country. A careful perusal of any non-cooperation organ will reveal the fact that the essential basis of the movement is economic discontent. It seeks in various crude ways to free India from economic thraldom." The *Aj* and the *Anand* express a similar view.

Political propaganda.

There is distinct note of pessimism in most of the Hindi newspapers regarding the present situation. The *Abhyudaya* complains of waning enthusiasm among the people not only in villages, but in towns also. "The people are showing signs of cowardice, and repression has succeeded at least for the time being. The country has become the victim of galloping phthisis and the sale of foreign cloth is increasing." The *Vartman*, which is generally optimistic, betrays signs of anxiety owing to the despondency and indifference of the people who only a few months ago were most enthusiastic. The *Leader* hopes that things are once more settling down on old foundations and that the efforts of the Moderates have not altogether been a failure.

Under the heading "A sordid system," the *Independent* writes:—"From the Punjab to Burma we are being treated to revelations of greed, dishonesty and corruption in high bureaucratic places." It regards the present system as one from which mere self-respect must force every decent man and woman to turn away in disgust and loathing. The paper characterizes the salaries paid to Ministers as "monstrous" and regards them as "part of the price paid to the alien for their complicity in the foul work of riveting the chains of bondage on this country and her people." The *Leader* strongly protests against this sweeping condemnation of the present system and gives the following retort to the allegations against the Ministers' salaries:—"The 'monstrous' salaries of Ministers honestly and openly taken for work done cannot for an instant be compared in monstrosity with hundreds of thousands unaccountably spent by some leaders who have traded on public credulity."

The *Pioneer* draws attention to quotations in the Indian press from Bolshevik papers and suggests that Bolshevik influences are at work in the extremist press in this country. (There is perhaps some ground for this opinion.)

Civil disobedience.

Although a small number of extremist papers advocate the immediate adoption of civil disobedience, the press is generally sceptical of the wisdom of immediate action. The *Independent* hazards the opinion that Indian Nationalists desire an immediate recourse to civil disobedience. The *Vartman* says that if the non-cooperation movement is to continue, civil disobedience should at once be commenced. All other papers disapprove of civil disobedience. The *Aj* is of opinion that the arbitrary orders of the police and the magistracy cannot be obeyed without compromising one's self-respect and therefore considers individual civil disobedience to be necessary, but would not raise the question of mass civil disobedience at present. The *Anand* holds that nothing but harm can result from civil disobedience and therefore calls upon the responsible leaders of the non-cooperation movement to declare themselves unequivocally against it in order to restrain the more restless spirits. The *Haqiqat* doubts whether civil disobedience can succeed and says it will be wrong to plunge the nation into a hazardous experiment without adequate preparations.

The Criminal Investigation department and the Police.

The activities of the police and the Criminal Investigation department have come in for a great deal of criticism in a section of the press. The *Aj* complains of high-handedness of the police and district authorities in Benares. It is alleged that people walking on the roads are beaten and abused, that things are taken away from their persons, that houses are entered in the absence of masters, that locks are broken and things removed.

Zamindars' Conference and the District Boards' Bill.

The *Leader* continues to criticize the opposition to the District Boards' Bill and says that those who seek to wreck the Bill are really seeking to lay the axe at the root of self-government and are the enemies of democratic progress and of the growth of representative institutions. The *Meerut Opinion* says:—"the true secret of the present agitation lies in an effort by the landlords to discredit the administration of the present Ministers and that is why we believe that the District Boards' Bill has been dragged in the controversy and they themselves are perhaps in the run for a ministership and are making frantic efforts to capture the same." The *Independent* regards the Ministers' support of the tenants as purely accidental and inspired by selfish motives. The *Aj* strongly condemns the attitude of the landlords towards the Bill and holds that their apprehensions regarding the taxation clauses are not justified. No measure of self-government, says the paper, will be worth the name if it does not confer the power of self-taxation. The paper gives credit to the Hon'ble Minister of Local Self-Government and Public Health for the framing of the most democratic local self-Government measure ever introduced in the Council. The *Swarajya* (Unao) on the other hand is of opinion that the Taluqdars have voiced the true sentiments both of the zamindars and the tenants by opposing the taxation clauses of the Bill for "neither the zamindars nor the tenants can afford to pay further taxes." The *Swarajya* (Allahabad) warns the Taluqdars that they will not be able to protect their real interests and solve the intricate problems of the country by flattering the Governors, and exhorts them to join the people in their endeavours to win *swaraj*. Urdu papers, with the exception of the *Hindustani* and the *Azad*, hold that the Conference was successful and strongly support the opposition to the taxation clauses which, they hold, will be ruinous for the landholders. The *Hamdard* says that if the Bill is passed the economic condition of the provinces will be

seriously affected and Government will lose the support of the most loyal section of the population. *Al Burid* says that the Liberals are out to set zamindars and tenants by the ears in order to maintain their own influence. *Al Khalil* considers the proposed burden on zamindars as highly oppressive and ruinous. The *Hamdam*, the *Zulqarnain* and *Al Burid* complain that *Leader* and the *Hindustani* have tried to belittle the Conference by denying its representative character and distorting facts to suit their purpose. The *Hindustani* contends that the resolution for the extension of the term of Sir Harcourt Butler's office can carry no weight as the Conference was not a representative body. The *Azad* considers the landholders' agitation against the District Boards' Bill as artificial. The *Hindustani* maintains that the peasants are not opposed to the Bill.

Arms Rules Committee.

The papers express much disappointment at the official evidence before the Arms Rules Committee. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says:—"Where Indian demands are only in keeping with the realities in other advanced countries the official must learn gracefully to concede." The *Leader* complains that in spite of the amendment of the Arms Act and the modifications made in the Arms Rules, people can only keep firearms through the favour of the Executive and not because of a recognition of their right to carry them. The paper protests against the policy as detrimental to the people's capacity for self-defence which is recognized to be essential for self-government. The *Aj* urges the removal of all discriminations in the administration of the Arms Rules and says that the carrying of arms for self-defence must be recognized as the inherent right of the people.

Treatment of political prisoners.

The editors of *Abhyudaya* and the *Pratap* and some other political prisoners have, on their release, written long accounts of alleged ill-treatment of political prisoners in jails. The treatment of ordinary prisoners has also come in for a great deal of strong criticism. The *Hamdam* takes exception to the order restricting interviews with political prisoners in the Lucknow jail, to only one interviewer instead of five in a week, without any notice to the prisoners or the public. Referring to the report that Mr. Gandhi is not allowed even lamplight at night, the *Najat* remarks that such treatment is a relic of the times when the eyes of political prisoners were put out.

United Provinces Council Sessions.

The *Leader* protests against the postponement of the July-August session of the United Provinces Council and urges that a meeting should be convened in the first week of August for the ventilation of questions of public interest. The *Aj* also expresses the same view. Referring to the postponement of the sessions of the various Legislative Councils, the *Abhyudaya* asks:—"Is this a fortuitous coincidence, or have the sessions been postponed in pursuance of some policy?" Is the Government contemplating some change in its present policy? On the other hand, the *Anand* welcomes the postponement in the hope that in the meanwhile the differences between the taluqdars and liberals may be made up.

Labour and capital.

The *Mazdur* urges the establishment of conciliation boards on the lines of those established in Europe as a means of preventing industrial disputes.

***Swadeshi* and boycott.**

The extremist section of the vernacular press is becoming more and more assiduous in the advocacy of *khaddar* and cloth. Poetry and scriptures are being pressed into service to bolster up the *charkha*. The *Abhyudaya* calls upon the workers to impress upon the people that to sell or use foreign cloth amounts to participation in dishonouring the motherland. The *Mansur* asks congressmen to boycott British goods in order to bring the British to their senses. Several Hindi papers are publishing letters quoting

chapter and verse in support of the allegations that the fat, blood and bones of cows and pigs are used in the manufacture of foreign cloth, sugar and saffron.

Extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office.

The controversy regarding the extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office is still being pursued by the vernacular press. The extremist Hindi papers, while professing indifference regarding the personality of Governors in the present system, criticise Sir Harcourt Butler's régime as extraordinarily repressive. Among the Urdu press the *Azad* and the *Hindustani* oppose the proposal while most other papers, whether moderate or nationalist, support it.

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The 29th July, 1922.

J. E. GOUDGE,

Publicity Commissioner.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 5th August, 1922.

Near East politics.

BRITISH policy with regard to Turkey continues to be bitterly criticised in the Extremist press. Commenting on the refusal of the Allies to allow Greece to occupy Constantinople, the *Independent* says that the Greeks have seemingly received over and over again the most convincing proof that the British Coalition Cabinet is nothing but the handmaid to the Greek lust for blood and territory. "And so, the most vehement assertions of the Allies that they will resist a Greek advance on Constantinople may seem just so much eye-wash to the knowing Greeks." The paper is inclined to the opinion that "the Greeks are now engaged in working a gigantic propaganda 'stunt' in collusion with their friends in the British Cabinet." The *Mashriq* prophesies that the present attitude of the British Cabinet towards Turco-Greek affairs will not succeed in achieving its objects but will only serve to provoke the Muslims all the more.

Commenting on the Palestine Mandate, the *Leader* suggests that in order to satisfy the Arabs the Allies ought to bring representative Jews and Arabs together in a conference and attempt to obtain a solution of the outstanding questions acceptable to both. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* holds that the Palestine problem can be solved by protecting the Arabs and restricting Jewish immigration and predominance in the Government.

Referring to the news that the Sublime Porte and the Kemalist Government have come to an understanding, the *Independent* writes that the Porte and the Kemalists have always been friends. "Indeed, the Anatolian assembly is composed of members of the Turkish Parliament who fled from Constantinople rather than suffer further humiliation at the hands of the British Dictator, General Harrington. It has been Britain's honest way to pretend that the Sublime Porte is the real Government of Turkey when the fact is that the Porte has been peremptorily ordered to obey the dictates of the British High Commissioner. On the Turkish Parliament's refusal to obey these orders the Sultan was compelled by the British Commissioner to dissolve the Parliament which promptly transferred itself to Angora, becoming the National Assembly. In the meanwhile 'bought' Turks were nominated to Constantinople Parliament and it was these hirelings who were bullied into signing the Treaty of Sèvres."

Indians in the colonies.

The treatment of Indians in the colonies is still receiving considerable attention in the press. The *Advocate* is of opinion that appeals to British statesmen and the British constitution having failed to secure better treatment for Indians in the colonies, recourse must be had to more effective means of expressing public feeling on the subject. It suggests therefore that India should not participate in the coming Empire Exhibition and that the Legislative Assembly should cancel the resolution making a grant of Rs. 25 lakhs towards it. The *Aj* tries to make out that the colonists have in the past not been sympathetic towards Britain's imperialistic ideas and that therefore they cannot be expected to appreciate Mr. Sastri's exuberant professions of love for the Empire. The paper adds: "By this blind love for the Empire Mr. Sastri is

making India a laughing stock in the colonies. India's emancipation cannot be achieved through flattery and sacrifice of self-respect."

Non-cooperation programme.

The evidence of Mr. Kelkar before the Civil Disobedience Committee has evoked a keen discussion of the entire non-cooperation programme. The *Leader* thinks that there can be no more candid confession than Mr. Kelkar's statement of the utterly mistaken and injurious nature of the whole movement and regards this as a triumph of constitutionalism. The paper hopes that the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee is digging the grave for the formal burial of the non-cooperation corpse. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* holds a similar view and remarks:— "The Maharashtra revolt is, after all, an acknowledgment by the political classes of the councils constituting a better arena for their gladiatorial propensities than the jail." The *Hindi Kesari* holds that by entering the councils the non-cooperators will be able to advance every item of the non-cooperation programme whether constructive or destructive, and even civil disobedience. The paper reminds its readers that in the reign of Charles I members of parliament were the first to begin civil disobedience. The *Vartman* disagrees with this view and apprehends that such relaxations as are proposed by Mr. Kelkar will be prejudicial to most items of the non-cooperation programme, as the majority of the people are following them from a sense of compulsion. The *Aj* considers the official system of education so bad that it would prefer people going without it, but inasmuch as it is regarded by the people as the chief means of livelihood, it considers impracticable the boycott of schools and colleges on a large scale. It, however, urges the Congress to try to impress upon the people that the education imparted under official control is worthless and that they should train their children in their traditional vocations so as to make them independent of Government help. Regarding the boycott of law courts, the paper says: "As the bureaucracy has taken undue advantage of the non-cooperators' refusal to put up defence in cases in which they are really prosecuted for their political activities but are charged under non-political sections of the Criminal Law, Congressmen should be authorized to defend themselves and cross-examine witnesses in cases under the ordinary law, but not in cases that are clearly political." With regard to the boycott of councils the paper is of opinion that the councils have not been able to achieve any great results and that the members have been inspired by selfishness and that by tea parties and dinners they have been won over to the official side. The paper regards the system of election to be so defective as to make it impossible for able and honest people to enter the councils. It asks the public to remember that Ireland had sixty-six members under John Redmond in Parliament who despite constitutionalist opposition and obstructionist methods for years failed to get an iota of what they wanted. The paper, therefore, deprecates the reopening of the question of entering the councils, but suggests an authoritative declaration being made to the effect that membership of councils will not be regarded as a bar to the holding of an office in the Congress. The *Anand* expresses approval of the evidence of Mr. Kelkar and hopes that the report of the Civil Disobedience Committee will sound the death-knell of the non-cooperation movement. The *Abhyudaya* while recommending a reconsideration of some of the items of the programme calls upon the Hon'ble Mr. Chintamani to resign his Ministership as "injustice has transgressed the limit." It asks him whether he is aware that demi-official instructions have been sent to District Magistrates and Deputy Collectors to prepare a list of those persons in villages and tahsils who take a prominent part in public and political activities and to prosecute them under sections 107 and 110 and call upon them to furnish securities. It warns him that he will be forced to resign sooner or later as the forces that are working against him and all political parties will try to put an end to his

official career and to the life of the liberal party and political activities of the province. He may not be able to stop injustice but he can withhold moral support from it by his resignation of his ministership. The *Hamdam* is of opinion that a change in the Congress programme is indispensable in view of the general apathy towards it and in order to conciliate the Maharashtra party. The paper thinks that unless this is done the Congress will fall in public estimation and its ranks will be thinned. The *Haqiqat* holds that the non-cooperation movement has become dead and the people have been seized with despair. It, therefore, advises the Congress to formulate a new programme for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Medina* admits that the nationalists have been defeated by Government, but exhorts them not to lose heart, but to push on with the constructive programme with fortitude and perseverance in the hope that God may yet grant victory even in the darkest moment. The *Oudh Akhbar* deplores the resumption of picketing in Calcutta and urges the Congress leaders to stick to the constructive programme and to prevent misplaced enthusiasm and agitation from taking hold of the people.

Military expenditure.

The *Leader* has continued its attack on the military expenditure, especially control of it by the War office. It says:—"If the central Government is made to appear as a mere tool of the British Government, impotent to give effect to the wishes of the Legislative Assembly in important matters, in spite of the fact that it agrees with them, then it is bound to suffer in prestige and to be treated more or less with contempt. A serious blow will be dealt to the new constitutional experiment, and the position of the constitutional party will be still further weakened. The Legislative Assembly will also lose its influence and prestige, so far as the people are concerned, if it follows a policy of cooperation with such a Government, and it will be compelled, under the pressure of public opinion, to resort more and more to obstructive tactics. This may end in the wrecking of the Reforms and along with it of all hopes of constitutional progress." The *Advocate* suggests that the proportion of British to Indian soldiers should be reduced to 1 to 10 and if this be not possible, the British Government should be asked to find money for the maintenance of the British soldiers in India from the Imperial Exchequer. The *Vartman* writes: "Economy and foreign rule are incompatible and even if the Government sincerely wants to effect economy it cannot succeed. The extravagance of the bureaucracy alone is enough to keep the non-cooperation agitation alive and vigorous. All the white officials who are called to India generally come here from greed. The aim of most of them is to rob India of her wealth. The British Government must perforce maintain a large standing army to save it from revolution for it knows that unlike national governments it is not based on popular opinion and confidence. Not even ten Inchcape Committees can effect any reduction in expenditure which has increased since the inauguration of Reforms, for members of councils are themselves robbing the country with both hands." The *Garhwali* holds excessive military expenditure to be responsible for high prices and the consequent discontent among the people which it says is more dangerous than foreign invasions. The *Najat* says that if the loyalty of the police is above suspicion, huge expenditure on British soldiers is unnecessary, but if Britain does not trust the police, she should bear this expenditure herself.

The District Boards Bill.

The District Boards Bill is still receiving attention in the vernacular press. The *Pratap* recognizes that if the Bill is passed it will have the effect of improving the position of the District Boards. Still, it deprecates the provisions of the Bill as falling far short of the requirements of a free and civilized country. Exception is specially taken to the power proposed to be given to the Local Government to remove undesirable members. This

power is regarded as being opposed to democratic principles and derogatory to the liberty and dignity of the Boards. While the provisions empowering the Board to impose taxes are supported, it is urged that any additional burden imposed upon the tenants will be a mistake of the first magnitude and that the taxes allotted as the portion of tenants should be borne by Local Governments and met by economy in expenditure. The taluqdars and zamindars are regarded as being well able to bear the expenses of improving the condition of villages and their tenantry and they are warned of the spread of Bolshevik principles if they fail to treat their tenants properly and do not refrain from the attitude exhibited by them at the Lucknow Conference. In conclusion the paper appeals to the District Congress Committees to capture the Boards and make them powerful instruments for nation building. The *Anand* appeals to the zamindars and liberals to make up their differences by a compromise. The zamindars are advised to give up their opposition to the District Boards Bill and the liberals not to oppose the extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office. It warns the zamindars that if they dissociate themselves from the liberals they will sooner or later have to face combined opposition of the people and the tenants. The *Rajput* disapproves the taxation clauses of the Bill on the ground that at present neither the small zamindars nor the tenants can afford to pay more taxes. The *Mashriq* says that meetings were held at several places to elect delegates for the Taluqdars' Conference and that the speeches at the Conference indicated the strength of the feeling among all classes in favour of the extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office. *Al Burid* warns the peasants against the attempts of the liberals to set them against the landholders, as they are not friendly to them and have sought to impose a tax upon them under the District Boards Bill.

Arms Rules Committee.

The dacoities in Sindh have been used by the papers to criticise the evidence tendered by officials before the Arms Rules Committee. The *Leader* writes:—"The responsibility for such occurrences cannot be escaped by a Government which is neither able to protect the people nor allows them the means of protecting themselves. Let not the Government salve its conscience by entertaining the untested belief that limited as its power of protecting the rural dweller is, he would be worse off if given the means of self-defence." The *Independent* says:—"The truth is that all the hypocritical assertions about the loyalty of the teeming masses notwithstanding, our rulers fear to trust the people." The *Aj* say:—"In spite of the fact that Babu Bhagwan Das and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's licences were forfeited, official witnesses continue to assert that political considerations are not kept in view in granting licences. The fact is that keeping of arms for self-defence is regarded not as a right of the people but is made dependent upon the favour of officials. Under these circumstances is it unfair to say that justice seems to be impossible under bureaucratic rule?" The *Oudh Akhbar* observes that if the committee does not take care to recommend such amendments as will satisfy the public, all the expenses on, and the labours of, the committee will be wasted. Referring to the evidence of some military officers against the relaxation of existing rules, the *Mecca Medina* remarks that the Government has simply wasted time and money in appointing the committee, especially when India has now come to believe in non-violence. The *Azad* contends that Indians are not greater law-breakers and seditionists than people of other parts of the world. The paper holds that evidence unfavourable to a liberal administration of the rules is based upon the distrust of Indians and asks why a narrow policy should be adopted in British India if the establishment of self-government within the shortest possible time is the goal of British rule in the country and when no harm is visible in Indian States by allowing people to keep arms freely.

Treatment of political prisoners.

There have been bitter complaints of ill-treatment of political prisoners in jails, especially of Mr. Gandhi. Commenting on the defeat of the Bombay Government over the question of treatment of political prisoners, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the surprise is not that the Government was defeated, but that the defeat should have been by such a narrow majority. In the demand for exceptional treatment to political prisoners, the Indian publicist is not introducing any new political theory, but is only asking for the extension to the Indian jails of certain well-known principles already accepted in advanced countries like England and America. "The stability of Government in India would surely never be shaken simply because Mahatma Gandhi has been given a light or is permitted to read certain newspapers." The *Independent* writes:—"The success of the 'revolutionaries' in bringing the Government into 'hatred and contempt' pales into insignificance before the achievements of the bureaucratic officials such as those in charge of the presidency of Bombay. While we are sure the treatment meted out to the Mahatma does not in the least affect him, it serves to reveal the Government in its nakedness." The *Vartman* writes:—"Such harsh treatment as is meted out to Mr. Gandhi has never been meted out to any such popular leader by any civilized Government." The *Anand* also condemns the treatment meted out to Mr. Gandhi in jail and appeals to the Government of India to instruct the Bombay Government to treat him better. The *Aj* hopes that as a result of the revelations made by political prisoners of ill-treatment in jails, there will be a speedy improvement in the conditions in jails, that the autocracy of the jail officials will be curbed and that the prisoners will be treated as human beings. Several papers have strongly condemned the treatment meted out to Professor Dharmvir of Kashi Vidya Pith. The *Azad* complains that the police is habitually oppressive and makes no distinction between political prisoners and ordinary criminals. Such ill-treatment, says the paper, turns the public against the authorities.

Cow-protection and Hindu-Muslim unity.

The question of cow-protection and Hindu-Muslim unity is receiving increasing attention. The *Independent* deprecates all proposals for stopping of cow-slaughter by legislation and holds that the Muslims' voluntary abstinence from cow-killing offers a far more effective measure of protection for the cow in India than any municipal or district board legislation. The *Abhyudaya* hopes that on the occasion of the *Bakr 'Id* Hindus and Muhammadans will discharge their duties properly and calls upon the Hindus to show forbearance if any Criminal Investigation Department people, policemen, office seekers or shortsighted Musalmans make any mistake. The *Garhwali* advocates the stopping of cow-slaughter by law as it holds it is responsible for religious, moral, physical and mental decline of the Hindus. The *Nava Bharat* calls upon the people to resort to peaceful *Satyagrah* for cow-protection. The Muslim press holds unanimously that stoppage of cow-slaughter by force or through legislature is impossible and will strain Hindu-Muslim relations. It regards persuasion as the only means of effecting the stoppage of cow-slaughter and thinks that compulsion from either side will make matters only worse. This view is held by the *Aligarh Gazette*, the *Hamdam*, the *Hamdard* and the *Mansúr*. The *Najat* adds that by quarrelling over the cow-slaughter question, the two communities will be playing into the hands of the bureaucracy. The *Hindustani* welcomes a *fatwa* issued in Afghanistan prohibiting cow-killing in the interests of Hindu-Muslim unity and urges that such a measure is all the more necessary in India. *Al Bashir* protests against anti-Muhammadan attacks in a section of the Nationalist press represented by the *Tribune* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as calculated to weaken Hindu-Muslim unity which it regards as essential for the success of the national struggle for freedom.

Extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office.

The *Oudh Akhbar* and the *Anand Pracharak* continue to support the proposal for the extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of office and to hold that the liberal opposition has broken down.

Mr. Tilak's death anniversary.

The English and Hindi nationalist papers have paid eloquent tributes to the memory of Mr. Tilak and have generally appealed to the people to resolve to follow his teachings for the speedy achievement of *swaraj*. The *Independent* writes :—"The life of Lokmanya Tilak and his death carry a lesson to India and the Indians of to-day which we may neglect at our peril. There were some who called themselves his followers who but recently showed how poorly they followed him. They urged that it was 'expedient' and 'worldly-wise' to cooperate with the councils—those professed followers of the man whose last profession of faith in his death bed was a dying Brahman's blessing on the non-cooperation movement, the man who had never stooped to a compromise in all his life."

Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque.

Several papers have strongly criticised the action taken against, and sentence passed upon, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque and have expressed their admiration for his statement in the court. The case is regarded as a menace to the liberty of the press. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes :—"Those who looked forward to the repeal of the Press Act inaugurating the liberty of the Indian press are necessarily startled at this development of bureaucratic ingenuity."

Government expenditure on churches.

The *Hamdam* objects to Government revenue being spent on churches and says that money for this purpose should be realized from Christians as it is unfair to impose this expenditure on poor non-Christian tax payers.

The Allahabad High Court.

The *Oudh Akhbar* applauds the decision of the Allahabad High Court in sentencing Eaton to death for murdering a chaukidar and expresses the hope that in the interests of good relations between the rulers and the ruled mercy will not be granted to him.

Suit against Sir Sankaran Nair.

The papers welcome the institution of the suit against Sir Sankaran Nair by Sir Michael O'Dwyer as likely to reveal some more facts connected with the Martial Law régime in the Punjab.

Judicial reform.

Commenting on Mr. W. H. Taft's tribute to British justice, the *Leader* writes :—"It was the conviction of many great Indian political leaders in the past that British rule in this country was founded on the bed-rock of British justice. But latterly this faith has been shaken, and no greater task awaits the British statesmen than to restore it." As steps in this direction the paper suggests equal treatment of Indians in all parts of the Empire, freedom to manage their own affairs in as short a time as possible, cheap and speedy administration of justice, the separation of judicial and executive functions and the removal of racial distinctions.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 12th August, 1922.

The Near East.

THE news of the threatened Greek attack on Constantinople has given a fresh impetus to the Muslim press to comment on the bona fides of the intentions of the allied powers. The *Hamdam* does not believe in the assurance of the High Commissioners that the Greek advance against Constantinople would be resisted by force, and apprehends that the Allies have secretly helped the Greeks with money and war materials to deal a fatal blow to the nationalist Turks and the Khilafat and that a life and death struggle is soon going to ensue between the Turks and Greeks. In a subsequent article reviewing the Premier's speech in Parliament on Near Eastern questions, the *Hamdam* is satisfied that its surmise as to some great power being behind the Greeks in their present aggressive intentions, has to a large extent proved correct. In its opinion the Premier's speech leaves little doubt that the British Cabinet is bent on destroying the Turks. The *Najat* quotes a nationalist Turk to show that Britain is the sole cause of the ruin and destruction of Turkey. Britain made false promises only to break them in the end. "Let the British solve the problem of Turkish peace justly, or the Muslim world will be convulsed and then the very safety of the British Empire will be endangered." The *Hamdam* commends to the Government of India a suggestion made by the *Englishman* that Indian soldiers, mostly Muhammadans, should be ordered to defend Constantinople against the Greeks in case they advance on the city. Indian Muslims hate the Greeks and will be only too glad to fight against them. *Al Khalil* suspects that General Townshend's visit to Angora is a diplomatic move on the part of Britain to secure peace with Turkey indirectly. The *Hindustani* insinuates that the murder of Jamal Pasha is the result of some preconcerted plot in Europe which has for its object the removal of the leading men among the Turks.

The confirmation by the League of Nations of the Palestine and Syria mandates has led the *Mansúr* to remark: "The world has seen to-day how the greedy imperialists want to drench holy places with rivers of blood and how insatiable is their bloodthirstiness. This trampling upon the feelings of the Palestine Muslims will result in a new war and ultimately the usurpers of Europe will reap the fruits of their misdeeds." The *Hamdam* accuses the League of Nations of a disregard for the wishes of Musalmans that the holy places should not be given over to the control of non-Muslims. The League has committed a grievous mistake in ignoring the interest of the people of the mandated lands in deference to the wishes of British and French capitalists. So long as the work of the League is conducted on these lines the world will rightly call it an association of stronger powers bent on perpetuating their domination over the weaker nations.

The *Independent* in two leading articles styles Mr. Lloyd George's speech on Near Eastern affairs as "the great betrayal" and says that the British Premier has seldom set himself to a more deliberate concoction of downright falsehood and lying suggestions than in this speech, and adds: "We challenge the Government of Lord Reading in India to controvert our conclusion that so vicious a piece of lying oratory aimed at the support of the Greek designs on Asia Minor proves beyond

all shadow of further doubt that Mr. Lloyd George, his Cabinet and the Government are the enemies of the Turks and, therefore, of Islam." With regard to the Premier's reference to Turkish atrocities the paper remarks: "Even before the proposed allied enquiry into these 'atrocities' has so much as begun to function, the British Premier is sure the Turks are guilty . . . Truly, the lying words of spiteful men dismissed from the American Mission in Turkey and deported by the Turks for gross conspiracy, form a fitting base on which the English Premier erects his edifice of falsehood." With regard to the threatened attack on Constantinople the paper says: "Had Turkey-in-Europe been free to oppose the Greeks, those Levantine curs would have remained in their kennels. If Greece could take Constantinople in a few hours, it is only because England has acted the part of an ally to Greece by occupying the region, by disarming and demilitarizing it, and by driving the Turkish forces to Asia Minor."

The publication of the letter of Ghalib Kamal Bey, the Turkish Ambassador at Stockholm, to the secretary, Khilafat Committee, has revived interest in the present condition of Turkish refugees in Constantinople and several papers have ascribed the misfortunes of the refugees to the intrigues of European nations. The *Agra Akhbar*, a moderate paper, accuses the Allies, specially Britain, of bringing misery to the residents of Constantinople. The *Hamdam* recommends to Indian Muhammadans to purchase the property of Constantinople Turks, who are selling it in order to maintain themselves.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Aj* publishes the news that four Indians were recently arrested at Durban for protesting against invidious treatment meted out to Indians on landing at that port and were sentenced to fine and imprisonment. One of them, a Parsi, while being admitted into jail was deprived of the special shirt and girdle the wearing of which is enjoined by Parsi religion. Commenting on this the paper says that these two incidents will create more impression than thousands of speeches made by Mr. Sastri. The *Hindi Kesari* says that if the empire feels no shame at treating Indians as untouchables, India will naturally sever her connection from it. The *Hamdam* urges Indians to keep aloof from the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 and to try to get cancelled the resolution of the Legislative Assembly making a grant of twenty-four lakhs of rupees towards it as the best means of getting the grievances of Indians redressed.

Political propaganda.

The controversy regarding the result of non-cooperation has become acute in the Hindi press. The *Swaraj* strongly criticises Mr. Kelkar's evidence before the Civil Disobedience Committee and holds that if the propaganda for the boycott of schools, colleges, law courts and councils continues, a time will come when the people will be convinced how much harm these institutions are doing and all parties will withdraw their cooperation from the Government. Even the very limited success achieved in their boycott has provided a band of indefatigable and selfless workers, whose example and activities have infused a new life into the country. The paper bitterly attacks those lawyers who have resumed practice owing to the difficulty of maintaining their families and says: "We shall have to sacrifice lakhs of families for the emancipation of the motherland. Service of the country is incompatible with practice in law courts." The *Bharat Bandhu* says that the Government should not labour under the delusion that the non-cooperation movement has failed. The present machinery of Government is no doubt working, but it will sooner or later be found difficult to substitute new parts for the worn-out ones. When men of the rising generation attain the age at which they are able to understand and protect their interests, the Government will vanish like camphor. The *Vartman*

expresses its apprehension at the weakening of non-cooperation but is confident that the movement will succeed in the long run in achieving *swaraj*. The *Aj* recognizes the impossibility of complete non-cooperation with the Government but urges the widest inculcation of the principle among the people and the adoption of it as far as possible. It regards the creation of independent means of livelihood for the people as essential for the success of the movement. The *Sudharak* holds that *swaraj* can only be established through Government help and guidance, and that if Government withdraws its control India will be ruined by internecine communal warfare. The *Aligarh Gazette* doubts the bona fides of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee and says that the Committee itself is preparing the country for civil disobedience, and asks why its activities are not stopped by Government.

Swadeshi and boycott.

The campaign against foreign cloth has begun to extend to cloth manufactured in Indian mills. One Babu Bhagirathji of Beawar writes in the *Ahimsa* that even in Indian mills fat is used in the manufacture of cloth. He calculates that in Ahmedabad mills alone 1,00,800 maunds of fat are consumed annually and asks the readers to imagine the number of animals that must be slaughtered every day to yield so much fat. The people are, therefore, advised not to touch mill made cloth whether foreign or Indian. The *Muttra Gazette* advocates an authoritative enquiry into the allegations regarding the use of fat of cows and pigs in the manufacture of foreign cloth. One Ganpat Sahai writing in *Stri Darpan* makes an impassioned appeal to women of India to discard foreign cloth and to take to *khaddar*. "This foreign cloth is responsible for your subjection. It was your duty to have given away the very skin of your body, if called upon to do so, for your motherland, and like the brave Kshattranis of Rajputana left a name in Indian history. But you are hesitating even in discarding foreign cloth. Dear goddesses, wake up, and at once put off your foreign clothes and reduce to ashes these emblems of slavery. English guns can hit at the utmost 70 miles, but Mahatma Gandhi's *charkha* is hitting English factories 6,000 miles away." The *Vartman* holds the picketing of shops dealing in foreign cloth as a national right and advocates resort to it even at the sacrifice of life, until the import of foreign cloth ceases.

The Prime Minister's speech on the Indian situation.

The *Pioneer* is the only daily which comments favourably on the Premier's speech in the House of Commons. It eulogizes it as plain speaking, clear definition of issues and sees no derogation from the 1917 declaration and the policy of progressive advance to self-government. It impresses on Indians the necessity for proving fitness for further advance by good administration and not merely by speech-making. The moral drawn is expressed in the concluding paragraph which runs: "So far from his speech causing disheartenment it should bring hope and encouragement to men who are willing and able to show themselves to be of full political stature and to have reached the stage when the virtue of plain speaking is not too hard a thing for them to practise." The Indian press, without exception, have commented unfavourably and in the strongest terms on the speech. The *Leader* calls it a reactionary, retrograde and thoughtless oration. In its opinion the speech thoroughly confirms the suspicion that the policy and attitude of the British Government towards India has undergone a profound change for the worst. "The speech will be read with profound disappointment by all who believe in the permanent connection of Britain and India on terms of equality, freedom and mutual confidence." "It is India's prosperity which attracted the foreign invaders and the Western trading companies, and to assert, as Mr. Lloyd George does, that Great Britain rescued India, of deliberate purpose and out of philanthropy, from the

anarchy in which she was previously helplessly weltering, and assumed a sacred trusteeship which she has since been steadily and unselfishly discharging, is to indulge in blatant falsehoods, intentionally or unintentionally, which however can deceive no one." "Not only has Mr. Lloyd George cast sudden doubt upon the course of Britain's policy in India, thus allying himself strangely with non-cooperators, but he has also, carried away by excess of enthusiasm for the part the British Civil Servants have played in the past and the part which, according to him, lies in store for them in India in the future, unsettled the foundation of the very ideal of responsible government." "But when Mr. Lloyd George proclaims that that trust is to be handed down intact from generation to generation of Britons, and that there is no intention of ever relinquishing it, we know, and all India would know, what to think of such an arrogant and hypocritical attitude." "If this constitutes the *summum bonum* for India, the Reforms need not have been introduced, the joint report ought to be repudiated and no more need Indians entertain the notion that they are going to be entrusted with these functions which have hitherto been discharged by the British Government." It asserts that like other countries the Government and the representatives of the people forming the Parliament should be masters of the national administration in India also. "India must have the same and equal liberty to fashion, control, regulate, classify and order her national services, and any doctrine which is incompatible with this liberty must be accounted false and alien to the ideal of self-government and therefore impossible of acceptance by a country which aspires to realize it." "Mr. Lloyd George pretends to believe that the principle he has affirmed, namely, the continued execution of the British responsibility towards India through, he makes it clear, the instrumentality of a predominantly British Civil Service, will be maintained by every and any future British Government which has any chance of commanding the confidence of the British people. We devoutly hope that such shall not be the case; indeed we cannot believe it will be, for then India will be driven to despair and all the follies of despair with consequences disastrous to both the nations and humanity at large." According to the *Independent* Mr. Lloyd George's speech is a repudiation of the ideal for which the Indian National Congress stands. "On behalf of the Indian National Congress and the Indian people—not 'peoples' as Mr. George puts it—we may say, that they too mean 'at all costs' to put an end to the alien mastery in their house. India has undertaken not to be guided by aliens but by the genius of the Indian race. India has undertaken to establish self-government which cannot be substituted—as Campbell-Bannerman once said by 'good government.' And maintenance of 'law and good government' are exactly what the British Premier has emphasized as the present and future purpose of British rule in India. Here is not only a repudiation of the ideal of *swaraj* which the Congress is trying to render into an actuality but also the repudiation of the solemn pledge of August 1917." According to the *Advocate* the Premier is full of wrong notions and it is quite evident from his speech that he is not fit to speak on Indian problems. The *Hamdam* regards it as a plain warning to Indians that the British Government will never give liberty and self-rule to India. Indians have no cause to be depressed. Let them carve out their future themselves. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that by calling the reforms as 'experiment' the Premier has created a peculiar excitement in the country. It agrees with the Premier that India needs civil servants but no section of the Indian people is prepared to bear any longer the old autocratic rule of the bureaucracy. The *Hindustani* thinks the Premier's speech can have only one result that the Moderates will merge themselves with the Nationalists. Among the Hindi papers only the *Anand* has so far commented on the speech. It holds that it will be welcomed by the non-cooperators only as furnishing material

for exposing the hollowness of Reform. It regards the speech as a recantation of all old proclamations and urges that the British Government should repudiate it authoritatively.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Aj* regrets the attitude of Muslim papers towards the cow question and says that cow-protection is necessary in the economic interests of Hindus and Muslims alike and appeals to Muhammadans to take a more tolerant and broad view of the question. The *Gorakhshan* is of opinion that as the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities are showing signs of unity this is the most propitious time for stopping cow-slaughter and appeals to Hindu and Muslim volunteers to carry on an educative campaign in villages and towns for impressing upon the people the importance of cow-protection. The *Mansúr* says that the Arya Samajists who have gone to Malabar for the relief of their Hindu brethren alleged to have been converted by force to Islam are putting a severe strain on Hindu-Muslim unity by exaggerating and inventing Moplah atrocities against Hindus and urges that in the interest of Hindu-Muslim unity a deputation under the leadership of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu should visit Malabar to ascertain true facts concerning Moplah excesses. *Al Burid* protests against the efforts to stop cow-slaughter through legislation and compulsion and approves of the statement of the *Jamiát-ul-Ulema* that in view of these efforts cow-sacrifice will become binding on Muhammadans, which will endanger Hindu-Muslim unity so essential for India's welfare. The *Aryavart* expresses regret at the attitude of the Muslim press resenting stoppage of cow-sacrifice within the limits of certain municipalities. This shows that Hindu-Muslim unity is not based on solid foundations. They should show high-mindedness and large-heartedness in the matter. The *Agra Akhbar* holds that in view of wide divergence in the religious beliefs of Hindus and Muhammadans, unity between the two communities is impossible under existing circumstances. The *Hamdam* deplores the attitude of the *Leader* in having given support to a correspondent complaining of the number of Muslim Deputy Collectors holding officiating posts in these provinces. Officiating appointments do not count for much and the *Leader* should have considered that in departments such as the Secretariat, the Education and the Public Works, Musalmans are holding very few posts. "When a responsible paper like the *Leader* takes up that attitude it is futile to expect an advance in Hindu-Muslim unity."

Arms Rules Committee.

Evidence of officials before the Arms Rules Committee continues to be criticized. With reference to Sir William Vincent's question to a witness as to whether he would like arms to be given to thieves and dacoits, the *Aj* writes:—"Sir William Vincent forgot that the Act can only take away arms from respectable and peaceful citizens but has not succeeded in preventing their falling into the hands of dacoits. In other civilized countries thieves and dacoits are kept in jail and are not allowed to go armed, but in India it is the patriots who are locked in jails. The only concern of the administration is to protect the officials, to advance their pecuniary interest and contentment and to pamper them in every way." The *Anand* also expresses the view that the Act operates vigorously against peaceful citizens but can be defied by the criminal classes. The paper urges a liberal distribution of arms among the people in places where dacoities are increasing. The *Medina* advises the *Pioneer* to try to stop bloodshed nearer its own home, if it holds that the possession of arms by Indians will lead to extensive carnage and bloodshed. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* refers to the increase in armed dacoities in the Bijnor district and emphasizes the need of villagers being armed liberally to keep them safe from the depredations of dacoits who generally attack those villages which have no arms.

The United Provinces Council.

The *Azad* supports the protest of certain liberal members of the Council against the postponement of its session and says that it deals a blow at the constitutional rights of the people and expresses the hope that the Governor will convene the Council even in the current month.

Attacks on liberals.

The *Oudh Akhbar* denies the representative character of the Liberal League for want of Muhammadan members and says that liberals should change their attitude towards Muhammadans in order to induce them to join the Liberal League in large numbers. *Al Burid* condemns the liberals as the real enemies of non-cooperators, zamindars and peasants. They are misleading Government and supporting it for their own selfish ends.

Labour and capital.

The *Mazdur* asks the general public to take steps to improve the lot of labourers otherwise they will soon realize their strength and humiliate their proud masters.

NAINI TAL: J. E. GOUDGE,

The 12th August, 1922. *Publicity Commissioner.*

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 19th August, 1922.

The Near East.

The Muslim press continues to criticise Great Britain and blame it for its Near Eastern policy. Point has been added to its comments by references to Mr. Lloyd George's recent speech on Turkey. The *Medina* thinks that in view of the impurity of the motives of the Allies no reconciliation is possible between the Turks and the Greeks. When every Turk is prepared to sacrifice his life for Islam every Indian Muhammadan should help the Turks at least with money. According to the *Hamdam* Mr. Lloyd George's speech shows that the representations of Indian Muhammadans and all other communities to the British Government have fallen on deaf ears. The *Hindustani* referring to Mr. Lloyd George's demand of guarantees for the protection of the Christian element in Turkey asks guarantees from him for the protection of Hindus and Musalmans in India who are being hurled into jails. The *Mecca Medina* is apprehensive of the intentions of the Allies and does not believe in their assurance that they would oppose the Greek advance on Constantinople in view of their sympathies with the Greeks. Judging by the trend of events the European Cabinets are going to change the map of Europe again. The *Hamdard* blames the Premier for his policy which has caused a shock to the Muslim world. It wants the Prime Minister to bear in mind that the Turks will not sheathe their swords until they have driven away heresy, tyranny and injustice from the world. It accuses Britain of siding with the Greeks while professing neutrality in the Turco-Greek war. The *Hamdam* gives a conspicuous place to an article by Hidayat Husain, Barrister-at-Law of Cawnpore, in which Mr. Lloyd George's claim to have helped Turkey from time to time has been refuted. He maintains that it was not philanthropy and humanity, but self interest which actuated Great Britain to side with Turkey on the occasions mentioned by the Premier. In recent years England has been following a policy of antagonism towards Muslim States and her attitude towards Turkey, Persia and Morocco forced Turkey to side with the Germans in 1914, with the result that she is now being preyed upon by the Christian powers. The *Mashriq* accuses Mr. Lloyd George of delaying the conclusion of peace with Turkey to secure an advantage for the Greeks who are giving a religious colour to the war. The Musalmans of India will be compelled to request the British Government to allow them to defend Constantinople. It suggests that Muslim troops should be despatched from India for the defence of the seat of the *Khilafat*. It urges the British to evacuate Constantinople and to let the Turks and Greeks settle their own disputes. If they do not do so, they will be held morally guilty of encouraging the Greeks. The advice of Lord Reading and the terms of the Kemalist Foreign Minister should be accepted. The *Swaraj* insinuates that there is some political move behind the Greek threat to occupy Constantinople and that the impecunious Greek Government has unofficially taken a loan from Great Britain. According to the *Aj* Mr. Lloyd George is abusing his eloquence in stirring up Parliament to annihilate Turkey. He has shown enough gratitude to Greece, now is the time that he should do his duty by Islam. The *Independent* remarks that nothing can sufficiently condemn the thoroughly disgraceful manner in which the English Government—intoxicated by the red wine of militarism—has asked for the enslavement of Turkey.

Muslim holy places.

Al Bashir brings to prominence a report by Hajis regarding the removal of costly and valuable furniture from the Prophet's mosque in Medina. It has caused much distress among devout Musalmans and the paper wonders why the Publicity department does not contradict the report if it is untrue. It calls upon well-to-do Muhammadans to cast off costly foreign made clothes.

Indians in the colonies.

The *Anand Pracharak* says that non-cooperation cannot help Indians in the colonies, but will only increase unemployment difficulties in the country if they return to India. The *Medina* refers to the adverse criticisms on Mr. Shastri's mission, which have appeared in the Australian papers, and remarks that all the praise showered on him is misplaced and all hopes entertained from his tour are mere sham and that he has lost the confidence of both sides.

The Prime Minister's speech on the Indian situation.

The press in general has given copious extracts of newspaper opinions on the Premier's speech and accounts of interviews with leading Indians. The *Leader*, referring to the invitation of the non-cooperators to the liberals to join their camp, says that this new reactionary movement rather justifies the liberals in appealing to non-cooperators to relinquish fantastic and impracticable short cuts and to rally once more under the banner of determined constitutional action and advance. "Mr. Lloyd George has challenged India to fight on the issue of Indian or British control of India's services. The effective way of taking up that challenge is to fight through the legislature of the country with the organized support of the people, whom they represent, behind them." It considers that Mr. Lloyd George's declaration from the House of Commons of the future which India is to look forward to "will hang like a paralyzing shadow upon every constructive activity and every constitutional effort." In a subsequent article the paper says that the Premier has done the greatest disservice to his own country in sowing for her a crop of difficulties, in her relations with a country to whom she is bound by Providence, difficulties which it would be neither possible to escape nor easy to neutralize. The *Independent* openly declares its satisfaction at the consternation Mr. Lloyd George's speech has caused in the Liberal Camp. "Mr. Lloyd George will be doing to this country a very useful service if he administers a few more pills of this kind to the cooperators." It further says that the people of India have condemned the reforms as being unworkable, mischievous and an expensive nuisance. There is nothing to prevent Mr. George from withdrawing reforms. The non-cooperators consider that it was a piece of spontaneous impertinence for Mr. Montagu and the British Cabinet to declare themselves guardians of the fitness of India for the quantity of self-government which they were to judge and give. It considers that the reforms were only a snare to catch the liberals in order to go on with repression. "But repression cannot be a permanent weapon. Its use at best is temporary. When repression goes the camouflage of reforms will also go and with it the profiteers—in power. If Mr. Lloyd George is not going to do away with the reforms we may take it as an omen that more repression is in store for India—to which the non-cooperators are indifferent. The vernacular press is equally unanimous and bitter in its chorus of protests against the Premier's speech. The *Hamdard* warns Mr. Lloyd George that Indians will no longer allow the continuance of the present system of administration in India. No power on earth has any right to impose its leadership upon Indians who will be guided by their conscience. India wants 'self-government' and not 'good government.' Let the Prime Minister note that it is he who is now breaking the sacred and honourable pledge made by Government in 1917. *Al Khalil* wonders

why after such tom-toming of a royal proclamation and after such heavy expenditure the reforms have been disowned as a mere experiment and says that the fears entertained on the resignation of Mr. Montagu regarding the reversal of his policy have proved too true. The *Arya Varta* says: "A perusal of the speech made us hang down our head in shame and bitterly realize the subject and helpless condition of our country." The *Hindustani* warns the Premier that his threat will compel moderates to join the non-cooperators. The Hindi press without any exception has nothing but adverse criticism of the speech. The extremist papers call upon the moderates even now to open their eyes and join the non-cooperation movement. The *Vartman* draws the conclusion that Englishmen are now afraid to come to India. "The time is near when the 'steel frame' of Mr. Lloyd George will be removed like a bamboo structure and the true representatives of the people, by taking over the work of the British bureaucracy will quell the pride of Mr. Lloyd George." With regard to the tribute paid by the Premier to the work of the Indian Civil Service, the paper remarks: "The service rendered by the bureaucracy within the last hundred and fifty years is that it has drained away 38 billions of rupees from India with the result that she has become so poor that during the British rule five crores of people have died of famine." The *Aj* says: We have no doubt left that it is idle to expect *swaraj* by cooperation with officials. It can be achieved only by offering every form of peaceful opposition to the present system in everything and at every step. The paper regards the system as humiliating, ruinous to prosperity and civilization and says that it is plain that the present Cabinet has more concern for the interests of the bureaucracy than for those of India. The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) says that if Mr. Lloyd George had a true knowledge of the real state of the country he would, instead of indulging in threats, have shed tears. "Thirty-two crores of Indians are no longer prepared to acquiesce in slavery to 1,200 English officials. They have never had any faith nor have they any now in their justice and honesty." The *Abhyudaya* writes: Mr. Lloyd George has said of the reforms what Lord Curzon said of the Queen's Proclamation. Indians are more determined to have *swaraj* than Mr. Lloyd George is to perpetuate British domination over India. If Indians could be cowed down by empty threats they would not have flocked to jails in such large numbers. The *Pratap* characterizes the speech as foolish and says: Even after this plain speaking can cooperators have the hardihood to pretend that they can render any service to the country by cooperating with the bureaucracy? Mr. Lloyd George is mistaken in thinking that the non-cooperation movement is dead. It cannot die until it has performed the last obsequies of the bureaucracy. The *Anand* apprehends that Mr. Lloyd George has begun to play into the hands of Lord Sydenham's party.

Non-cooperation.

The anniversary of Mr. Tilak's death has led several papers to compare the political creed and methods of Tilak and Gandhi. The attitude of the Maharashtra party with regard to the non-cooperation programme continues to be criticised by the extremist papers. The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) says: Although in the beginning Mr. Tilak was for "responsive cooperation" he fully supported the non-cooperation programme afterwards. The movement cannot be said to have failed when it has created unprecedented unity, consciousness of strength, and readiness for self-effacement for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Kartavya* holds that "Responsive cooperation" is decidedly a retrograde step when once non-cooperation has been decided upon. The *Swaraj* (Unao) writes: The reforms have only produced two results: imposition of new taxes and a split, for a long time, if not for ever, between the nationalists and moderates. The sooner the people understand the illusory nature of the reforms the quicker will be India's advance

towards self-government. The *Gyanshakti* is of opinion that the non-cooperation movement instead of bringing *swaraj* has increased dacoities in various parts of the country. The *Advocate* writes: "It needs no admission that the movement started by Mr. Gandhi has subsided, but less through the inherent defects than through the harmony of the so-called advanced liberals backed by stern bureaucratic repression. But who can affirm that it is on ebb for ever? It is only a lull consequent upon the arrests of the most energetic of its life-givers. Maintain whosoever will that the movement has collapsed like a house of cards, we are content with observing the uneffaceable imprints left upon Indian political thought and we are sure that every unbiassed head will corroborate our statement." According to the *Anand Pracharak* non-cooperation has only done harm to the country and if it is reinforced by civil disobedience all well-wishers of the country should cooperate with the officials to kill it. Under the heading "Dyerism throughout the country" the *Swaraj* (Unao) writes: Although General Dyer, the living model of the British empire is not in India, the satanic machine—the bureaucracy—is still here, though drawing its last breath, and is turning out hundreds of Dyers every day. Every man who gets into the satanic mould of the bureaucracy becomes a miniature Dyer. From the Prime Minister of the British empire down to the village *chaukidar* every one is ready to show himself a Dyer.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Medina* protests against Mr. Dwarka Das' attack on Mr. Gandhi in the course of his speech on the occasion of Tilak's anniversary. The paper says that gentlemen like Messrs. Dwarka Das, Jamna Das and Sir Sankaran Nair are so obsessed with bigotry that they would like if they could to drown the whole Muslim population of India in the Arabian sea. The *Azad* and the *Tohfa-i-Hind* support the *Leader* in its protest against the alleged injustice to senior Hindu deputy collectors and urge righting of those wrongs. The *Aligarh Gazette* considers the *Leader's* championship of the cause of Hindu deputy collectors as another attack on the régime of Sir Harcourt Butler.

Cow-slaughter.

Some Hindi papers publish a translation of a *firman* said to have been issued by the Amir of Afghanistan prohibiting the slaughter of cows and contend that if cow-slaughter can be prohibited in a Muhammadan kingdom there is no reason why it should not be prohibited in India. The *Rajput* regrets the attitude of the president of the *Jami'at-ul-Ulema-i-Hind* and referring to the Amir's action says that if the Indian Government does not wish to stop cow-slaughter, the people themselves should adopt proper measures. The *Bharat Jivan* holds that even non-co-operators will become grateful to Government if it stops cow-slaughter. The *Surya* regards legislation necessary for stopping cow-slaughter because though a few Muhammadans may abstain out of patriotic motives, ordinary persons can be made to refrain from it only through legislation. The *Kartavya* says that there can be no lasting unity with Muhammadans until they give up cow-slaughter entirely.

Tenants and zamindars.

The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) complains that in the United Provinces helpless tenants are being terrorized by taluqdars and zamindars by the institution of rent suits in large numbers and of false criminal cases and by various other atrocities. The patience of the tenants, continues the paper, has reached its end. Even their bare skeletons are pulsating with aspirations for liberty. Our taluqdars and zamindars should beware and treat the tenants properly, otherwise a time will come soon when the tenants will stand up for their rights and will venture to lay the axe at the whole system.

Administration.

Several papers have protested against the postponement of the council in view of important matters that were earmarked for discussion in its next session. The *Azad*

asks Indian members of the committee for the abolition of Commissionerships to insist on its being held in the current month, so that this report may be ready for consideration in the October session of the Legislative Council. It complains that Government has already delayed action on the report on the separation of the executive and judicial functions and if the committee delays its sittings another reform will also be held in abeyance. The *Aj* expresses satisfaction that the Government is paying attention to the difficulty of third class passengers, but thinks that the proposed increase in the number of carriages in the next five years will not be sufficient. It holds the system of company management of railways to be the cause of the dearth of third class carriages and goods waggons. While one Company's carriages are lying idle those of others are overworked. If all lines were managed by the state the number of carriages could be distributed evenly. The *Anand* expresses gratitude for the selection of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer as representative of India in the League of Nations. The *Pratap* on the other hand holds that he will be a mere toy at the meetings of the League.

NAINI TAL:
The 19th August, 1922.

J. E. GOUDGE,
Publicity Commissioner.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 26th August, 1922.

The Near East.

Interest continued to centre round Mr. Lloyd George's speech on Near Eastern affairs. The *Medina* says that Muhammadans will never allow themselves to be duped by the cunning diplomacy of British statesmen who do not consider promises and pledges to be binding in their dealings with Muslim States. The East has ceased to respect or trust such promise-breakers. It reminds Mr. Lloyd George that the Turks have behind them the whole Muslim world, which will sacrifice its all for the protection of the seat of the *khilafat*. The *Hamdam* says that the Angora Government cannot accept the terms of Mr. Lloyd George as they strike at the very root of the authority of the *khilafat* and Turkish suzerainty in their home lands. It holds that the threat of the Prime Minister that Turkey will suffer by persisting in its present course of action cannot deter the self-respecting Turks from fighting for their liberty and religion; it will only strengthen the feelings of hatred and resentment in the Muslim world against Britain which will find it difficult to maintain its power in Asia. *Al Khalil* remarks that the Premier's speech indicates a change in England's policy towards the Turks and that some deep game is being played for the occupation of Constantinople by the Greeks. The *Mansur* thinks that the Christian Powers of Europe in general and Britain in particular, have done a service to the Musalmans by awakening them through their anti-Muhammadan attitude. If Britain wants permanent peace in her Empire and is anxious to avoid bloodshed and destructive war, she should tell the Greek wolves to go back to their dens. The *Mashriq* fears that Mr. Lloyd George is responsible for bringing England face to face with a great catastrophe on account of the Turkish question. The Premier paid no heed to Lord Reading's representation and allowed the Greeks the necessary time for preparation. No greater crime was ever committed in respect of international affairs than the one perpetrated on the Turks. Musalmans have now no faith left in the intentions of the Allies. The *Najat* has a spirited article in which it says that it was due to the secret sympathy and approval of Mr. Lloyd George, the high priest of Christianity, that Greece perpetrated atrocities in Turkish territory before which Jallianwala Bagh and the atrocities committed on the Moplahs (*sic*) pale into insignificance. Greece has been supplied with money and ammunition and she now aspires to plant her unholy flag on the sacred mosques of Constantinople. If Mr. Lloyd George had not forgotten the Gallipoli retreat and the Turks had not put down their arms on the strength of the promises of Europe, the British Premier could not have boasted about a Greek occupation of Constantinople within a few hours. "Mr. Lloyd George and his Greek protégés will have to face cataclysmic Islamic *jehad* before which the Crusades will pale into insignificance. This *jehad* will be begun by Mustafa Kamal Pasha near Constantinople and will end in some great country of Asia where the whole Muslim world will fight side by side with Kamal Pasha." The *Swaraj* (Unao) finds in Mr. Lloyd George's recent speech on the Greco-Turkish affairs, unmistakable sympathy with Greece and enmity with Turkey and says that through selfishness and regard for a handful of Christians, Britain has long been trying, openly and secretly, to deprive Turkey of her religious rights. The *Bharat Bandhu* says: "During the most critical period of the war Mr. Lloyd George gave

pledges to conciliate Muhammadans, but now he has not only broken them but has left no stone unturned to ruin Turkey." The *Independent* trusts the touching confidence of the Greeks in the good offices of Mr. Lloyd George will justify the Greek march on Constantinople "for though they may take the city they will not remain there very long. Their occupation of it will rally the Musalmans of the world and the people of India to such effect that Neo-British Imperialism must go down before the indignation of countless millions. The Greek nation as at present constituted will share in the collapse."

Indians in the colonies.

In a letter which has been published by several Hindi papers, the writer, Pandit Banarsi Das Chaturvedi, warns Indians against the attempts of the Mauritius Government to get coolies from India. He advises intending emigrants to make sure, before leaving India, that Indians already settled in Mauritius are labouring under no disabilities and are enjoying the same rights and privileges as the white settlers.

The Prime Minister's speech on the Indian situation.

Vigorous protests against the Prime Minister's speech on India continue to appear. The *Leader*, which has published several articles on the subject this week, criticises it very severely, specially with regard to the position of the Indian Civil Service. It fears that the Indian Civil Service is to flourish in all its might and glory for ever, and says: "India must remain in perpetual tutelage, is this the latest message of Britain to India delivered through the mouth of the champion fighter of world's liberty? No, say Earl Winterton and Lord Reading. But Indians feel that the speech amounts not only to a shocking betrayal of the high principles of liberty and justice for the establishment of which Britons and Indians fought shoulder to shoulder and died and suffered in millions, but also implies a fundamental departure from the newer and higher conception of the nature of the link which is to bind the Empire together." It accuses Mr. Lloyd George and other British Statesmen of having sown the seeds of distrust by their speeches. "If the recent upheaval in the political atmosphere of India has not opened the eyes of Mr. Lloyd George and his Government to the dangerous depths and lengths to which the people of this country have been alienated from British rule, and if they think that the perpetuation of the old order will strengthen the foundations of British rule and lead to good government, then they are indeed living in a fool's paradise." The *Pioneer* on the other hand thinks that after the Viceroy's plain statement there should be no further room for misconception regarding the Premier's speech. Referring to the *Leader's* fear that "India must remain in perpetual tutelage," the *Pioneer* does not see the slightest warrant for such an assumption. "As time goes on the numbers of the Indian Civil Service will naturally be diminished, until the irreducible minimum is reached; while the transformation which has already begun in their functions and powers will continue *pari passu* with the progressive development of representative institutions—unless of course, the wreckers succeed in their aim of sweeping away the Constitutional Reforms altogether." *Al Burid* condemns the speech as mischievous and says that the Prime Minister has given a further opportunity to the Nationalists to cast doubts on the intentions of British rule in India and compromise the position of Liberals who are reminded that British promises are made only to be broken afterwards. The *Hindu Gazette* says: If the Moderates show courage and prepare themselves for sacrifices, Mr. Lloyd George will soon put a different interpretation upon his speech. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* thinks it betrays a change in British policy and will have the effect of driving the Moderates into alliance with the Extremists. The *Hindustani* thinks that the attitude of the Liberals towards non-cooperation emboldened the Prime Minister to make such a speech. They should make atonement by joining the non-cooperation movement. The *Azad* advises all

political parties in India to forget their differences and oppose the new policy adumbrated in this speech. There can be no political parties in the country when the very elementary rights of the people are in jeopardy. The *Hamdam* urges Moderates to join the Congress. which is the only means for the salvation of India at present. The Extremist Hindi papers unanimously welcome the speech as a true exposition of Britain's policy towards India and call upon the Moderates to give up all hopes of achieving *swaraj* through Reforms and to join the non-cooperation movement. In reply to the Premier's eulogiums on the work of the Civil Servants it is generally stated that their work has resulted in reducing India to a state of utter helplessness and poverty. The *Vartman* says: The Congressmen cannot but welcome the speech as a confirmation of Mahatma Gandhi's oft-repeated view that the Reforms have not produced any change of heart in the British authorities. If the Moderates want to save their sinking boat they should give up their ruinous policy and come under the national flag. The *Abhyudaya* says: It is a mistake to think that Englishmen are ruling over India through some special ability. Indians themselves are the pillars of British rule. The day they realize themselves and withdraw their cooperation, not all the Englishmen of the whole world, much less 1,200 Civil Servants, will be able to rule over India for an instant. The *Anand* draws the conclusion that Mr. Lloyd George would have civilian *raj* and not *swaraj* even as the ultimate goal. The *Aj* calls upon the Liberals not to rest content with fruitless protests, but to change their 'angle of vision' with regard to the Reforms and to join the Congress and thus give the only possible reply to the speech. The *Kartavya* says: The withdrawal of the Reforms will not cause any pain to Indians because they realized their worthlessness from the very beginning. It is a matter for the greatest shame for Indians that it has been possible for 1,200 Englishmen to rule over them. It is on account of India that England is revelling to-day. She has drawn 38 billions of rupees from India during the last 30 years as a result of which five crores of Indians have died of famine. The non-cooperation movement cannot die until it has subverted the present system of administration. The *Hindi Kesari* writes: We have as yet got *swaraj* to the extent of only two annas in the rupee. If the Ministry has become so restless and repentant after giving us only such a small instalment what hope is there that it will gladly give further instalments in due course? The aim and policy of the Indian nation henceforth should be to get *swaraj* through agitation. Several papers regard the present juncture as most opportune for effecting a reconciliation between cooperators and non-cooperators. The *Aj* says: If the non-cooperators relax the Congress rule in order to enable the cooperators to join it and the cooperators offer a practical protest against Mr. Lloyd George's insulting speech by adopting a bolder and more self-respecting attitude, the unity essential for effecting *swaraj* will have been accomplished. It is necessary that all Indian executive councillors and ministers should resign as a protest, as the speech is specially humiliating for those who have been doing their best to make the Reforms a success. The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) says: Instead of holding meetings for protest we should hold them in order to induce the people to take a vow to give up all differences and devote themselves wholeheartedly to the achievement of success in the constructive programme of the Congress. The *People's Herald* takes a favourable view of the Premier's speech and does not see any breach of faith involved in his styling the Reforms an experiment.

Lord Reading's speech.

The press is divided as to the scope and effect of the Viceroy's speech in explanation of the Premier's statement in the Parliament. The *Pioneer* hopes that after this explanation all well-wishers of India will unreservedly abandon

the agitation that the Prime Minister has threatened to withdraw the Reforms. It deplores the tendency on the part of so many public men in India to harbour without cause suspicions of British good faith and to suggest that pledges solemnly given by His Majesty's Government and endorsed by the British Parliament are not regarded as binding by the Premier. The speech should bring home to the Moderate party the grave danger to the Reforms involved in the proposal of a section of the non-cooperators to secure election to the legislatures for the sole purpose of paralyzing Government and wrecking the new constitution. It is astonishing that with this sinister menace staring them in the face Indian Liberals should expend their time and energies in a futile campaign against an imaginary danger. The *Leader* is not satisfied with the Viceroy's explanation and says that it is impossible to reconcile the idea of a permanent nucleus of British Civil Servants and British officials in India with the policy of establishing responsible self-government in this country as early as possible. "If the British Civil Service is to enjoy in perpetuity its rights and privileges and to be treated as the steel frame of the whole structure then it means that it must be clear to the meanest intelligence that the latter cannot be established so long as the formeris propped up from England in the interests of a governing caste. In its opinion the grave misapprehensions aroused by the Premier's speech are fully justified by past history. "The implications of the Premier's speech are clear and no amount of diplomatic explanation can affect the issue raised by it." A contributed article in the same paper characterizes the Viceroy's speech as a pointless reply, which fails entirely to answer the real issue. In a leading article headed "The Premier Nods," the *Independent* says that the Viceroy's explanation merely conveys the delightful suggestion that India under the Reforms has entered upon a new era in which Government is to be carried on by "nods and becks and wreathèd smiles." It suggests that while the Viceroy has endeavoured to make it clear that there is to be no going back on the Reforms, "he has only succeeded in showing that there is to be no going forward with them." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* on the other hand says that it would serve no useful purpose to hug a grievance to one's heart in the face of the Premier's assurance and the Viceroy's commentary on it. "It is expedient to nod assent to the explanation and try to get on as if nothing had happened." The *Oudh Akhbar* holds that the Viceroy's speech cannot remove the unrest created by the Premier nor has it succeeded in counteracting the effect on India. The *Hamdam* says that the reply will not reassure the Moderates who have begun to see that the salvation of their country lies not in the reforms but in the adoption of the Congress creed. It advises them to give up sulking in their tents and to come out and join the Congress party. The *Anand* advises the people to accept Lord Reading's assurances regarding the Premier's speech and to drop the controversy. The *Vartman* says that Lord Reading has virtually repeated, though in a milder form, what Mr. Lloyd George said in bitter and harmful words. "Revolution is the only means of getting out of the meshes of the British Empire."

Non-cooperation.

The *Independent* in its editorial column assumes an attitude of indifference as to what the Government thinks and says of non-cooperation. It has also of late adopted an attitude of complaisance towards Bolshevism. In a note headed the "new chivalry" it holds that the Soviet régime is the only possible administration which could have survived the systematic persecution by, and the enmity of, Europe since the war. "Any other form of Government would have multiplied the distress in Russia a thousandfold—especially a Government modelled on the lines of that object of the *Pioneer's* admiration—the Government of India." The *Aj* thinks that the country is not fit for mass civil disobedience at present and urges the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee to boldly and thoroughly overhaul the Congress programme. It earnestly desires the Congress

to make entry into councils permissive for those who think they can seek the country's salvation in the Council chambers. The *Haqiqat* demands a revision of the Congress programme for the attainment of its goal. The *Hamdard* agrees with Pandit Moti Lal Nehru that the non-cooperation movement is very much alive. In its opinion the Premier's speech on Turkey has opened the eyes of the Indian Muhammadans and given impetus to the non-cooperation movement. *Al Khalil* says that the Government will take measures to carry on a propaganda among the voters to influence them not to elect the non-cooperators who will wreck the councils. The *Hamdam* emphasizes the necessity of propaganda work in foreign countries, specially in England, to counteract the effects of the campaign of misrepresentation carried on there in discredit of the aims and objects of the non-cooperation movement. Referring to certain restrictions imposed by the authorities of Meerut with regard to *Janam Ashtami* celebration, the *Meerut Opinion* says that Mahatma Gandhi whose portrait was not allowed to be carried in procession is revered by the people as much as a religious deity. It compares him to Lord Krishna who was born in chains and had come to relieve the sufferer and to establish *dharm* again, and hints that the restriction interfered with religious freedom.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Hamdam* deplores the action of the Hindus of Lahore in picketing Muhammadan cloth merchants for having refused to close their shops, on a Hindu festival. *Al Burid* ascribes the absence of Muhammadans among Secretariat officers to the influence of Hindu leaders. In an article in the *Hindi Kesari*, a correspondent insinuates that Hindu-Muslim differences are due to the bureaucratic policy of "divide and rule," and calls upon the leaders of both the communities to resist the evil effects of that policy. Proceeding he says: The loss of the independence of Turkey will be fatal to Indian *swaraj*, as cow-slaughter is fatal to Hindu-Muslim unity. These two calamities can only be averted by the whole-hearted support of the *khilafat* cause by the Hindus. The *Leader* draws attention to a recent *Firman* of the Amir of Afghanistan stopping cow-sacrifice in his kingdom and urges on Indian Musalmans to follow the lead given by the Amir.

Swadeshi and boycott.

The papers publish various schemes and suggestions for increasing the output of *khaddar* and the development of other indigenous industries. The *Aj* writes: hand-woven *khaddar* is not dead, but very much alive and kicking and in it we certainly see the promise of the supply of an indispensable subsidiary cottage industry to the millions of the starving people and occupation for their idle hours. The deadly and terrible hold of the bureaucracy is due mainly to the fact that it has succeeded in killing out practically all our indigenous trades and industries and has manufactured some new ones which are wholly in its hands or under its patronage. We have to revive along with *khaddar* various other occupations, trades, industries, etc., so that the heart of even the most ambitious may seek satisfaction in non-official and totally independent professions and avocations. The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) says: About 28 to 29 crores of Indians remain half naked. Mills cannot supply the need of cloth and are moreover the means of spreading poverty. The *charkha* alone can solve the economic problem not only in India but all the world. The *Bharat Bandhu* writes: the villagers cannot be expected to understand the economic advantages of boycott. But if they are told that the fat of cows and pigs is used in the manufacture of foreign cloth they are sure to give it up. Therefore by means of vigorous and widespread propaganda appeal should be made to their religious sentiment and leaflets calculated to create in their minds the utmost hatred of foreign cloth should be distributed in every home.

Administration.

The *Hamdam* and other papers welcome the instructions of the Local Government for the suppression of bribery and corruption and urge the need of continuous and systematic efforts being made to break the system of *haqq* prevailing in law courts and Government offices.

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J. E. GOUDGE,
Publicity Commissioner.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 2nd September, 1922.

The Near East.

THE Muslim press has continued to devote considerable space to the criticism of Mr. Lloyd George's speech on the Near Eastern question. and the unfriendly attitude of the British Cabinet towards Turkey, but without breaking any new ground. The reported death of Enver Pasha has been the subject of much speculation and articles eulogising his services to Turkey and Islam have appeared in almost all the Urdu papers. Most of the papers consider the news to be false. A few of them hint at the existence of a conspiracy in Europe which has as its aim the extermination of leading men among Musalmans by the hand of the assassin. A letter in the *Bombay Chronicle* advising Muhammadan traders to emigrate to Angora for the purposes of trade and the Associated Press' telegram containing Mr. Mushir Husain Kidwai's suggestion to organize an Indian legion for the help of Angora has revived the memory of the *hijrat* movement in 1920. The *Hamdam* supports the proposal of emigration to Asia Minor, but in view of the sad end of the *hijrat* movement two years ago it warns the *Khilafat* Committee not to permit an unrestricted emigration. Only traders who have sufficient capital and can be useful in the development of the natural resources of Asia Minor should be encouraged to go there. The *Oudh Akhbar* deprecates the idea of a Muhammadan legion as wholly ridiculous. A correspondent of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that before Muslim politicians arrange for another *hijrat*, they must be assured of, if not welcome, at least tolerance in the place of *hijrat*. "It is only fanaticism that rushes to extreme measures. The *hijrat* is the weapon of the religious fanatic as non-cooperation is the weapon of political fanatic. Both must necessarily lead to somewhere else than the destination."

Indians in colonies.

In a letter which has appeared in almost all the leading Hindi papers. the writer, Pandit Banarsi Das Chaturvedi, warns Indians against going to the Malay Peninsula and Ceylon on the ground that the conditions under which Indians have to live there are hard and humiliating to both sexes and unfavourable to the chastity of women and he advises them to tell Government plainly that they are not prepared to expose themselves to immorality and injustice for the sake of white planters. In another letter, which has been given an equally wide publicity, the same writer complains of growing ill-treatment in Fiji and says: "Thousands are ready to return to India, but the Government of Fiji does not provide shipping facilities for them. The white people are said to be sarcastically asking Indians what the Commissioners have done for them. The people are anxiously enquiring as to when the report of the Commission would be out."

Civil war in Ireland.

The papers generally condemn the assassination of Mr. Michael Collins and hint at the possibility of British intervention which will injure the cause of Irish freedom. The *Aj* strongly condemns the assassination and thinks that it will have the effect of crushing the republican movement in Ireland. The *Hamdam* and other papers write in a similar strain.

Lord Reading's speech.

The vernacular press in general is not disposed to accept the Viceroy's interpretation of the Premier's speech. Several papers have pointed out that His Excellency had nothing to say about the Premier's observations regarding the perpetuity of British Civil Servants. The *Azad* says

that the Viceroy has only indulged in empty phrases and has put quite a new interpretation on the Premier's speech. The question whether India is for the Civil Servants or the latter for India should be decided clearly as the Viceroy's speech does not solve the problem. The *Hamdam* says that the Viceroy's speech cannot remove the misunderstanding created by the Premier's statement. Lord Reading's explanation is a camouflage to mask the real import of the Prime Minister's speech. It regrets that the Viceroy said nothing to refute Mr. Lloyd George's statement that the time was not in sight when India will be able to cast off safely its slavery to the English. The *Najat* takes the view that the Premier was guilty of indulging in misrepresentations as to the future of the Civil Servants when he assured them that their power in India would remain intact, for it is impossible that their power and prestige should not decline when the administration of the country passes into the hands of the Indians. What value, it asks, can be attached to the interpretation of a Viceroy whose representations with regard to Turkey were brushed aside by Lord Curzon? Indians would be very foolish if they fail to understand the clear threat of the Premier that the power of the civilians will be maintained at all costs. The *Hamdard* sees in the failure of the meetings organized by the Liberals at Lucknow and Allahabad clear signs of the strengthening of the non-cooperation movement as a result of the Premier's speech. The extremist papers urge the Moderates to join the non-cooperation movement and thus give the only possible answer to the Premier's speech. The *Aj* says that the Viceroy's speech has merely confirmed its belief that the British Ministry will never willingly grant *swaraj* to India. The *Pratap* ridicules both the address of the deputation and the speech of the Viceroy, and says: "Those who approached Lord Reading were children in the field of politics and the Viceroy tried to appease them as children are appeased by sweet words. If Mr. Lloyd George had left out anything in exposing the hollowness of the reforms, the deficiency has been made up by Lord Reading." The *Hindi Kesari* writes: "By disappointing the Muhammadans on the Turkish question and the Liberals by his partiality for civilians, Mr. Lloyd George has indirectly given an impetus to the non-cooperation movement. Every patriot Indian should, therefore, be grateful to him." The *Abhyudaya* is not satisfied with the Viceroy's assurances and Mr. Lloyd George's repudiation of the interpretation put by Indians upon his speech. It says: "Mr. Lloyd George is a time-server. At first he wanted to appease members of the Indian Civil Service and now he is anxious to appease the Liberals lest they should join the non-cooperation movement. Indian Members of the Executive Councils and Ministers should resign their posts and lead the 'opposition' in the Councils. That is the best means of bringing to their senses the Premier, Parliament and the 'Diehards.'"

Indianisation of services.

The letter of the Government of India to Provincial Governments on the Indianisation of services has received a good deal of attention and the memorial of the Central Provinces Civil Servants to the Secretary of State has evoked some angry protests. The *Leader* doubts whether any association of Imperial servants has got the right to tell the Secretary of State and Parliament what their policy *vis-à-vis* Indian self-government should be in the future. "The letter which the Central Provinces Association has sent to Viscount Peel and which is perhaps a fair index of the temper of the services is not a letter one would expect from a body of servants, but only from a body of men who are anxious to assert their position as masters and their determination to continue as such. How long is the Government of India going to present the spectacle of meek submissiveness to men who want to dictate their terms with pistols in their hands? There cannot be one way of dealing with non-cooperation by the people and another with non-cooperation by the paid servants of the Government." The *Aj* says: "There is no need to raise the

question of largely appointing Indians to higher posts. We are masters of our home and we should manage it as best we can. Others have no right to interfere. We regard self-government as more important than good Government." In another article it says: "The country does not want Indians to be admitted to the bureaucracy. Brown bureaucrats are more intolerable than white ones since they perpetrate injustice and atrocities to please their English masters. What we want is an entire change in the system of Government by establishing *swaraj*." The *Vartman* writes: "The Indian public, which is slowly awakening to realities cannot allow the continuation of an institution (Indian Civil Service) which is extravagant and disastrous. The bureaucracy and the authorities in England have realized this and therefore threats are being held out. But such threats cannot keep alive an institution which has always been sucking the wealth of the country, creating divisions and dissensions among the people, trying to make them cowardly and lifeless, destroying their ancient social and religious life and establishing an immoral and poisonous civilization."

Political propaganda.

The *Independent* has again indicated its partiality for the Bolsheviks. In a note headed "Bolshevik Universities" it says that the Government of the proletariat itself is not a bad thing. In many respects it must be ideal and, because the proletariat predominates in the world, any truly representative government must be that of the proletariat. In commenting upon Mr. Joseph Baptista's letter to the *Chronicle* on the advisability of winning over the Liberal party in England, the *Independent* asks: "Is it not time that we look to ourselves for freedom rather than to the good offices of this or that section of the British public? The only wise course is to ignore the British electorate and the British altogether and concentrate our energies on work within India, merely taking care in the interest of internationalism that our work is not misrepresented and misunderstood by the betterminded in England and elsewhere." Several vernacular papers have advocated a modification of the non-co-operation programme. The *Pratap* confesses that all the items of the programme have failed to achieve their purpose and are likely to prove more inefficacious in future, and says: "Our enemies are taking advantage of the simplicity of our methods and are easily destroying our power. We should, therefore, reconcile all minor differences and carry with us the largest possible number of our countrymen and adopt some such means as will enable us to block all the ways of our opponents." Under the heading "Foreigners cannot voluntarily give up sucking life blood," the *Vartman* holds up the ideals of Spartan discipline and Russian revolution and says: "Russians have shown that rights are not granted as a gift, but have to be fought for. Remember full well that foreigners give up their hold only when the people make it hard for them to carry on their administration. They will never give up the sucking of blood." The *Swarajya* (Unao), while holding that all the items of the non-cooperation programme make the people stronger, sees nothing in them likely to paralyze and destory the Government. Therefore, while not advising the abandonment of any of these items, it advocates the addition of some which may prove useful in destroying the Government. The Extremist papers, specially the *Independent*, continue to attack the Liberals and the reformed Government. According to the *Independent*, the reformed Government cannot point to a single instance where they have supported the cause of truth, whether that cause was preached by the Congress, the Musalmans or the Sikhs. They have on the contrary consistently opposed the truth. How can such a Government or such a system hope to survive?

Cow-protection.

The *firman* of the Amir of Afghanistan is being widely commented upon, specially in Hindi papers, as proving conclusively that cow-sacrifice is not an indispensable obligation on Islam. The *Aj* appeals to Muslim leaders to take a

dispassionate view of the question and says: "They can do nothing better for Hindu-Muslim unity than to help in the stopping of cow-slaughter. Political progress, communal amity and economic gain will all be achieved by this one act." The *Pratap* learns from its Frontier correspondent that not a single cow was sacrificed in Kabul on the occasion of the *'Id*, and says that while a Muhammadan ruler has so much respect for the feelings of his Hindu subjects, the British Government has none. The paper advises the people to endeavour to stop cow-slaughter through municipal and legislative action, but with the cooperation of the Muhammadans. Both the *Independent* and the *Leader* have published what purports to be the text of this *firman*.

Swadeshi and boycott.

In their advocacy of the use of *khaddar*, Hindi papers are emphasizing the religious aspect of the boycott of foreign cloth by stating that it is contaminated with the fat of pigs and cows and the political aspect by saying that the boycott of foreign goods is the surest means of compelling Englishmen to grant *swaraj* to India.

Administration.

The Bijnor papers complain of the depredations of dacoits in that district. The *Al Khalil* points out that the present state of things is due to the fact that the inhabitants of the villages have been deprived of all kinds of arms.

Referring to military operations in Waziristan where bombs have been dropped from aeroplanes, the *Medina* asks why self-government is not granted to border tribes in order to convert them into friends and to save the heavy expenditure incurred on border expeditions. The Turks were pilloried throughout Europe when they punished the Armenian revolutionaries, but how are these poor peasants of the border who suffer from the fire and sword of the British to make their cries heard in Europe?

Reviewing the latest administration report of the United Provinces Police, the *Aj* writes: "The people can no longer tolerate the injustice of the police. No one's honour is safe. The police is the greatest blot on the British rule and is mainly responsible for the growing discontent. If you can reform and control the police the prevailing discontent will be removed."

The United Provinces Governor.

In commenting upon the appointment of Sir William Marris as the Governor of the United Provinces, the *Leader* says: "This is the latest proof that the present Government in England is reactionary and unresponsive to Indian opinion." It lodges an emphatic protest against the appointment on grounds of principle. "All that we can and need say at present is that while in principle we undoubtedly disapprove of the appointment, we hope that Sir William Marris, personally uncommonly able as he is, will prove a great success." The *Independent* says: "In these spacious days of non-cooperation,' it matters little as to who is to succeed whom. One thing is certain, however, and that is, the appointment of Sir William Marris is another stab to the cooperators. The *Pioneer* hails the appointment with satisfaction and says that the advent of a Governor of his calibre and broad outlook should be welcomed by Indians and Europeans alike. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* extends a hearty welcome to Sir William Marris.

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J. E. GOUDGE,
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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Near East.

THE crisis in the Near East is being closely watched and keenly discussed. Military and naval preparations to secure the inviolability of the neutral zones and the freedom of the Dardanelles have been severely criticized from a purely Muhammadan standpoint. The *Independent* is easily first in its denunciation of the British attitude. In an article headed "Britain and Turkey" it insinuates that Britain wants Constantinople for herself. It warns the British Coalition Cabinet against the dangers of the game which they are playing. It asserts that the responsibility for any further unfortunate development rests with Britain and Britain alone, and her attitude will be watched not only by the whole of India but also by all peace-loving people in the world. In another article entitled "On the Verge" it says: "Were it not for the fact that cupidity, dishonest statesmanship and racial and religious antagonism sway the policy of the Empire, as they have swayed it ever since the armistice, there would be no crisis before the British Commonwealth to-day and no danger." Referring to the burning of Smyrna and Turkish atrocities the paper assures the British Coalition Government that the "lies of their friends, the Greeks, cannot so much as deceive a single Muslim. The position as we see it—nay, as we know it to be in all truth—is that the Coalition statesmen—traitors to their responsibilities, their Empire and their God—had plotted long since to hold Constantinople in fee and to make of the Straits another Suez canal." It believes that Britain at the behest of the Coalition seems to be preparing to declare war on Islam and utters the warning that "this time it is not the Kemalists—nor yet Turkey alone—that the Anzacs will meet, the world of Islam will rally to the side of the Turks—with men where they can do so, with money where they cannot, and with their prayers to God everywhere." After reminding the British Government of Amir Aman-ullah Khan's statement to Mr. Dobbs that there could be no peace between Afghanistan and the enemies of the Turks, it says: "The supreme allegiance every Muslim must respect is his allegiance to God—and in a Crusade against the sublime system of civilization which Islam is, no Muslim in the world can remain impassively neutral and yet remain a Muslim. To-day, England and the British Empire tremble on the verge of betrayal, ruin and dissolution. To-morrow may see the beginning of the end." The *Leader* does not believe that the Turks having conquered aud occupied Smyrna could have destroyed it. It deprecates the British preparation for war against Turkey and hopes that in case of any fresh conflict with the Turks not a single Indian soldier will be employed against them in a thoroughly unrighteous war. It asks: "Will such a combination of Christian Powers against Turks bring Europe and Asia closer together? The Asiatic consciousness has been developing rapidly in recent times, and no European statesman ought to ignore it in the interests of peace as also of future friendly relations between the East and the West. We wish that the British declaration of policy in the present crisis had been less bellicose and more conciliatory." The *Leader* in another article headed "The Climb Down" severely attacks the British Cabinet Manifesto which it describes as bellicose and hectoring, and says that "Mr. Lloyd George's tactics stand discredited to-day as they were never before. With peace on his

lips he was planning another war. We reiterate that there can be no lasting peace in Europe or Asia until Mr. Lloyd George goes. He cannot get rid of his war mentality." Similarly the *Independent* accuses Mr. George and his Cabinet of "perverted sympathies" in calling to the Dominions to make war against the Kemalists. It says: "A conflagration in the Balkans must provoke a veritable *jehad* for the Islamic world and India cannot allow a weak and wounded Turkey to be destroyed by the Allies' tame pack of Balkan curs any more than they can permit the Allies themselves or any single one of them to make war on Ghazi Mustafa Kemal." The *Al Bashir* holds that the Allies have no justification for demanding guarantees from Turkey for the protection of Christian minorities, while the Christian Powers have given no similar guarantees for the protection of Muslim minorities in their territories. If Mr. Lloyd George persists in his anti-Turkish policy, things will assume a delicate aspect in India, which is in danger, on account of the alliance between Kemalists and Bolsheviks. Unless there is a distinct change in British policy the unrest among Musalmans will grow apace. The *Mashriq* advises the Government not to interfere in the war if it wants to avoid the consequences of the feelings of hatred in the heart of Indian Musalmans against itself. The *Medina* expresses the hope that Britain will do nothing which may inflame the feelings of the Muslim world and that British statesmanship will not be found wanting on this occasion. Permanent peace in the Near East is impossible unless the Dardanelles is handed over to the Turks whose very existence depends upon its possession just as that of the British Empire depends upon the possession of the Suez canal. The paper prays to God to confound the enemies of Islam and destroy their country with all their power and glory and to give victory to the Muhammadans. The *Najat* asks the British Government to hasten to make peace with the Turks and concede their demands. In any future war with England Turks will be helped by Russia. The *Azad* says that Mustafa Kemal Pasha has demonstrated that the Turks deserve to live and that they can maintain their liberty. It urges moderation on the part of the Turks with a view to obtain an honourable peace. The *Mecca Medina* warns Britain to give up its anti-Turkish attitude. If it does anything to deprive the Turks of the fruits of their victory, Europe will again be a scene of bloodshed and carnage for which Britain alone will be responsible. It urges upon Indian Musalmans to help the Turks with money and with prayers for the success of their arms. The *Aligarh Gazette* says that Muhammadans will attentively watch the policy of Great Britain in the present crisis. The *Hindustani* remarks that Turkey will be irresistible in its march for the reconquest of its territory usurped by its enemies. The *Hamdam* earnestly requests the British Government to take note of the sentiments of its Muslim subjects. The *Al Burid* charges Britain with pro-Greek feelings and warns the British Government that the continuance of its anti-Turkish policy will result in the disturbance of peace in the East. The extremist Hindi papers charge England with using Greece as an instrument for crushing Turkey. They warn the British Government against persistence in such a course. The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) thinks that the world is on the eve of a mighty conflagration and that the behaviour of Greece, supported by England, will act as a spark to set it ablaze.

Akali agitation.

The papers publish sentimental accounts of the steps taken by the officials in connection with the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, which the extremist press characterises as "Dyerism." They regard the action of the Punjab Government in putting a stop to the forcible dispersal of Akali processions as a triumph of civil disobedience and as a cause of humiliation to Government. The *Leader* admires the courage of the Sikhs and regrets that such fine specimens of humanity should have been subjected to most galling

treatment to break their unbreakable spirit. It congratulates Government on its decision to stop the beating of Akalis and hopes that shrines, which are places of worship of both Hindus and Sikhs, are not converted purely into Sikh shrines. The *Independent*, which has devoted considerable space to news and statements concerning the Guru-ka-Bagh affair, accuses Government of setting its face against the Akali reformers and construing their struggle into an attempt at defiance of constituted authority when it was really a holy endeavour to vindicate their Guru-given right to fulfil their religious obligations relating to the Gurdwaras. "Religion said the Sikhs! Order said the Bureaucracy! Truth and non-violence are to-day ranged against Law and Order." It exhorts the Akalis to persist in the path of patience and non-violence. The *Tohfa-e-Hind* says that the inhuman and cruel treatment of the Akalis surpassed the tyrannies of past years. Government can rule by the rod but a rule of this kind lasts only a little while. The *Hindustani* praises the Sikhs for carrying on the *satyagrah* and non-violent campaign with firmness despite Government repression, and remarks that the more the Government indulges in repression the more it alienates the people from itself. The *Medina* says that the cruel followers of Dyer and O'Dwyer are re-enacting the old bloody scenes of repression in Guru-ka-Bagh and asks whether this is the way to make the people forget and forgive the Jallianwala Bagh? The *Vartman* writes: "Guru-ka-Bagh has as much shed glory upon the non-cooperation movement as Chauri Chaura had tarnished it. If Chauri Chaura had shown that the country was too weak for civil disobedience, the Guru-ka-Bagh has demonstrated that she is sufficiently strong for the battle of *swaraj*. If the ideal of Guru-ka-Bagh is kept in mind the attainment of *swaraj* cannot be long delayed." The *Abhyudaya* says: "Irrespective of the merits of the case of the Akalis and forgetting mutual differences, all communities in India are eager to side with the Sikhs. In the intoxication of power, the Government cannot foresee the inevitable consequences of its policy. Even if the Government is able to suppress the movement, that will be at the cost of alienating Sikhs for ever. The *Bharat Bandhu* holds that when 30 lakhs of Sikhs have achieved success through civil disobedience, it is certain that *swaraj* will be attained when it is resorted to by 30 crores of Indians. The *Sahas* is of opinion that while the Akali agitation will immortalize the glory of the Sikhs, the measures adopted by the bureaucracy to suppress it will for ever extinguish the good name of the British nation.

Political propaganda.

The *Al Burid* is of opinion that the whole of the Congress programme is impracticable and should be changed. It suggests the adoption of Mr. Kidwai's proposals of boycotting foreign goods. It also exhorts the Musalmans to render their greatest service to the cause of *khilafat* rather than that to *swaraj*. If Hindus cannot work hand in hand with the Musalmans for the *khilafat*, cooperation between the two is impossible. The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) calls upon the people to take the reins of Government in their own hands if they want to secure freedom in religious matters. It say that the present system of Government has crushed India's manhood with the result that they have become indifferent to their religious rites and customs or have forsaken them entirely. Referring to the Viceroy's statement in the Indian Legislature the *Swaraj* (Unao) says that however much the Viceroy may vilify the non-cooperators the future is in their hands as they are the real representatives of the people. The *Kartavya* says: "In all that the Viceroy said there was nothing to satisfy the heart of India. Hollow reforms and sweet words can no longer please India."

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The papers generally are concerned at the signs of growing estrangement between the Hindus and Musalmans. The *Independent* does not approve the establishment

of sectarian associations to improve the relations between the two communities and thinks that the Indian National Congress and its office-bearers will do far more to exorcise the now scattered and fugitive spirit of disunity. The *Azad* thinks that in view of disturbances in Multan and elsewhere, Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be said to be based on strong foundations. If Hindus and Muhammadans cannot live in peace in the presence of Government forces the attainment of *swaraj* is a mere dream. The *Medina* remarks that the Hindu-Muhammadan riots at Multan and Telinipara show that the Indian nation will still remain in subjection and slavery for a long time and that it has no genuine passion for freedom and self-government. Hindi papers of all shades of opinion are emphasizing the need of organization and physical culture among Hindus. The *Kartavya* suggests that the All-India Hindu Mahasabha should have provincial, district, tahsil and village branches which, among other things, should arrange for compulsory physical culture of Hindus and training in the use of sticks. The paper holds that unity among the various sections and classes of the Hindus is of more immediate importance than Hindu-Muslim unity and that if the Hindus are well organized no community will venture to perpetrate atrocities on them. The *Pratap* calls upon the Hindus to realize their helplessness and like the Akalis to become prepared to remove it. The *Anand* holds that the Muslim community and other communities will themselves come forward to seek unity with Hindus when the Hindus become strong and then alone will Hindu-Muslim unity be lasting. The paper says that those Hindu leaders who in order to serve political ends are repressing their own co-religionists should abandon such policy and should try to make the Hindu community stronger.

Bolshevik sympathies.

The *Vartman* holds up Lenin as the protector of oppressed humanity, especially of peasants and labourers and as the champion of justice for all oppressed nations. In support of this statement the paper says that the Russian armies are ready in Moscow to help Turkey if she is attacked by anyone. "The bloody eyes of Lenin are staring Mr. Lloyd George in the face." In another article the paper says that the capitalists and landowners have ruined the world. They have invaded foreign countries, robbed the innocent, ruined the helpless and enslaved crores of people. When poverty increased so much that crores of people could not get a full meal even once a day the poor rose in revolt. At last the peasants and labourers of Russia succeeded in establishing a government truly representative of the people. The wealth of the rich was distributed among the poor and poverty was wiped out of existence. The labourers began to get full meals. Agricultural produce began to be regarded as the property of the peasants. The authority of Lenin was established and Mahatma Gandhi's advice was accepted. The world is to-day prepared to wash the earth with the blood of tyrants.

The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses gratification at the decision of Justice Stuart inflicting death sentence on a corporal for the murder of an Indian cook at Jhansi, and remarks that sentences of this nature will result in restoring confidence in British justice.

NAINI TAL:
The 23rd September, 1922.

J. E. GOUDGE,
Publicity Commissioner.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 30th September, 1922.

The Near East.

EVENTS in the Near East continue to exercise the Indian press, and the Muslim papers are showing signs of excitement with regard to the prospect of war between Britain and Turkey. Mr. Lloyd George's policy continues to be severely criticized and hints have been made in more than one paper that a conflict between Islam and Christianity is impending. The proposal of Mr. M. H. Kidwai to organize the Angora Legion, which was received with scepticism when originally published, is now receiving attention. The *Independent* is devoting considerable space to these proposals and says that "the action of India in raising a powerful Angora Legion, or in some other equally candid, drastic and effective display of determination, should intimidate the Powers—letting these see clearly that their schemes can never materialise in the face of the united opposition of half Asia." A Hindu correspondent writing in this paper strongly appeals for enlistment in the Angora Legion as he thinks that India's battle—nay of Asia—in fact of the world is being waged to-day on Turkish land. "The call for the Angora Legion is a call from God and every healthy Indian must respond to it." Another correspondent says that it must be made clear to the Government that Indians are in no mood to be trifled with and that they would do everything to help Turkey and would use every weapon in their armoury in defence of the *khilafat*. If England complicates itself in any way against the Turks, Indians should in the first instance resolutely refuse to pay a single pie by way of donation, loan or tax to the Indian or Imperial Government which would go to destroy the Turks in their attempt to gain freedom. They should also refuse to become or raise recruits for the British army. He proposes to non-violently picket the Indian police and military against serving the Indian or British Government and to see that no Indian worthy of the name enters the boycotted services. The *Independent* warns the British Government that a war with Turkey will not only be a crusade to which all Islam must respond with a *jihad* but that even in India a war will provide the extremists an heaven sent opportunity to lead the masses into civil disobedience. It asks Lord Reading if he has informed the British Premier that no power on earth can prevail against the religious fervour of India's millions of Muslims, and the resolve of this country's nationalists, who must as a duty join a Legion in defence of Islam and freedom even at the cost of making India one vast Guru-ka-Bagh. The *Leader* advises the British Government to follow a pacific and reasonable policy and says that Mr. Lloyd George's pledge should be redeemed while yet there is time to do it gracefully. The *Medina* supports the proposal of forming an Angora Legion. If the British Government objects to its being armed in India it should proceed to Afghanistan where it can be armed and equipped. The Nazim of Allahabad *Khilafat* Committee writing in the same paper appeals to Indian Musalmans to enlist themselves in the Angora Legion and thereby defend Islam. The *Advocate* says that the Turkish victory is a just cause for rejoicing for the whole of Asia. The *Medina* in a series of articles headed "Struggle between Unity and Trinity" ascribes the present attitude of the Allies towards the Kemalists to their religious hostility to Islam. "The great fault of the Turks is that they are Musalmans and worship the one God and are a relic of the past grandeur of Islam. The Allies have everything but the Turks have nothing beyond their God. This is a fight between Western materialism and Oriental righteousness." In another article it warns the Christians that

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although the Musalmans are apathetic, weak and powerless and enslaved by Europe, their God is still free and all powerful. "The disturbers of peace must remember that several nations which came in conflict with Islam were destroyed. One who beats against an iron wall breaks his own head." The *Al Khalil* accuses Britain of attempting to crush Turkey and deprive her of the fruits of her recent victories by sending strong forces to oppose the pursuit of the Greeks in Europe. She appealed to her Colonies to send armed contingents, made suggestions to turn the Turks out of Europe in order to rally Christian Europe round her, coined tales of Turkish atrocities, and stirred up the religious feelings of the Christian world so that a crusade may be launched against Islam. The same paper gives prominence to the article in the *Independent* headed "On the Verge" and publishes a full translation of it. The *Hamdam* appeals to the moderate section of the British nation to intervene and save the Empire from the danger to which Mr. Lloyd George's anti-Muslim policy has brought it. "The measure of Muslim patience and restraint is now full to the brim and it behoves Lord Reading to launch a powerful *jihad* and bring about the fall of the British Government and effect a lasting peace and friendship between the British Empire and Turkey." In a contributed article in the *Najat* the writer holds that the whole Muslim world is now bent on helping Turkey and defending its sacred places. The British Government sees in all these activities a grim menace to her interests. "Fighting Turkey is tantamount to fighting the whole world of Islam." The paper asks how there can be any reform in the British attitude when the reins of the Government of England are in the hand of Mr. Lloyd George who knows nothing except deceit and duplicity? The *Mansur* observes that in any future war with Turkey India will by no means help England. It counsels the Indian Muhammadans to keep patience and have faith in the Government of India, which is doing its best to represent their feelings. The *Mecca Medina* says that if the English interfere in the question of Thrace they will lose their credit throughout the world. The *Hamdam* urges that Indian Muhammadans should demand the resignation of the Ministers whose policy is steadily alienating the Muslim world from Britain. The *Mashriq* asks the Government of India to dissuade the British Government from following the foolish course of going to war with Turkey. The Naib Nazim, *Jamaiyat-ul-Ulema*, Bihar, writing in the *Hamdam* suggests that the Central *Khilafat* Committee and all sub-committees should inform the British Cabinet that if the pro-Greek Government of Mr. Lloyd George tries to check the victorious advance of the Kemalists there will be great unrest among Indian Muslims and they will adopt whatever final attitude commends itself to them for the protection of their religion. The *Zulqarnain* says that the responsibility of war between England and Turkey will rest on the shoulders of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon. The *Haqiqat* says that in case the Prime Minister still supports the Greeks and prevents the Turks from reaping the fruits of their victory, the whole Islamic world will be seriously agitated against Britain, which may have to face very disastrous consequences. Maulvi Iftikar Ahmed Khan of Cawnpore writing in the *Hamdam* exhorts Indian Musalmans to render all possible help to the Nationalist Turks with a view to save Islam from the attacks of Jews and Christians who are thirsting for its blood. He suggests that an organized effort should be made to visit every Muhammadan household to secure subscriptions for the Angora fund. He also suggests the formation of a corps of volunteers under the auspices of the Central *Khilafat* Committee for military training for service in any part of the world. The Hindi papers are jubilant over the Turkish victory which they regard as the triumph of a righteous cause. Extremist papers persist in alleging that Britain is the greatest enemy of the Turks and that France and Italy are well disposed towards them. The *Sahas* assures Kemal Pasha of the whole-hearted support of 33 crores

of Indians and says that it is the British Government which is even now standing in the way of a just settlement of Turkish claims. The paper apprehends that the British policy may lead to another great war which will not be confined to Europe but will extend to Asia also. "In order to divert British attention from the main seat of the war, Afghanistan will attack India which is seething with discontent and friction between the Government and the people. In these circumstances the Government will not be able to resist the invasion. All these calamities can only be averted by Britain satisfying the just demands of Turks." The *Aj* writes: "Probably there is no greater enemy of Eastern countries than Mr. Lloyd George. Against Musalmans his heart is filled with hatred and desire to cause injury. If in spite of the provocative action of Mr. Lloyd George there is no war, this must be attributed to the generosity of Kemal Pasha and the firmness of France and Italy." The *Vartman* says that the victory should not be regarded as merely Turkish, but as of the whole of Asia. The paper praises the Bolsheviks for having encouraged the Turks, and says: "The Bolshevik Government is not merely removing the sufferings of the Russians, but has also undertaken the task of emancipating the suffering countries of the whole world. It is the Bolshevik Government which has liberated Turkistan and Bokhara, made the Amir of Kabul the wholehearted servant of his subjects and has quelled the pride of the Allies and placed before the world the ideal of equality." Commenting on Mr. Kidwai's appeal for an Angora Legion, the *Abhyudaya* says: "The proposal is inconsistent with the creed of non-violence as the legion will be called upon to fight. But for our own part, we do not believe in non-violence and we therefore suggest that all those who want to enlist should gladly do so as military training will turn weak Indians into soldiers."

The Akali agitation.

The *Independent* continues to publish news sent by its special correspondent at Guru-ka-Bagh and this paper as well as the *Democrat* have published photographs of the Sikhs wounded at Guru-ka-Bagh. The *Aj* believes in the version of the Siromani Committee and not in the *communiqués* on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair issued by Government. It says: "The statements issued by the Siromani Committee make it evident that it was a mere pretence on the part of the Government to say that all it did was in the discharge of its elementary duty of protecting private property. The real fact is that the Government wanted to crush the new born spirit of liberty among the Sikhs. They are not merely fighting for Guru-ka-Bagh but also for the temple of freedom of their motherland and are showing the way how freedom has to be won. In reality the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi have been incarnated at Guru-ka-Bagh." The *Sahas* calls upon the people to be prepared to inaugurate in the whole of India civil disobedience with Guru-ka-Bagh as its model. The *Pratap* characterizes police action at Guru-ka-Bagh as butchery and praises Sikhs for having given Indians a good ideal. Concluding it says: "If the spirit displayed by the Sikhs at Guru-ka-Bagh had been evinced earlier, Babu Ram Chandra's *Kisan Sabha* propaganda, Madari Pasi's *Eka* movement and the Sirohi Bhil agitation would not have died out. But let the dead past bury its dead. Even now if we profit by our mistakes, remain vigilant and avail ourselves of every opportunity, success cannot but be at our feet."

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Democrat* in a leading article applauds the efforts of Dr. Ansari and Hakim Ajmal Khan in re-uniting the Hindus and Musalmans of Multan. It advises Hindus and Musalmans to create brotherly feelings between the two communities in the best interest of the country. A correspondent writing in the *Aligarh Gazette* points out that *Muharram* riots and the controversy in the Punjab and the United Provinces regarding the proportion of Hindus and Muhammadans in Government service convincingly exposes the hollowness of Hindu-Muslim unity. The

Al Burid complains that the Hindu press of the Punjab is dealing a serious blow to Hindu-Muslim unity by exaggerating the responsibility of Muhammadans for the Multan riots. Several Hindi papers blame the police for inaction in connection with the Multan riots. The *Aj*, however, says that instead of blaming officials, Indians should so organize themselves that they may be able to maintain perfect peace without the aid of officials.

Fiscal Commission report.

Only a few papers have so far commented on the Fiscal Commission report. The *Leader* thinks that it ought to mark an important stage in the evolution of modern Indian industries and India's fiscal policy. It gives its whole-hearted support to the report which represents the national point of view and ought to be supported by the Indian Legislature and accepted by the Government of India. The *Pioneer* disapproves the policy of protection advocated in the report. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* places this report next to the Reforms in the onward march of political thought in India. Among Hindi papers only the *Aj* has so far commented on the report of the Fiscal Commission. The paper expresses satisfaction at the recommendation of the Commission in favour of protection, opposes imperial preference entirely, and does not approve of the suggestion of the minority that the power of initiating, granting, varying and withdrawing imperial preference should vest in the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly, for it apprehends that they might succumb to official influence, as in its opinion, the minority members have themselves done on some points. The paper holds that so long as India does not get complete self-government there can be no reform having India's good as its sole object.

Protection of princes.

The *Leader* expresses satisfaction that the Bill for the protection of the Indian princes against criticism in British India has been rejected by the Legislative Assembly. The entire Indian public opinion as voiced in the press has opposed this anomalous protection. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is sure that the action of the Assembly in rejecting the Bill will be generally well received. The same paper considers it unfortunate that a situation should have been created to necessitate the certifying of the Press Bill by the Viceroy coming so soon after the Premier's utterance on the perpetuity of the "steel frame." It may give the discontented liberals the conviction that the Reforms were a camouflage and the Viceroy of India was always an autocrat. "The discontented liberal may sooner swerve towards the non-cooperating brother than to a sneering Thompson."

District Board Bill.

The *Leader* in a long article approves of the Bill. It thinks that its provisions are grossly misrepresented by those who wish that taluqdars and zamindars may get into office by forcing the present Ministers to resign on account of the defeat of the Bill. It suspects that the majority of Muslim members will be likely to join the taluqdars and other zamindars in a combined effort to overthrow the Ministers.

Labour.

The *Mansur* refers to the threat of the Liberal party in England to refuse to manufacture ammunition for the coming war with Turkey and points it out as the great achievement of organized labour. It exhorts Indian labourers to organize themselves against capitalists and officials. Organized labour in the shape of Soviets overthrew and destroyed the greatest autocratic power of the world.

NAINI TAL:
The 30th September, 1922.

J. E. GOUDGE,
Publicity Commissioner.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT CAMP PRESS, NAINI TAL.

NOTICE.

As the Publicity office will be closed at Naini Tal on the 10th October, and reopen at Lucknow on the 16th, it will not be possible to bring out the issue of the "Note on the Press" for the week ending the 14th October. The next issue of the Note will, therefore, be for the fortnight ending the 21st October.

was however partially chilled on account of the grave situation created by the Turkish entry into the neutral zone near Chanak and the possibility of war. The *Independent* asks: "Will it be a war between Islam and the British Empire?" and goes on to say: "As for us in India our duty in either event is clear. Islam enjoins the surrender of self to God and to none other,—not even to considerations of the material well-being of the world. All over India to-day, Muslims and their brothers, the nationalist Hindus, are preparing themselves for just such a surrender of self—for such a sacrifice for so splendid a profession of Islam against the mighty force of which no material power may stand." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* applauds Kemal Pasha for having shown a real desire for peace in the face of the strong and almost open hostility of England in the name of the freedom of the Straits, which is typical of the Gladstonian hatred for the unspeakable Turk whose re-entry into Europe is to be prevented by every violent step conceivable. Referring to latest telegrams indicating an improvement in the situation, the *Leader* hopes that in the interests of humanity and world peace an early peaceful settlement of the Near East problem will be arrived at, and that it will be based on reasons of justice so that it may be of a lasting nature. The *Hamdam* asserts that Mr. Lloyd George's policy is responsible for creating bitter feelings against the British Government in Muslim countries, including India, and says that the interest and safety of the British Empire both demand his immediate resignation. The *Rahnuma* apprehends that the shortsighted and bigoted policy of Mr. Lloyd George will bring about a terrible war between the Crescent and Cross which will prove most disastrous to the British Empire itself. The *Haqiqat* remarks that if the British Prime Ministers have made a compact with the Greeks to dig the grave of their own Empire the Muhammadans also will not grudge to undergo greater sacrifices for maintaining the honour of *khilafat* and Islam. The *Mecca Medina* observes that the British Government is giving a religious colour to the problem of the Dardanelles by requesting the Pope to give a religious decree in favour of usurping Turkish territory. The *Aligarh Gazette* urges the British Government not to place obstacles in the way of the legitimate aspirations of the Turks. It also asks Indian Muhammadans to advise Mustafa Kemal Pasha to consolidate his power in Asia Minor and to resort to peaceful negotiations in dealing with the Allies. The *Al Khalil* points out that Britain alone of all the Allies has hostile intentions against Turkey and that her prestige, which has been destroyed by Mr. Lloyd George, cannot be restored nor can the wounded feelings of Muhammadans be appeased. The *Hamdam* says that if Mr. Lloyd George swears by the sacred Bible no Muhammadan will believe in his professions of neutrality and love of justice. The *Al Burid* remarks: "Had Britain supported the Turks in their struggle with the Greeks not only Turks but all Muhammadans would have been grateful to her and a large proportion of Indian Muhammadans would have given up the *swaraj* and the non-cooperation movement, but now the nations of the East have thoroughly understood the deceitful policy of Britain."

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The *Leader* in a long article approves of the Bill. It thinks that its provisions are grossly misrepresented by those who wish that taluqdars and zamindars may get into office by forcing the present Ministers to resign on account of the defeat of the Bill. It suspects that the majority of Muslim members will be likely to join the taluqdars and other zamindars in a combined effort to overthrow the Ministers.

Labour.

The *Mansur* refers to the threat of the Liberal party in England to refuse to manufacture ammunition for the coming war with Turkey and points it out as the great achievement of organized labour. It exhorts Indian labourers to organize themselves against capitalists and officials. Organized labour in the shape of Soviets overthrew and destroyed the greatest autocratic power of the world.

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J. E. GOUDGE,
Publicity Commissioner.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Near East.

ATTENTION has again been concentrated on the Turkish crisis. The Indian press, specially Muslim papers, continue to severely criticize what is assumed to be Mr. Lloyd George's policy. The unconfirmed news of the Kemalist occupation of Constantinople and Thrace caused a good deal of elation, which was however partially chilled on account of the grave situation created by the Turkish entry into the neutral zone near Chanak and the possibility of war. The *Independent* asks: "Will it be a war between Islam and the British Empire?" and goes on to say: "As for us in India our duty in either event is clear. Islam enjoins the surrender of self to God and to none other,—not even to considerations of the material well-being of the world. All over India to-day, Muslims and their brothers, the nationalist Hindus, are preparing themselves for just such a surrender of self—for such a sacrifice for so splendid a profession of Islam against the mighty force of which no material power may stand." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* applauds Kemal Pasha for having shown a real desire for peace in the face of the strong and almost open hostility of England in the name of the freedom of the Straits, which is typical of the Gladstonian hatred for the unspeakable Turk whose re-entry into Europe is to be prevented by every violent step conceivable. Referring to latest telegrams indicating an improvement in the situation, the *Leader* hopes that in the interests of humanity and world peace an early peaceful settlement of the Near East problem will be arrived at, and that it will be based on reasons of justice so that it may be of a lasting nature. The *Hamdam* asserts that Mr. Lloyd George's policy is responsible for creating bitter feelings against the British Government in Muslim countries, including India, and says that the interest and safety of the British Empire both demand his immediate resignation. The *Rahnuma* apprehends that the shortsighted and bigoted policy of Mr. Lloyd George will bring about a terrible war between the Crescent and Cross which will prove most disastrous to the British Empire itself. The *Haqiqat* remarks that if the British Prime Ministers have made a compact with the Greeks to dig the grave of their own Empire the Muhammadans also will not grudge to undergo greater sacrifices for maintaining the honour of *khilafat* and Islam. The *Mecca Medina* observes that the British Government is giving a religious colour to the problem of the Dardanelles by requesting the Pope to give a religious decree in favour of usurping Turkish territory. The *Aligarh Gazette* urges the British Government not to place obstacles in the way of the legitimate aspirations of the Turks. It also asks Indian Muhammadans to advise Mustafa Kemal Pasha to consolidate his power in Asia Minor and to resort to peaceful negotiations in dealing with the Allies. The *Al Khalil* points out that Britain alone of all the Allies has hostile intentions against Turkey and that her prestige, which has been destroyed by Mr. Lloyd George, cannot be restored nor can the wounded feelings of Muhammadans be appeased. The *Hamdam* says that if Mr. Lloyd George swears by the sacred Bible no Muhammadan will believe in his professions of neutrality and love of justice. The *Al Burid* remarks: "Had Britain supported the Turks in their struggle with the Greeks not only Turks but all Muhammadans would have been grateful to her and a large proportion of Indian Muhammadans would have given up the *swaraj* and the non-cooperation movement, but now the nations of the East have thoroughly understood the deceitful policy of Britain."

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Mr. Hidayat Husain, Barrister-at-Law, writes a long article in the *Al Burid* in which he urges Britain to get rid of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon if she wants to maintain her credit in the Islamic countries. The *Al Khalil* demands that the Viceroy should openly warn the British Government against the danger which India will have to face if the British statesmen go to war with Turkey. The *Najat* holds that the Greek defeat in Asia Minor is in reality the defeat of the British Government and that a fatal blow has been dealt to British prestige. The *Medina* says that there is nothing in the British attitude to show that the British Government is inclined towards peace. Mr. Lloyd George's Ministry will either destroy Islam or itself. The *Hindustani* observes that the victory of the Turks over the Greeks represents the success of Asia against Europe. Under the heading "The Bier of the British Empire," the *Swaraj* (Allahabad) writes: "It is certain that the Turks will recover the territories of which they have been robbed as the forces of truth are on their side. Those forces will consume the British Power as moths, in their attempts to extinguish a lamp, are themselves consumed. The world has now understood Mr. Lloyd George's Government. Now either all the subject nations that are under that Government will become free, or his Government will carry the bier of the British Empire. The British should therefore remove Mr. Lloyd George and his Government, make India free, restore Turkish territories and grant equal rights to the people of other countries of the British Empire. Thus alone can the Empire be kept alive, otherwise its life is impossible." The newly started paper *Free India* says that only Providence has saved Turkey from ruin and consequent effacement from the map of Europe, otherwise England and European Powers generally have not missed any opportunity of working towards Turkey's downfall.

The Angora Legion.

The *Independent* continues to lend support to the formation of the Angora Legion and has published the sixth list of volunteers. The Muslim papers, while supporting the proposal, do not seem to be very enthusiastic. The *Leader* ridicules the idea and points out that under the Foreign Enlistment Act of 1870 all persons who apply for enlistment in a foreign Legion and those who organize such corps are liable to prosecution. "The whole scheme apart from all questions of illegality is so impracticable and absurd in the existing circumstances that we are surprised that any serious minded person should have put it forward." It regards it as a mere demonstration of sympathy with the Turks. The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) opposes Mr. Kidwai's appeal for an Angora Legion on the ground that it offends against the principle of non-violence, and says: "It is certainly our duty to help the Turks in their just cause but we cannot help by sending a legion. We can help them effectively by measures which are quite in keeping with the creed of non-violence. Thus if war is declared between Turkey and Britain we can appeal to Indian soldiers that not one of them should go to fight against Turks and we shall try to paralyze the Government by inaugurating *satyagraha*. The British Government will then be faced with the armed forces of Kemal Pasha on the one hand and the non-violent forces of *satyagrahis* on the other. This will be enough to ensure the freedom both of Turkey and India."

Political propaganda.

A recent enlistment in the ranks of political propagandist organs is *Free India* which has just appeared from Cawnpore. It is described as "an independent weekly of national thought," and has on its first page as its motto "Freedom is life, bondage death." The paper is edited by R. V. Dhulekar, but the chief leader writer is Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer of *Independent* fame. He contributes an article on the Guru-ka-Bagh affair in the latest issue of the paper in which he says that tragedies like that of Guru-ka-Bagh cannot be avoided so long as the present impossible system of

Government continues and that *swaraj* alone can make India and every community in India, happy and contented. A government conducted by foreigners, however well-meaning, cannot understand the feelings of the governed. The writer concludes by an impassioned appeal to Indians to win *swaraj*. "There is no greater *dharma* for a fallen nation than to arise and win its freedom. Let every man, woman and child of India, Sikh, Parsee, Christian, Muhammadan, Hindu, Jain, let each and all dedicate themselves to the cause of *swaraj*." In another article the action of the Kashmir Darbar in prohibiting Mr. C. R. Das to visit the State has been severely criticized. "To ask the president-elect of the Indian National Congress to give an undertaking to a Maharaja of a Native State is a stupendous piece of impertinence on which His Highness would not venture with impunity had India been free."

Several papers have written leading articles on the *Vijaya Dashami* (*Dasehra*), pointing the moral that even such a mighty ruler as Ravan was destroyed through his unrighteousness and tyranny and calling upon the people to make an inflexible resolve to become free. The *Independent* says that the victory of Shri Rama must hearten us in the struggle in which we are engaged—the struggle to establish Ram Raj in this ancient land. The *Swarajya* (Unao) writes: "We should not be content to celebrate the next *Vijaya Dashami* by merely getting a Ravan made of paper burnt through Ram. The Hindus can fittingly celebrate the festival only by destroying the power of the irresponsible bureaucracy and attaining freedom for which it is necessary to boycott foreign cloth and follow other items of the non-cooperation programme." The *Pratap* says: "Our celebration can have a meaning only if, realizing our helplessness, we take a lesson from the Sikhs and infuse new life into the country." In its special "Non-cooperation number," under the headings "The triumph of non-cooperation in Hungary," "The success of non-cooperation in Egypt," "The wonders of non-cooperation in Ireland," and the "Triumph of non-cooperation in Korea," the *Swaraj* tries to show that a subject nation, though weak, can by means of non-cooperation, compel even an apparently formidable power to grant freedom to its subjects. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's birthday celebrations, the *Independent* says: "The existence of men such as the Mahatma is a guarantee of the progress of the world and the birth of a Gandhi in India came to quicken national awakening and regeneration. His presence amidst us should be a cause for rejoicing. To the dispirited his life should be a living example of undying hopefulness and a fountain source of invincible optimism." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* applauds the action of Bombay ladies in going to worship the jail where Gandhi is imprisoned. "Non-cooperation can never die so long as this pilgrimage of mind continues." The paper rebukes the moderates for justifying Marris worship because he wrote the Montford report. "What mockery to the mind of India that is strained to hear the sigh that breaks out of the Yervada jail after a hard day's work at the *charkha*, the faint sigh of the tired soul that is in communion with God."

The Liberal Conference.

The *Independent* sees in the speeches delivered at the Liberal Conference at Fyzabad a slow change being wrought in the minds of the moderates. It gives credit to the liberals for having sincerely tried to approach, without prejudice, burning problems of the day. "If the moderates extend the hands of friendship to those who have ever been their best—because most candid friends,—the extremists must grasp it." The *Hamdam* charges Pandit Gokaran Nath with flattery for having praised Sir William Marris. The *Al Khalil* observes that the object of the liberals is to gain positions in Government service and seats in the Councils and to please officials and warns them that their policy will never take them nearer the goal of *swaraj*. The *Aj* writes: "The fact that the speeches

delivered at the Conference are full of comments on the speech of Mr. Lloyd George, shows that our liberal brethren regard British Ministers as the arbiters of their destiny. It is a wonder that even then they aspire for self-government." The *Pratap* says: "Pandit Gokaran Nath's speech is praiseworthy in several respects. The sentiments expressed by him with regard to non-cooperators are full of fraternal feelings. If the policy which he has laid down for liberals is sincerely and assiduously followed our liberal brethren will be able to render some real service to the country in their own way and will not render themselves open to the charge that their only function is to oppose their own brethren in cooperation with the Government." The *Meerut Opinion* has only one criticism to offer regarding the topics dealt with in the address of the President of the Conference and the Chairman of the Reception Committee that they omitted even a passing reference to the trial and sentence of Mahatma Gandhi. "One expected some words of condemnation or at least of protest from the president of the Liberal Conference on the conviction of the greatest of living Indians. But perhaps they consider that it is safe, in the best interests of the country, that the Mahatma's mischievous action should be temporarily put a stop to."

Protection of Princes.

The passing of the Princes' Protection Bill after its rejection by the Legislative Assembly has been generally disliked. The *Leader* says: "That the Bill is not only an unrighteous measure but is also of an extremely shortsighted nature. Its passage into law in the teeth of almost universal opposition will be a blunder and will be the cause of popular resentment both in British India and in the Indian States." The *Meerut Opinion* says: "If the British Government does not afford any protection to the subjects of Native States against the capricious and arbitrary action of their rulers why should the latter be given any such protection and immunity for criticism in the public press, when the former is driven by sheer force of necessity, for there is no press worth the name existing in Native States, to seek the only avenue available of ventilating their grievances, which are neither few nor far between?" The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the Viceroy exercised his special power and certified the Bill and observes that such things prove the hollowness of the Reforms. The *Mansur* remarks in a similar strain and wonders whether the moderates will now open their eyes and realize their mistake in supporting the Reforms. The *Haqiqat* also condemns the measure. The *Pratap* writes: "We see no reason justifying any measure for the protection of the Princes. On the other hand, there is imperative need for several measures for protecting the subjects of those States."

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Hamdam* accuses Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of showing undue partiality for Hindus and laying the entire blame on Muhammadans in his recent speech on the Multan riots, and says that such an antagonistic attitude can never preserve Hindu-Muslim unity in its real sense. The *Aligarh Gazette* refuses to admit the claim of non-cooperators that the Turkish victory owes much to their efforts and help, and remarks that there is still time for Muhammadans to take a lesson and to cease to lean on others. The *Al Bashir* observes that Muhammadans ought to be grateful to the Hindus for their support of the Turks and should do their best to strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity, because the salvation of India depends on real unity between the two communities. The *Medina* calls upon Muhammadans to remember that they have to save the honour of the *khilafat* and should not weaken themselves by communal strifes.

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J. E. GOUDGE,
Publicity Commissioner.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Near East.

ATTENTION continues to be riveted on the situation in the Near East. The *Hindustani* demands Mr. Lloyd George's resignation in order to relieve the Empire from the danger of another war, which can only mean the destruction of Britain. The *Mecca Medina* fears that under the pretext of the freedom of the Dardanelles and of the protection of Christian minorities, Britain wants to prevent the Turks from reaping the fruits of their victory. The *Haqiqat* asserts that the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha has infused new life into the Turks, and rejuvenated the 40 crores of Musalmans in the world. No power on earth will now succeed in depriving them of their rights. The *Al Bashir* says that Mr. Lloyd George has only disgraced the British Empire in the eyes of the world by his crooked policy and opines that it is desirable to secure peace with Turkey at all costs to avoid a conflagration which may prove disastrous to England itself. The *Medina* remarks: "If Mr. Lloyd George's Government decides to declare war with Turkey it should bear in mind that it will have to fight with all the States between Moscow and Peshawar." The *Mansur* expresses the hope that undue pressure will not be brought to bear on the Turks and force them to continue their war preparations. The whole Muslim world is with the Turks, and the Musalmans of India also will bear in no case to see the Sultan of Turkey and the *Khalifa* of Islam a mere puppet in the hands of any foreign Power. The *Oudh Akhbar* urges that the British Government should not take any action with regard to the Turkish situation which may endanger peace in India. A large number of poems have been published in the Muslim press eulogising Kemal Pasha. In one of these one Ameer Raza Natiq of Rangoon writing in the *Najat* prays for the day when Ghazi Kemal Pasha will come to India.

The Mudania Conference.

The successful conclusion of the Conference at Mudania has been received with satisfaction but the Indian papers style the agreement as a triumph of Turkish and not British diplomacy. The *Pioneer* says: "The signature of the agreement presents the country with the undeniable fact that the British Cabinet has not plunged the Empire into war. On the contrary, the Prime Minister can once more show that plain straightforward-speaking and definite action have enabled peaceful counsels to triumph." It considers the terms of the agreement as eminently fair and just to the Turks. The *Independent* views the agreement with scepticism, specially the terms respecting the neutral zones. It advises its readers to occupy their time in organising the Angora Legion. The *Leader* says that the Allies have yielded all along the line. "However much the fact may be camouflaged, there is no doubt that the Turks would not have secured what they have, if they had not annihilated the Greek army and demonstrated that their military strength was such that they could not be trifled with. What Mr. Lloyd George's Government was unwilling to concede to right and justice, it has now conceded to the victorious Turks." . . . "If the course of events in the Near East teaches Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues a much-needed lesson in humility, it will have done good to their souls." The Muslim press regards the Mudania Agreement as a victory in favour of the Turks. The *Hamdam* applauds the action of the Turks in occupying areas in the neutral zones and backing their claims with armed force and disregarding Mr. Lloyd George's threat. "The respectful pleadings of the Indian deputations made little

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impression on Mr. Lloyd George, but the rattling of Asmat Pasha's sword stunned the Premier who had no other choice but to accept the Turkish claims." The *Al Khalil* is gratified that British diplomacy has been defeated in the face of Turkish plain-speaking and calls it the first diplomatic triumph of the Turks over European intrigues. The *Najat* remarks that the Turks have defeated the British policy of bluff and shattered the dreams of Mr. Lloyd George of founding a Greek Empire in Asia Minor. The *Medina* says: Had the demands of the Turks been accepted two years ago all the Christian and Muslim lives sacrificed in this disastrous war would have been saved. The British alone are responsible for this loss. It advises the Central *Khilafat* Committee to draw up a list of Muslim demands regarding the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and send it to Angora for discussion at the Peace Conference. Indian Musalmans cannot be satisfied without the settlement of the problems of the holy land. Hindi papers of all shades of opinion express jubilation over the result of the Mudania Conference and warmly congratulate Kemal Pasha on his triumph. The *Pratap* writes: The sword of Ghazi Kemal Pasha has demonstrated that God helps those who are backed up by true and strong soldiers and that besides non-violent non-cooperation there are several other methods for securing liberation from oppressors. The wonders wrought by Ghazi Kemal Pasha are full of lessons for Indians who are thirsting for freedom. The *Vartman* holds that it is the Bolshevik wizard who has compelled Mr. Lloyd George to withdraw his hand from war. The *Aj* remarks: "The Mudania Agreement has wiped off the blot of Turkish defeat, nullified the Treaty of Sèvres and has compelled Britain to recognise the Anatolian Government which is the real government of Turkey. The Mudania Agreement is invaluable from the point of view of Asia, especially of the Muslim world." The *Anand* says: "Those who wanted to murder truth and justice by a show of military force have been defeated and the flag of justice and liberty has begun to wave. The policy of Mr. Lloyd George has caused incalculable harm to the Empire and now it is desirable that the reins of Government should be placed in the hands of some capable statesman." The *Shakti* hopes that as Indians have sacrificed their choicest men and large sums of money in the cause of the *Khilafat*, Kemal Pasha will not sign the Peace Treaty until all those who are undergoing imprisonment in connection with the *Khilafat* agitation are released.

Mr. Lloyd George and his speech.

Indian papers generally exult on the prospect of Mr. Lloyd George's resignation. The *Independent* says that the prestige of Britain has been lowered to the dust in the very East where once it stood high. But Easterners of all people cannot respect cowards who have not the courage of their dishonesty. In another article headed "A General Calamity" the paper trusts that Mr. Lloyd George will ignore the suggestions that the Coalition Government should resign as a result of his policy in the Near East which has brought a calamity on the Premier. The present Minister must remain in office to work out both his destiny and that of the unfortunate Empire that he misguided through so many years of chicanery and intrigue. "The East has grown weary of waiting for emancipation and any general election which deprives the Coalition Cabinet of sufficient rope were almost a calamity—especially at this stage when in a few days we may welcome a precipitation of freedom which only Mr. George's duplicity can secure within a reasonable period. Let Mr. Lloyd George remain in office to complete the ruin he has already brought. He seems to be as much an agent of Providence to us in India, as the monk Rasputin was to the cause of freedom in Russia." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: "Never did British prestige stand at a lower ebb than today, and we are not at all surprised that the cry should have been raised that the one man responsible for this sorry pass should go. Mr. Lloyd George must go." In the opinion of the *Leader* the greatest service Mr. Lloyd George can render

to himself, to the British nation, and the Empire is to quit office without a moment's loss of time. He has already done mischief enough to British prestige and honour. He must go. It is surely not possible even for the great Welsh wizard to fool all people for all time. The *Medina* in the course of a leading article says: "Every proud tyrant becomes an example for others. After the pathetic death of the Czar of Russia the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George will not be very surprising." The *Democrat* remarks that it would evidently be better for the Prime Minister to make his inevitable exit now. The *Haqiqat* holds that the wizard of Wales can no longer keep the present British Cabinet together. The sword of the Nationalist Turk has exorcised all magic from the Premier's wand. The *Independent* has a strongly-worded leading article, headed "A challenge to Islam" in which it describes the Premier's speech as a compound of provocation and insults to Islam, insults to the French and Italians, insults to the Turks, insults to his rivals in English party politics and insults to the intelligence of his audience, of the British public, and of the world." According to this paper Mr. Lloyd George uttered words more damaging to the Empire which he professes to serve while serving Sir Basil Zaharoff. He has driven home the last nail in the coffin of British prestige. Every smooth lie that fell from his lips at Manchester and the lies fell as foul matter drips from a gangrened ulcer—conveyed to the Orient one message only which translated into Parliamentary language is: "He who guides the destinies of the British Empire has worked like a bribed knave to ruin his country by seeking the ruin of Islam and now he lies like a coward so that he might not be removed for his evil deeds from a position which has brought so much of personal profit to him." "If Mr. Lloyd George should remain in power after this speech it will signify that the British people and Empire are content to allow their Government to force *jehad* on Islam." "If Mr. Lloyd George wants war—he can have it for the asking, and may the fate of his precious Empire be on his head." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thinks that the speech is the first thunder that announces the election monsoon, and asks: "Is this the speech of the Premier of England or a raving maniac?" "But every thoughtless word that the British Premier has uttered against the great Asiatic race has for ever alienated the subjects of the British Empire in the East. It is a tragedy that the prancing politician of England should not look farther than his own votes and his own position in public life. He has not a thought of what the Indian Muhammadans would say. India will be scandalised at the references to Turks by Mr. Lloyd George, for with Turkey was bound up the prayers of all and in the triumph of Turkey is the triumph of all those great issues for which the Great War was supposed to have been fought." The *Pioneer* styles the speech as a singularly clear and convincing exposition of British policy. Referring to the Premier's speech the *Anand* says that Mr. Lloyd George only abused his opponents and says nothing which could justify his Near Eastern policy. The *Hamdam* bitterly complains of Mr. Lloyd George's attitude towards the Turks and says that the continuation of his ministry for a few more years will result in the break up of the British Empire. The unrestrained language of the British Premier has worked as a poisoned lancet to the hearts of Musalmans. The Turkish victories have turned Mr. Lloyd George into a maniac. The speech will intensify the feelings of hatred in India and other British possessions.

Iraq Treaty.

The Treaty between Great Britain and Iraq has not yet been the subject of comment in the vernacular press. The *Pioneer* hopes that the Iraq Treaty will have a quality of greater permanence than that which is attached to another treaty, the one with Persia. The *Independent* sees in the Treaty a clear indication of the fact that even an astute politician like Mr. Churchill has been finding it impossible to maintain British rule, camouflaged as a mandate, in Iraq. "It has not, of course, occurred to Sir Percy Cox and his crusading master, that the region of Iraq is included in that wider

region for which the Islamic world demands Islamic freedom—the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The "King" is to be ordered by Sir Percy Cox as to the administration of the Holy Places for twenty years! What optimistic fools the British Coalition statesmen are to imagine for a moment that Islam will consent."

Several Urdu papers have given prominence to the news that the visit of the British Consul to Simla synchronised in Afghanistan with the recall of the Afghan Consul-General and they see in this signs of strained relations between the two Governments over the crisis in the Near East. The *Mecca Medina* is of opinion that the action of the Afghan Government was due to censorship exercised over the correspondence of its representative at Simla. The *Iqdam* writes in a similar strain and says that the British Minister should change his attitude towards the Turkish question if he wants to conciliate Muslim countries.

The Angora Legion.

The *Independent* continues to support the proposal of organising the Angora Legion and several Muslim papers have written in favour of it. In a leading article "Without Leave or Licence" the *Independent* replies to the *Leader's* criticism mentioned in the last press note and says that in view of the fact that "His Majesty's licence" was freely accorded to those Christian subjects of His Majesty who a few months ago desired to accept an engagement with that foreign State, Spain, then at war with the Muslim Riffs who were at peace, so far as we are aware with His Majesty, the denial of equal licence to His Majesty's Muslim subjects to accept an engagement with the Turks against the Greeks or the Rumanians, will be most eloquent, as coming from a Government which claims to be the greatest Muslim Power in the world and which also boasts of tolerating no religious preferences or disabilities at least in its Eastern dominions." Several extremist Hindi papers oppose the proposal for an Angora Legion on the ground that it violates the principle of non-violence. The *Shakti* is of opinion that Indians may enlist for nursing work but that to go as combatants would be to act against the principle of non-violence. The *Satyavadi* calls upon the people not to take any part in the formation of the Legion as any help rendered in this connection would be to invite trouble. The *Northern Star*, which is not in favour of the proposal, says: "We are in favour of mobilising our national resources for the good of our own country first, and when Indian unity becomes really an established fact and India attains freedom by her own self-reliant endeavours, then shall the question of entering into alliance with foreign States be discussed on its own merits. We are therefore not in favour of forming what is now called by the name of the Angora Legion."

The Akali movement.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* feels satisfied at the news that efforts are made to compromise with the Akalis and congratulates the Government of the Punjab on the courageous attitude that it has taken in acknowledging its mistake and in respecting the strong popular feeling on the subject. The Guruka-Bagh affair continues to receive prominent attention in the Hindi press and the *communiqués* of the Siromani Committee are being largely quoted in support of sensational allegations of police atrocities. The letter of Press representatives is also being quoted to show that Government *communiqués* are not to be trusted. In this connection the *Aj* writes: "We cannot put more faith in the version of authorities perched on the heights of Simla than in that of the Press representatives who were actual eye-witnesses. Nothing is so easy for Government than to set down non-officials as liars and to saddle them with all blame." The *Swaraj* expresses its confidence that the sacrifices undergone by the Akalis will lead to India's liberation. The papers express much indignation at the imprisonment of Swami Shraddhanand and extol his saintliness and services to the country. The *Aj* writes:

"Nothing could show the bureaucracy-ridden condition of the country better than this simple fact that a puny Deputy Magistrate can send a great *swami* to jail . . . when the Indian bureaucracy can bring such frivolous charges against the Indian *sanyasi*, surely it cannot be very long before it must give place to another form of administration, it must go down before the responsible type of Government at the earliest possible date."

Political propaganda.

Writing on the present situation the *Meerut Opinion* says: "The Government with its criminal lack of foresight, the incorrigible characteristic of a bureaucratic administration, is resorting in the name of the old bogey of law and order to repression and still more repression, sometimes of the nakedest type as at Guru-ka-Bagh."

Commenting on the visit of the mission of help from England the *Independent* charges Englishmen in India with unchristian acts and says: "The average bureaucrat in India subscribed to the Dyer Fund and are we to regard him as a type of English manhood and of Christianity? As for the women of the English spoiled by sojourn in India, those of us who have been so unfortunate as to have observed the behaviour of these types of Christianity at their balls and dances at Simla, their bathing orgies at Puri and Bombay, their restaurants in Calcutta and their clubs in the mufassil can only conclude, that if the Archbishop is at all accurate and if we are to judge by the vast majority, the best Christian and English type of womanhood is a weird compound of frivolity and coarseness."

Protection of Princes.

The action of the Viceroy and the Council of State with regard to the Bill for the protection of Indian Princes against attacks in the press has come in for severe criticism and is adduced by the extremist press as demonstrating the hollowness of Reforms. The *Abhyudaya* regards the Viceroy's action as calculated to wreck the Reforms. The *Swaraj* prophesies that the measure will add fuel to the fire of discontent in India, especially in Indian States and adds: The condition of the Moderates is pitiable as they still cling to the hope that Government will come to the right path, although it is following a more and more crooked policy everyday. The *Aj* says: "So far as this Bill is concerned we are convinced that it is for the harassment of the people in British India and not for the protection of the Princes for whom the Government does not care a brass farthing and some of whom at least are said to have opined that it was derogatory to their honour to have such 'protection' forced upon them." The *Pratap* gives several instances of high-handedness and atrocities of Indian princes to show that it is the subject of Indian States, not the rulers, who require protection and says that Lord Reading's action is a complete violation of his loud professions of upholding justice. The *Hindi Kesari* thinks that the subjects of Indian States will have to adopt some means for their protection. The *Azad* says that the Viceroy's improper action in regard to the Bill for the protection of Indian Princes has exposed the hollowness of the constitutional reforms and that when Government takes no measures for the relief of the subjects in Native States it is not justified in passing special legislation for the protection of Indian Princes, specially when there was no similar law in existence before 1910.

The Liberal Conference.

Several Extremist Hindi papers read in the proceedings of the recent Liberal Conference at Fyzabad, especially in the presidential speech, signs of awakening among Liberals. The *Shakti* writes: "With the march of time our Moderate brethren are being attracted towards non-cooperation. The president, Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra, has shown such foresight and liberality in his speech as was not to be met with in previous Moderate conferences." The *Medina* accuses the president of the Liberal Provincial Conference of being a time-server who kept away from the non-cooperation movement for fear of sacrifices and remarks that the fresh kick from

Mr. Lloyd George has opened the eyes of all such shirkers and made even him cry out that in this situation he would prefer the path of revolution and disturbances to the bowing of his head before experiments and slavery.

Swadeshi and boycott.

In the course of a lengthy reply to the various criticisms of his scheme for winning *swaraj* by a complete boycott of British goods, Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, editor of the *Abhyudaya*, writes in the paper: "They are mistaken who think that England will not yield if her trade is injured. If we can once carry out the boycott scheme properly, England will be ready for a compromise with folded hands. Then we shall be able to fulfil our wishes. That ought to be our chief aim." *Lakshman*, a new Hindi bi-weekly started from Lucknow under the editorship of Pandit Balmukund Bajpai to propagate Mr. Gandhi's views and to promote the interests of the *kisans* of Oudh, calls upon the people to shun foreign cloth as poison and as calculated to strengthen and enrich India's enemies. It goes on to say: "To use foreign cloth is to place ammunition in the hands of one's enemy and to kill one's children in order to gratify one's hankering for fashionable dress. We Hindus pose as the worshippers of the cow and believe that she is the abode of thirty three crores of gods. Yet we sell and buy foreign cloth which is finished with the cow's blood! *(sic.)*"

Hindu-Muslim unity.

Hindi papers continue to refer to the recent Hindu-Muslim disturbances as emphasizing the need for organisation in the Hindu community. The *Pratap* writes: "For bringing about Hindu-Muslim unity, for the interests of Indian nationalism, nay for the very existence of India, it is imperative that Hindus should set right their religious and social condition and for this they should take a lesson in organisation from the Sikhs and the Muhammadans." Writing in a similar strain the *Abhyudaya* says: "All our sufferings will cease the day Hindu society is organised."

New journals.

Three new journals—the *Nizam-i-Alam*, a daily, the *Hindustan*, a bi-weekly, and the *Iqdam*, a weekly, have been started during the month. The first two are published at Cawnpore, and the last at Moradabad. They all belong to the Congress school of politics.

LUCKNOW:

The 21st October, 1922.

J. E. GOUDGE,

Publicity Commissioner.

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CONFIDENTIAL.] No. 18 OF 1922.

NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 28th October, 1922.

Resignation of the British Cabinet.

THE news of the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George's Cabinet has been received with jubilation in the Indian press. The Moderate papers hold Mr. Lloyd George responsible for alienating the Musalmans by his Near Eastern policy and the Indian Constitutionalists by his speech on the Indian Civil Service and hope that his exit will facilitate a settlement of the Near Eastern question. Extremist Muslim papers use bold headlines such as "The Anti-Muslim Cabinet of England ends" (*Hamdam*). "The world is purified of filth." (*Mansur* and *Al Burid*). On the other hand, it is hinted in some Extremist organs that the coming of the Conservative party into power will mean more repression, which will ultimately strengthen Indian national awakening and solidarity. The *Independent* calls it a welcome change and thinks that the prospects are entirely encouraging so far as those solicitous for freedom are concerned. The British Empire, the mandated regions, and the Near East are in for a brief period of "(Bonar) Law and Order." Then offended Freedom will take up the sceptre and there will be Peace. The *Leader* says: Mr. Lloyd George came to power as the result of intrigue by kicking down his chief. He maintained his position by intrigue and he has fallen a victim to intrigue. He destroyed his reputation by unprincipled opportunism and considered no price too high to pay for the retention of his office. The *Oudh Akhbar* says: The world will forget the effervescence of his Manchester speech in the midst of rejoicing for his resignation. The Coalition Government is no more, but a Conservative majority in Parliament forebodes equally no good to India, whose future is all dark and beset with dangers. The inclusion of Lord Curzon and Viscount Peel in the new Ministry will prevent any deviation from the policy which is now pursued in India and the present activities for freedom in the country will have to be continued. The *Azad* remarks that India may expect juster treatment only if the Labour party comes into power. The *Vartman* says: Mr. Lloyd George has made his exit from the British political stage after playing the part of Satan. It seems the power will come into the hands of the Conservative party. The Cabinet will become the stronghold of reactionaries and greater efforts will be made to bolster up the aritificial prestige of the Government. Pledges after pledges will be broken and repression will be resorted to more readily in Ireland, Egypt and India. But every wicked attempt of the reactionaries will be advantageous to us as it will open our eyes, break the bonds of slavery and bring near the day of our freedom. We shall get real reforms only when those now in vogue are wrecked.

The Near East.

The Muslim press continues to devote attention to Near-Eastern affairs. The *Hamdam* says that no prudent and justice-loving Englishman can ever deny the fact that from the very beginning the attitude of Great Britain had been anti-Turkish and pro-Greek, with the result that she is now regarded by the world as the enemy of Islam. If the Indian Government is powerless to do anything, it can at least bring to the notice of the British Government and its population the demands of Indians. In another article the *Hamdam* says that the Mudania Agreement was only a conference between military officers to avoid an immediate clash of arms, but it does not solve the bigger Muslim questions. It advises Musalmans to keep an eye on the next Peace Conference. The *Mecca Medina* observes that if the British Government goes to war with the Turks, she will have

against her not only the Hindus and Musalmans of India but also every one from Constantinople to Kabul including Kurds and Mahsuds, and the East will witness a huge revolution. The British policy is becoming unbearable to the world, and the time is not far when it will be beyond the power of the British Government to face the storm of opposition, which will rise from every quarter. The *Al Bashir* says that the danger of a war can only be averted if England changes its present policy and follows the course adopted by Italy and France. If it persists in its anti-Turkish policy, war will become a necessity. The new war will be of a much more violent character than the Great War and will be necessarily followed by disturbances on the frontier of India. The *Hindustani* says that no one except England is satisfied with the results of the Mudania Conference, the one important result of which has been the union of the Eastern and the Western Turks. The time has come when the Turks should accept the help of Russia. The *Al Burid* publishes a poem entitled "The time for speech is gone, now is the time for action" by one Abdus Samad Bazmi. The last couplets read as follows :—"Kemal is launching attacks from that side, you should all gather together to battle from this side." The Hindi papers express satisfaction at the result of the Mudania Conference. The Extremist organs follow their Muslim contemporaries and hail it as a triumph of Kemal Pasha's sword and as a matter for humiliation for Britain. The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) thinks that the humiliation suffered by Britain at Mudania is only equalled by that suffered by her at the declaration of independence by America, and adds :—The Mudania Conference has, moreover, completely frustrated Britain's plot to establish her suzerainty over the Near East and the middle of Asia by dividing Turkey into pieces and to swallow all trade between the Near East and the Middle East by making the Khalifa of Constantinople her puppet. This conference will be regarded as a turning point in the history of not only the Turks and the Allies, but of the whole world. The result of this conference is beneficial for India also.

Mr. Lloyd George's Manchester speech.

Mr. Lloyd George's Manchester speech has been severely criticised by vernacular papers of all shades of opinion. The *Aj* regards the speech as disgusting and provoking and characterises Mr. Lloyd George's policy as satanic and charges him with having left no stone unturned to foment racial hatred between the East and the West by inflaming the lower passions of the ignorant masses and by inciting Christians against Muhammadans. The *Vartman* says: Instead of replying to the main question at issue, Mr. Lloyd George spent all his energy in abusing his opponents and praising himself. He has undoubtedly lowered British prestige. The *Abhyudaya* thinks that Mr. Lloyd George while wrecking his own reputation has also wrecked that of England. The *Aligarh Gazette* condemns the speech of Mr. Lloyd George and charges British statesmen with pro-Greek and pro-Armenian sympathies simply because they are non-Muslim. The *Al Burid* severely criticises the speech which shows that Christianity is carrying on a crusade against the Turks. Had Indians given vent to such outbursts they would have been accused of exciting and creating hatred between two communities.

Diwali festival.

Advantage has been taken of the Hindu festival of *Diwali* to foster political propaganda and almost all Hindi papers have written on the subject, deploring the poverty of the country and urging upon the people the need of restoring prosperity by avoiding the use of foreign goods, reviving old industries and establishing new ones. The view is generally expressed that in the present state of poverty the celebration of *Diwali*, the worship of Lakshmi (the goddess of wealth), is meaningless. The *Swaraj* (Allahabad) writes: If we want to celebrate the *Diwali* and worship Lakshmi in reality, it is our duty not to allow even a pice

to go to foreign countries for the purchase of articles of luxury and to resolve to boycott British cloth for ever, to promote *khadi* and to refrain from wasting money in litigation. Writing in a similar strain the *Abhyudaya* says: Our worship of the goddess of wealth can only have a meaning when we have brought back the wealth which we have been sending to foreign countries and have regained complete control over the Government from which we have been ousted. The *Independent* also devotes a leading article to this topic and says: "Hindus should pray for national wealth and in their fight against the circumstances that keep us poor draw inspiration from the victory of Sree Krishna over Narakasura. Even a Sree Krishna could not vanquish the foe without the assistance of Satyabhama. So Indians in their humble efforts must remain steadfast to the one thing without which there can be no victory—*Satya*."

The Iraq Treaty.

The Anglo-Iraq Treaty has been received unfavourably by the Muslim press. The *Hamdam* says that the Treaty may satisfy Amir Feisal, but it can never please the Nationalist Arabs as the British mandate and control continue, although in a different shape. It expresses the hope that on the occasion of the next Peace Conference the Turkish representatives will put forward Muslim demand regarding *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The *Mansur* calls the Treaty the "Charter of Slavery of Iraq." The Treaty does not solve the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* question, and unless this is done, the Musalmans of the world will not be satisfied. In its opinion the Treaty will bring as little peace to Iraq as the Treaty with Egypt has done in the valley of the Nile. There can be no peace in the Muslim world unless the sacred soil of Hedjaz is cleared of all non-Muslim control.

Political propaganda.

Disagreeing with Mr. Raja Gopalachariar as to the attitude of non-cooperators towards the reformed Government, the *Advocate* advises the removal of the ban on the entry into Councils and says: "Mere entry can never increase the prestige of the Councils, nor can it ever mean cooperation. Does the hero who boldly walks into the den of the lion to beard him and do him to death, face to face, 'cooperate' with him or does he doubt for the hundreth part of a minute that his going into the den would add to the lion's prestige?"

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Meerut Opinion* says that both the Hindu and Muslim communities are responsible for the breach that exists between them. Let Muhammadans talk less of their extra-territorial patriotism and of Pan-Islamism, let them cease dreaming of Turkey, Arabia and Persia and realise that although as their coreligionists they may sympathise and even help the Turks, Arabs and other Muhammadan countries in their struggle for freedom, they are not to use it as a cloak for the spread of Muhammadan political sovereignty over the world and as a means for treading upon the rights of others. The *Hindu Gazette* says that the spirit which led to the destruction of idols and temples in Malabar and Multan should be annihilated or Hindu-Muslim unity will disappear. Hindus should make sacrifices for the preservation of their rights and should demand their rights freely and boldly, even at the risk of being hanged or imprisoned. The *Chhattari* says that the Hindus subscribed money for illuminations in Meerut to celebrate the fall of Smyrna for fear of injury at the hands of low-class Muhammadans rather than for any love for the Turks or the Musalmans.

District Boards Bill.

The *Hamdam* has published appeals advising the tenants to raise their voice against the Bill on the ground that it proposes to saddle them with extra taxation. It also calls upon them to denounce their representatives in the Legislative Council who may be willing to support the Bill. The *Swaraj* on the other hand hopes that the United Provinces District Boards Bill will be passed, and that it will make the boards real public bodies. It therefore

calls upon the non-cooperators to capture them and assures them that if they do so they will get *swaraj* in a considerable measure. The *Hindustani* supports the District Boards Bill and says that it will develop the resources of the provinces, improve means of communication and will help in establishing veterinary hospitals and agricultural and cattle farms. Those who are opposing it are desirous of simply doing away with the present Ministers. The last Zamindars' Conference was held for the extension of Sir Harcourt Butler's term of Governorship and the other minor resolutions that were passed only veiled the main point. The so-called friends of the tenants are persons who have never helped to lighten the load of the taxation of tenants and the new Oudh Rent Act is a good example of their good faith and statesmanship.

Fiscal Commission.

Under the heading "The tactics of a Government of traders," the *Vartman* criticises the report of the Fiscal Commission and tries to show that the real object of appointing the commission was to get its approval to the continuance of free trade for which British merchants have been agitating in order to keep intact the facilities for robbing India. It goes on to say: We are not surprised that the majority in the commission have fully kept this object in view in giving their opinions. Although the commission has not been courageous enough to support openly the policy of Imperial preference, its advice is calculated to lead in practice to the fulfilment of that policy in a terrible form.

Compulsory education in the United Provinces.

The *Oudh Akhbar* welcomes the Government *communiqué* regarding the introduction of compulsory education in certain municipalities, but notes with regret the omission of Lucknow from the list of such municipalities. It will be very shameful for the members of the Lucknow municipal board, says the paper, if comparatively smaller municipalities outdo Lucknow in this respect.

Administration.

The defeat of Government in the Local Legislative Council is receiving some attention. Referring to the Shohratganj affair the *Leader* says that the Local Government sustained a well-deserved defeat. The Government has virtually told the people of these provinces that no matter how inexcusable the conduct of its police officials towards the people, where the vindication of authority is involved, they need hardly expect any redress at Government's hands. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* deplores the want of coherence and unity between the two Members of Government—Home and Finance. It applauds the action of the Council in voting solidly against Government with regard to the Shohratganj affair and says: "Flourish non-cooperation when the Government is thus adrift, without sail or rudder."

Communistic propaganda.

In the issue, dated the 28th instant, the *Independent* reproduces a flaming manifesto written by "Communist" on the present political situation prophesying in flamboyant terms the inevitable outbreak of class war. The writer accuses capitalists of making war for the exploitation of subjugated countries and credits the Turk with having crashed into ruin all the old bourgeois philosophy along with the Greek army. The manifesto ends with a prophecy: "Lloyd George has got to go and his gang with him and the Labour Party must be (whether they want to be or not) the agents of his going, so that the workers of the world may know that there are still men among the British proletariat—that the working class of Britain are ready to take their place in the vanguard of the Emancipation Struggle of the World's Disinherited."

J. E. GOUDGE,
Publicity Commissioner,
United Provinces.

The 28th October, 1922.

CENTRAL REGISTRY
21 NOV 1922
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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 4th November, 1922.

Resignation of the British Cabinet.

THE Muslim papers continue to express satisfaction at the fall of Mr. Lloyd George's Ministry. The *Hamdam* says that Mr. Lloyd George's Ministry fell to pieces on the day when the Turks entered the neutral zone. His short-sighted policy has created bitterness not only in France and India but throughout the Near and the Middle East. The paper hopes that the mistakes committed by the late Ministry will be avoided by Mr. Bonar Law and that the British policy in the Near East will undergo appreciable change. The *Medina* says that the Coalition Ministry has left a trail of mistakes behind it which will cause difficulties in years to come. The *Mecca Medina* observes that Lord Curzon and Mr. Lloyd George are the real enemies of the Empire and if it is the will of God to lessen the life of the Empire, men like Lord Curzon and Messrs. Lloyd George and Chamberlain shall fill important posts. Comments on the new Ministry are not marked by any enthusiasm. The *Medina* is dissatisfied with the Conservative Ministry and remarks that justice to Muhammadans and India can be obtained only under a Labour Ministry. The other parties, says the paper, are not worthy of being trusted. The *Oudh Akhbar* on the other hand thinks that the new Ministry will be a harbinger of peace and prosperity, but it does not expect any great change in the fortunes of the Empire. The *Najat* expresses the hope that the Ministry will keep in view the example of Mr. Lloyd George and avoid mistakes which brought about his downfall. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* is of opinion that the British policy is not likely to undergo any material change in Mr. Bonar Law's Premiership. The *Leader* styles the *personnel* of the new Ministry as a Government of mediocrities. It sees nothing striking about the policy declared by Mr. Bonar Law and welcomes the new Premier's call to cooperation in Indian affairs. It says that the potent causes that have led to non-cooperation have yet to be tackled with. A mere negative policy of repression or of maintenance of law and order cannot banish the spirit behind non-cooperation. The present negative and reactionary policy must be abandoned in favour of a progressive one. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the policy defined by the new Premier is gloriously indefinite. It is not satisfied with Lord Peel's appointment as Secretary of State for India and is apprehensive that India will not remain quiet. The *Democrat* says: "The change of Ministry will involve no alteration so far as India is concerned."

The Near East.

The *Independent* thinks the Turkish victory in the Near East marks a turning point in the fate of subjugated nations. According to the paper signs are not wanting to suggest that the Turks and Arabs will make it too hard for even a "hardfibred" Englishman to rule over them. Syria borders on other mandated regions and the effect of France's withdrawal will raise such a hornet's nest around the ears of Sir Percy Cox and Sir Herbert Samuel as will perhaps render the freedom of the entire *Jazirat-ul-Arab* from non-Muslim control less remote than the British Colonial Office dreams. In another article headed "The Near East" the *Independent* apprehends that Lord Curzon's policy is likely to create an "incident" followed by a "crisis" which in turn will plunge a breathless world into war before men have time to think. It applauds the action of the Central Khilafat Committee in preparing to meet the anticipated trouble. It believes that their preparations will be needed unless by a miracle the

real people of England and of the world, the proletariat, come to power. The *Hamdam* urges that Lord Curzon should move the new Ministry to secure the representation of Indian Musalmans in the next Peace Conference just as was done at the time of the Treaty of Sevres. Any Treaty in which the *Khilafat* question has not been satisfactorily solved will never be approved by the Musalmans of India though it may satisfy the Turks. In another article the *Hamdam* resents the remarks of certain Anglo-Indian papers, particularly the *Englishman*, regarding the Khilafatists. It says that Musalmans stand in no need of counsel or sympathy from selfish and time-serving Anglo-Indian friends to bring the Turks to the right path, even if they are really on the wrong one.

The Iraq Treaty.

The *Surma-i-Rozgar* says that the agreement amounts to another defeat of the British Foreign policy. The *Medina* observes that Iraq has been farmed out to Britain for 20 years. The *Mecca Medina* resents the action of Amir Feisal in entering into a Treaty with the enemies of Islam and the Turks. If he had had any sense of shame, he would have learnt a lesson from the attitude adopted by the Amir of Kabul while entering into a Treaty with non-Muslim Powers. The *Medina* says that no Government can make terms regarding the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*, as it belongs to the four hundred millions of Muhammadans, whose voice alone can decide the question and who are eagerly waiting to see the evacuation of the territory by non-Muslims.

Akali agitation.

Hindi papers continue to devote considerable attention to the Guru-ka-Bagh affairs. The *Vartman* regards Government action as an interference with the religious liberties of the people. It gives several instances in support of its allegation that there is no religious liberty in India and that in order to suppress religious awakening and enthusiasm among the people, Government has been trying to create dissensions among them by its "divide-and-rule" policy. "But," continues the paper, "the people have now fully understood the tactics of Government. Even if it makes preparations to blow them into pieces with bullets or to kill all of them together with bombs, Indians will not rest content until India has become completely independent." Under the heading "Akali and his tormentor" the *Aj* writes: "The martyrdom of the Akali, whatever the result of the struggle, will go down to history as a unique example of what truly brave people can do non-violently against the serried ranks of violence, led by an unfeeling bureaucracy determined to crush the spirit of the people and bend them to its will, turn them, in other words, into obedient slaves and uncomplaining tax-payers; and allow them to be nothing more."

The Provincial Conference.

The proceedings of the Provincial Conference at Dehra Dun have not yet been noticed in the vernacular press. The *Independent* thinks the message of the Conference at Dehra Dun is one to hearten India and an eloquent witness of the patriotic fervour of the people. Referring to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's address the paper says that the Pandit rose to the occasion and spoke both wisely and with candour. According to the *Indian Daily Telegraph* there is nothing new in the presidential address except the usual protestations about the living force of non-cooperation. Those who looked forward to any pronouncement about the coming readjustment of the programme must turn away in disappointment. It advises the non-cooperators to announce the change in their programme and set to work again. The *Leader* says: "The attitude taken up by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was in direct antithesis to the 'die-hard' attitude of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu. Pandit Moti Lal's speech shows that he has not failed to profit by the experience of the recent past." The *Democrat* is of opinion that the unabating zeal and enthusiasm of the people even in a small place like Dehra Dun indicate the grim determination of the people to attain freedom.

The Angora Legion.

The *Hamdam* publishes an article by Muhammad Zahur Ahmad Hamidi of Budaun who heartily supports the proposal of forming an Angora Legion and says that it cannot be brought into practice unless the Musalmans are prepared to oppose the Government openly. He also suggests that two Legions should be formed, one to be sent to Angora and the other to Morocco, Hedjaz and Iraq. An All-India Muslim Conference should be convened to consider these proposals from a purely Muslim point of view. The *Mashriq* says that both from a religious and wordly point of view the Musalmans cannot take part in this war without the permission of the Government. The paper also suggests that instead of sending a Legion to Angora it would be much better to collect some five or ten crores of rupees and send the amount to Angora. It advises the Musalmans not to take any hasty step when the British Ministry has fallen, the great statesmen of England are in favour of Turkey and even the Government of India itself is voicing the sentiments of Indian Muslims.

Political propaganda.

The question of the future programme of the Congress is again receiving a great deal of attention in Hindi papers. The *Kartavya* confesses that after the Bardoli resolutions the non-cooperation movement has become slack and disorganised, but thinks it improper to inaugurate civil disobedience until adequate preparations have been made and takes exception to the attitude of those who charge leaders with cowardice for not starting it at once. *Lakshman* opposes the idea of abandoning the boycott of educational institutions, law courts and councils on the ground that it will dishearten the people, make it difficult to secure workers in the cause of freedom and will be tantamount to a confession of defeat. It points out the advantages already obtained by the boycott of these institutions and calls upon the people to remember that the battle for *swaraj* demands the sacrifice of everything dear to man. The paper holds that the constructive programme has been a failure and that it was a great mistake to place it before the country. The *Vartman* deprecates the idea of allowing lawyers to join the Congress and takes the leaders to task for not introducing some such items in the Congress programme as would strike the imagination of the people and stimulate their enthusiasm and spirit of self-sacrifice. It thinks that the courting of imprisonment can no longer serve this purpose and says: The martyrdom of a single fearless, pure and true soul creates such an awakening as is impossible to effect by courting imprisonment by even thousands of persons. At this juncture we want to awaken the country. We ought, therefore, to become absolutely fearless and introduce such a change in the programme as would raise the enthusiasm of the people to the highest pitch so that in carrying on their non-violent struggle for liberty they might even welcome the gallows.

Referring to the Viceroy's speech at Indore the *Leader* says that the Viceroy while giving sound advice to the Ruling Chiefs should also set his own house in order, as the reform of the separation of the Judicial and Executive functions still remains in the region of the unfulfilled in British India and justice continues to be contaminated at its source in criminal cases.

Fiscal policy.

Commenting on the agitation in British commercial and industrial circles since the publication of the report of the Fiscal Commission, the *Aj* gives a number of instances to show that protection has been resorted to by all countries to foster their nascent industries and says that the situation in India will become still more complex if the Government, yielding to the clamour of British industrialists, stands in the way of Indian industrial development by continuing the ruinous policy of free trade.

Bolshevism.

In the course of a leading article "Lenin comes into the field," the *Vartman* writes: The end of those dishonest and selfish men who rule over the world is near. Like robbers they have robbed the poor and like Satan they have ruined honest men. From Moscow, Lenin, the helper of crores of people, has outwitted Satan. The world, oppressed by slavery and groaning under tyranny, is rejoicing. M. Lenin having conquered Europe is advancing towards Asia.

United Provinces Legislative Council.

The recent defeat of the Government over the political resolutions in the United Provinces Legislative Council has been freely commented upon. *Lakshman* says that if the Liberals and landholders supported these resolutions in the hope of winning popular applause they are doomed to disappointment for the non-cooperators have made the country indifferent to the work of the Council. The *Aj*, however, praises the non-officials and regards the Government defeat as a triumph of non-cooperation. Proceeding, it says "The defeat of Government shows that in political matters the views of the bureaucracy and the people cannot be the same. When oppression reaches its limit, all thoughtful Indians will become united. Most Indians who formerly supported repression are now opposing it because it has assumed a terrible form. This can also be regarded as a proof of the success of non-cooperation." The paper strongly criticizes the speech of the Hon'ble the Finance Member in opposing the resolutions relating to Basti, the release of political prisoners and withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It goes on to say: It is a characteristic of Indian bureaucracy that it looks to its own interests and speaks of its own difficulties and has no thought for the difficulties of the people. In spite of being a particularly good and sympathetic civilian, he defended the illegal action of the police and opposed the release of political prisoners. When the upholders of "law and order' openly support such illegal actions, it must be concluded that the disease has become incurable and it is idle to expect justice. This also shows that the bureaucratic system is so bad that under it even angels would do nothing but harm. Until this system has been removed from the country the people will not be able to remain in peace.

Landlords and tenants.

The *Vartman* deplores the ill-feeling between the landlords and tenants, attributing it partly to the crooked policy of Government. It warns the zamindars that if they do not speedily establish cordial relations with their tenants there will be a great agrarian revolt in the country which, if successful, will lead to the destruction of the zamindars and the establishment of a Bolshevik system of Government. Even if unsuccessful, it will destroy the power of landholders.

Hindu-Muslim Unity.

The *Hindu Gazette* says that it is the duty of the Musalmans to bring to the right path those *badmashes* who are responsible for the Malabar and Multan disturbances as this is the only way of creating union between the two communities on a sound basis. The *Hamdam* remarks that the question of cow-slaughter can be better solved by cultivating friendly relation with Musalmans and gaining their confidence than by legislative action. The Musalmans too should act with tolerance in view of the sympathy of Hindus towards the *Khilafat* question.

J. E. GOUDGE,

The 4th November, 1922.

Publicity Commissioner,
United Provinces.

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 11th November, 1922.

The Near East.

DEVELOPMENTS in the affairs of the Near East are being followed with close attention. The *Independent* suspects that the Allies, specially the British, have been endeavouring desperately at this eleventh hour to play the puppet Sultan and his Government against the National Assembly elected by the free Turkish people. Referring to the reported change in the status and powers of the Sultan, the paper asserts that the affair has been assiduously and insidiously misrepresented in India as an attempt by the Kemalists to deprive the *Khalifa* of Islam of his temporal powers. It says that the new and present menace to Islam and the peace of the world—not to mention the very existence of the British Empire—is graver even than the series of those into which Mr. Lloyd George's machinations recently forced the world. It does not believe that the Turks are merely bluffing as they are honest soldiers—not European diplomats—and concludes its leading article in the following words: "The Allies must know, as well as we and the Turks do, that hostile action against Turkey will bring the mighty forces of Red Russia to the aid of the grim Kemalists and will set all Asia from Afghanistan to Hedjaz ablaze in a great *jihad*. Are we to presume that the wild, lingering hope of thereby securing a diplomatic victory at a Peace Conference will prompt the Allies further to thwart the self-respecting designs of the Turkish people as to Constantinople and the Straits, when such petty action will bring the civilization of the West crashing to ruin in the last and greatest of wars? If it be so—then the civilization of Western Capitalism has been driven insane and its end is near." Writing on the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George towards the Turks, the *Leader* says: "The 'contemptible' Turk who was to be called to final account has re-entered Europe as a victor, and Mr. Lloyd George who left no stone unturned to spread devastation in his homelands and to expel him from Europe has gone into the wilderness. What an irony of fate." Referring to the Russian note to Great Britain, the *Al Khalil* remarks that it appears that British statesmanship has become bankrupt and the veil of selfishness and haughtiness has fallen on the face of its diplomats. The Lausanne Conference, says the paper, concerns not only the Turks but also the peace throughout the East. The sword of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal Pasha which has saved Turkey is likely to cut off some of the cords which are binding the East in slavery. The *Al Burid* observes that there can be no peace until the Straits are restored to Turkish sovereignty and a tolerant and liberal policy is adopted by the Allies. If this is not done, the Lausanne Conference will share the fate of dozens of other Conferences which have met before. The *Nizam-i-Alam* urges the restoration of Turkish sovereignty over the Dardanelles in order to bring about better relations between the Allies and the Islamic world. The Hindi papers look upon the Turkish victory as a triumph of Asia over Europe. The *Abhyudaya* says: The victory demonstrates that although fettered from all sides, Asiatics by self-sacrifice and readiness to die and by causing mutual dissensions among Europeans can accomplish everything.

The Khilafat.

The recent events in Constantinople are announced by the *Independent* under bold headlines such as "Intrigues against Islam," "Anti-Turkish machinations frustrated." It hails with satisfaction the change of Government in Constantinople and thinks that reports of differences between Angora and the Sultan are

nothing but propaganda—dangerous because it is insidious. It says that the Kemalists who have hitherto proved themselves the best and most fearless Musalmans in the world design only to increase tenfold the temporal power to be exercised over the Islamic world by the *Khalifa*. Muslim papers although alarmed at the recent news have expressed themselves with great reserve. The *Medina* doubts the authenticity of the report concerning the Kemalists' intentions in respect of the Sultan's powers and remarks that Refat Pasha's words or the words of any other person, be he even Kemal Pasha or the Sultan, are not binding on Musalmans if they are against the *Shariat*, as they recognise only one law that was given them by God 1,300 years ago. There can be no change in it. In another article the paper asks the *Ulemas* of India to place the religious aspect of the question before the Nationalist Turks. The *Mashriq* is in favour of investing the Sultan with temporal as well as spiritual powers and prays that Turkey may not be embroiled with Russia, as it will tend to spread consternation in the Muslim world even though cooperation is established between the Turks and Britain. The Hindi papers generally approve the action of the Kemalists in dealing with the Sultan on the ground that he was a puppet in the hands of the British Government. The *Aj* says: No self-respecting nation could continue to have as its ruler a man who acted as a slave to the Allies, signed the Treaty of Sévres and at the bidding of foreigners treated patriots as rebels. Writing in a similar strain, the *Pratap* says: Kemal Pasha's proposal to have the *Khalifa* elected by Muhammadan States of the whole world is a very astute move to secure a powerful organisation of Muhammadans which will always be a source of terror to Europeans. A *Khalifa* so elected will command the universal homage of Muhammadans and if any European Power ventures to encroach upon his rights the whole Muslim world will rise up in arms. The *Hamdam* says that there is nothing peculiar in the proposal to appoint the *Khalifa* by means of election as hereditary kingship is not recognised in Islam. The immediate successors of the Prophet were all elected. In order to avoid the risk of dissension among Musalmans, it would be best to confine the election to the Ottoman house. With regard to the spiritual and temporal functions of the *Khalifa*, the paper suggests the consideration of the whole question by the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*. The paper gives prominence to an appeal by Maulana Azad Subhani suggesting an early consideration of the question by the Central Khilafat Committee and the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema*.

British Politics.

Considerable interest is being shown in the present political situation in Great Britain. The *Leader* says that a most reactionary Government is going to return to power and if Mr. Lloyd George's liberal instincts are not all dead or dormant, he should immediately decide to make common cause with the Independent Liberals and offer a united front to the Conservatives. Extremist Hindi papers welcome the prospect of the Conservatives coming into power as likely to reveal the real nature of the British attitude towards India. The *Aj* says: Under a Conservative Government the delusion created by Mr. Montagu will vanish, the hollowness of the Reforms will be exposed, the servants will openly become masters and increase their own emoluments and impose fresh taxes on us. This alone can lead to our disillusionment. The *Abhyudaya* holds that whatever party is in power India's problems will remain the same and she will not benefit even under a Labour Government unless she puts her own house in order. The *Mecca Medina* anticipates that the new Ministry will follow the footsteps of Mr. Lloyd George. Mr. Bonar Law's attitude in respect of the Near East does not present a bright future for the Musalmans, but they should continue their activities. The *Azad* considers it as unfortunate that Lord Peel will remain Secretary of State for India and doubts whether Lord Reading will long remain as Viceroy. The *Hamdam* does not see anything commendable in the declaration of policy by the new Prime Minister and thinks India can gain nothing from his Ministry. The *Najat* says that Indians are tired of promises

and proclamations. Unless liberty and justice are firmly established in the country the present unrest cannot be removed. The *Mecca Medina* disapproves of the continuance in office of Lord Curzon and Lord Peel on the ground of their being firstly anti-Turkish and secondly reactionary. The *Haqiqat* remarks that the reactionary Ministry which is now coming to power will prove a blessing in disguise for India, which is prepared to undergo all sorts of sacrifices for *swaraj*.

Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee.

Opinions on the report of the Civil Disobedience Committee are divided. The *Leader* remarks: Failure of the non-cooperation programme is writ large on its recommendations in spite of the brave words used in various parts of the report about the moral triumph of non-cooperation. In its opinion the report will damage the cause of non-cooperation still further. It is lacking in frankness and courage. It abounds in self-deception and self-glorification and an utterly one-sided presentment of facts. The paper is afraid that the authors of the report have neither rendered any service to the country nor to their own cause. The *Pioneer* styles it as "the Revolutionaries' report" and says that the utter failure of the non-cooperation programme stands clear for all to read in the pages of the report. The *Independent* says that the report has made clear the urgent necessity for considering new and original lines of national activity. The report of the enquiry committee certainly seems to suggest that no alternative proposal of sufficient practical value and sufficiently answering the present demand for definite action, emerged from the mass of evidence collected by the committee. In an article headed "Narrowing the Issue" the paper says: "A sad betrayal of the Mahatma has been achieved by the country in its failure to be ready today for mass civil disobedience. Further aimless drift along the very backwaters which have led to this betrayal can only aggravate the treachery." It appeals to all parties to express their views upon the issue raised in the committee's report, but they "should preface their contributions to it by an assurance that the Congress' ultimate verdict will be loyally accepted by them whatever that verdict may be." The *Democrat* welcomes the proposals regarding the entry into the Councils and says that it is the only conclusion to which every right-thinking, unbiassed and sensible man must come after serious deliberation. The *Aj* says: "It is an eminently human document, one of the most remarkable that it has been our lot to read. It is a frank and outspoken utterance of men determined to free themselves and their country from the crushing yoke of a bureaucracy that is supremely disdainful of the peoples' aspirations, that knows only how to fatten at others' expense." It regards the proposal to enter the Councils to wreck them, as both undesirable and impracticable and is of opinion that it is best to keep out of the present Councils and leave them to those who care to hug them to their breasts. The *Hamdam* is surprised that the boycott of Councils has been still retained as an item of the non-cooperation programme. Boycott of Councils cannot help the country nor affect the present Government. The *Al Bashir* thinks that the committee instead of marching forward has pushed back the Congress activities and the report amounts to an admission of the failure of the Congress programme. The *Lakshman* holds that all the arguments advanced by the committee against the adoption of civil disobedience in the near future are untenable and betray weakness on the part of the leaders. The paper contends that the country in general has given sufficient proof of its preparedness for civil disobedience and thinks it is undesirable to insist too much upon the universal fulfilment of the constructive programme of the Congress. The *Vartman* in the course of a highly emotional article says that by declaring against the immediate adoption of civil disobedience the committee has given the country good cause for mourning, and adds: All hopes have been murdered and all dreams of liberty have vanished. The nation is dead, otherwise the Punjab would have

become free the very day the Akalis, with smiling faces, tolerated the blows of the tyrants. Those who say that the country should gain further experience before starting civil disobedience betray signs of cowardice. Those who are real lovers of liberty do not look at death through the spectacles of logic. The *Vikram* supports the conclusion of the committee that the country is not yet ready for civil disobedience but says that this ought not to dishearten enthusiastic workers as it is not being abandoned for ever and that provinces are not debarred from resorting to it in case of necessity.

Dehra Dun Conference.

Commenting on the proceedings of the Dehra Dun Conference, the *Aj* regrets that no momentous step was taken and no important resolution was passed but is glad that the conference proved "that the country is not so dead as was made out by her enemies, that the victory is not on the side of the bureaucracy at all, that it has not succeeded in crushing out the spirit in the people and that their faith in the principle of non-cooperation is great and unshaken." Several other papers have also expressed similar views. The *Lakshman* thinks that it was a waste of time and money to hold the conference as it did not express its views on civil disobedience and other items of the Congress programme; but on the other hand, the speech of the president has dashed all hopes and aspirations of non-cooperators to the ground. The *Abhyudaya* is glad to note that Pandit Moti Lal Nehru has profited by the experience of the last two years and has expressed himself in favour of a change in the Congress programme. The *Hindustani* says that those who think that non-cooperation has come to an end and that the Congress is dead should have gone to Dehra Dun to be disillusioned. It remarks that the presidential address of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was very effective and learned. The *Al Khalil* protests against the remarks which Thakur Chandan Singh, chairman of the reception committee, made against the Muhammadans and asserts that the success of the Congress is due to the fact that Muhammadans joined it in large numbers.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* continues to hold up Bolsheviks as the deliverers of oppressed nationalities and says: Englishmen tried to destroy the power of Muslim States by dismembering Turkey, but by continuously helping those States Lenin frustrated all the attempts of the "Whites." The star of the Bolsheviks is on the ascendant from Europe to Asia. The *Independent* says: "If the Congress assist the Trade Union Congress to organise labour in India—and to encourage those labour unions which already exist into bearing themselves confidently and fearlessly as disciplined bodies able to insist on being awarded their God-given rights—much will have been done. Organised labour in India will then look to *swaraj* as the *swaraj* of the workers—the poor and the humble. Organised labour will do more. It will work for *swaraj* in alliance with the Congress workers, so that pressure brought to bear upon the Reformed Government will be accompanied where necessary by pressure bearing upon those supporters of reaction—the Capitalists and the Industrialists."

United Provinces Legislative Council.

The defeat of the Government over the resolutions on the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and on the release of political prisoners continues to receive attention. Several papers doubt if the Government will give effect to these resolutions. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* is gratified that the members of the Council have realised the necessity of pressing the rights of the people and of being courageous in their demands. The *Azad* prays for the carrying out of the resolution of the Council regarding the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. As regards the political prisoners, the paper remarks that Government has no course left to it but to release them. The *Istaqbal* does not favour the appointment of advisory committees in districts, as they will be generally

composed of selfish persons and favourites of Collectors and will be mere tools in the hands of District Officers. The *Vikram* warns the Government that if it stands in the way of the resolutions, even the few who are cooperators and moderates, will lose the little faith they have in it. The *Abhyudaya* hopes that non-official members of the Council will not let the Government rest in peace if it does give effect to their resolutions. Referring to the Home Member's reply regarding the refusal of licences for arms to the Nehrus, the *Aj* says: "That licences for arms should be refused to men of the status and age of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, is part of the general outrageous arrogance of the 'men in power'—calling themselves 'the Government'—which enables them to send their betters and their elders to jail on false charges and false evidence, or, worse, to bludgeon them and maul them and literally trample upon them as is being done at Amritsar today. It is our own fault. Why have we allowed ourselves to fall so low? Licences to hold arms? By and by we shall have to pray on our knees for licences to breathe. The mantle of Kaiser Wilhelm and Treitschke has fallen upon the British Indian Government. 'The State' and 'Reasons of State' and 'Secrets of State' and 'Interests of State,' i.e. 'the Interests of the Bureaucracy,' overpower the people for whose sake the State exists."

Political propaganda.

As a result of the publication of the Civil Disobedience Committee's report Hindi papers are devoting increased attention to the discussion of the future programme of the Congress. The *Anand* prophesies that unless the Congress programme is changed there will be serious desertions in the non-cooperation camp. The *Abhyudaya* thinks that entry into Councils will lead to better results than the present programme of the Congress. The *Vartman* attributes the failure of the constructive programme of the Congress to the impracticable conditions attached to non-cooperation at Bardoli. It thinks that to divest non-cooperation of its aggressive element is to crush the very spirit of the movement. Proceeding, it says: "Spirituality does not consist in running after an impossible ideal. The destruction of the bureaucracy, revolution and building of a new nation should always be before us as practical propositions." In a leading article in the *Vikram* Swami Satyadeva deplores that too much importance is being attached to the principle of non-violence and pure *Kshattra Dharma* (religion of the military class) is being held up as something condemnable. "For self-protection, for the establishment of justice and religion our ancestors used to resort to arms. Teach pure *Kshattra Dharma* to your fellow-countrymen steeped in darkness to enable them to wash off the slough of centuries."

Hindu-Muslim unity.

In publishing the proceedings of a meeting held in Bahraich in which friendship between Musalmans and Englishmen was advocated, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* suspects that it is a move on the part of the Government to drive a wedge between the Hindus and Muslims, and says: "It would be a blow to Hindu-Muslim unity, much severer than the Multan or the Talinpara riot, if the suspicion should enter the Hindu mind that Moslem enthusiasm for politics has ended with the entry of the Turks into Thrace." In a leading article headed "Communal Representation" the *Leader* hopes that the Muhammadans have developed sufficient political sense to assess at its proper value the friendship of a third party who advocates their cause and realise that if the two communities quarrel it is the third party which gains. The Musalmans should remember that the Hindu members of the Council have conceded a great deal for the sake of unity, for the sake of expedience and for the sake of good-will. The *Vikram* calls the attention of Hindus to the religious zeal, self-sacrifice and power of organisation evinced by Muhammadans in connection with the *Khilafat* and by the Sikhs in connection with the Akali agitation and asks them to remember

that so long as they remain weak they cannot expect the friendship of Muhammadans as there can be no real friendship between the strong and the weak. The *Swaraj* expresses satisfaction at the resolution recently passed by the Central Khilafat Committee on Hindu-Muslim unity as an indication of the Muslims' anxiety for unity with Hindus and calls upon Hindus not to distrust Muhammadans and to strive for unity which will expedite the building of the temple of *Swaraj*.

Akali agitation.

Under sensational headings most of the Hindi papers continue to print harrowing reports, mostly culled from *communiqués* of the Siromani Committee, complaining of atrocities on Akalis. The *Pratap* publishes these under an Urdu couplet as a heading which may be freely translated as follows :—

" Hangman ! run thy rapier through the liver. Heaven's curse on thee if thou leave the thing half done." This is followed by a sub-heading meaning, " Samples of the diabolical deeds of official angels of death."

ZAFAR OMAR,

The 11th November, 1922.

Offg. Publicity Commissioner,
United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 18*th November,* 1922.

The Near East.

The Indian papers look upon the war clouds in the Near East with grave concern. The *Independent* continues to criticise the British policy and says that in the event of another war in which the Allies are ranged against Turkey, Russia and the Islamic federation, the Muslims of India will leave the country in a vast body of millions, or they will immediately embark on mass civil disobedience. The *Leader* says that the present British Government must pay for the folly of Mr. Lloyd George and extricate itself with as much dignity as possible from the Near-Eastern *impasse*. The demands of the Turks, says the paper, are of an essentially reasonable nature. They should be conceded with good grace. A war with the Turks will involve Britain in huge commitments and justice will not be on its side. The *Hamdam* remarks that although Mr. Bonar Law is now the head of the British Ministry the spirit of Mr. Lloyd George's Government still dominates the affairs of Britain. It deprecates a show of force and hopes that Mr. Bonar Law will follow a pacific policy and arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem through diplomacy and conciliation. It holds that the Turks are right in enforcing their national claims and it advises them not to make any compromise with the European Powers with regard to Capitulations. The *Independent* styles Lord Curzon's recent speech as an insult to Islam and says: "Cowardice and the evasive cunning bred of fear are writ large upon it." It holds that the British Foreign policy remains as avowedly anti-Turkish and anti-Islamic as it was in the days of the Coalition Cabinet. The extremist Hindi papers see in the Turkish victory a good augury for the rise of Asia and a valuable lesson for Indians struggling for liberty. The *Lakshman* writes: The Turkish victory teaches us that the enjoyment of wordly power is for the brave and slavery and poverty for the weak and cowardly. If Indians want to live honourably they should start civil disobedience at once. The *Vartman* vehemently criticises Lord Curzon's foreign policy, characterising his whole life as a fraud. The paper warns him not to boast of the might of the British Empire and Europe for "there extends an organisation from Moscow to Peshawar under whose shelter the Angora Government will establish its authority."

The Khilafat.

The Muslim press regards the reports about the change in the status and powers of the *Khalifa* as a mere propaganda against the Nationalist Turks. Although still doubting the authenticity of reports received through Reuter, they have freely expressed themselves on the change in the status of the Sultan. The *Hamdam* warns the Indian Muhammadans against forming any hasty opinion on the basis of reports received through Reuter and says that the solicitude of Anglo-Indian papers for the *Khalifa* of Islam will deceive nobody as the Muhammadans can distinguish between their foes and friends. The *Al Burid* considers that the election of a *Khalifa* is quite in accordance with Islamic *Shariat* and tradition and is in conformity with the events which took place immediately after the death of the Prophet. A *Khalifa* elected by the people will never act against the national sentiments and religious injunctions and will not easily lend himself to any line of action dictated by European Powers. The *Medina* remarks: "If the present *Khalifa* does not preserve the exalted position he holds and is a mere puppet in the hands of

the Allies the Musalmans have a right to depose him and set up another *Khalifa*." It refers to the proclamation of the first successor of Muhammad that he should be obeyed so long as he followed the right path and deposed if he deviated from it. In another article the paper says that the reports and comments in English papers on the *Khilafat* question are designed to create a division among Muhammadans. It is their last effort to discredit the Nationalist Turks. Writing in a similar strain the *Haqiqat* says: "Even if the Angora Government had acted highhandedly, the Indian Muhammadans are not so shameless as to ask Britain to help them in protecting the *Khalifa*. It is enough for the present to satisfy the Muslims that Mustafa Kemal Pasha has promised to decide the *Khilafat* question in consultation with, and with the consent of, all the Musalmans of the world." The *Rahnuma* is of opinion that the Musalmans have a right to depose the *Khalifa* who goes against religious laws and national interests and assures the Indian Muhammadans that the Turkish Nationalists, who have sacrificed so much in the service of Islam, will not decide upon any course of action contrary to its laws. Indian Musalmans should not allow themselves to be influenced by enemy propaganda and should be on their guard against the Anglo-Indian papers which are trying to deceive them under the guise of friendship. The *Independent* says that having failed in playing the imprisoned and weak puppet Sultan against the Kemalists, the British Cabinet are now professing to be the champions of a *Khalifa* who, if he is deposed, will be deposed by Islamic law. "How dare Non-Muslim Europeans or Americans attempt to interfere ever so subtilely with the administration of Islam? How dare they seek with their mock-sympathy to transport a deposed *Khalifa* to India in the vain hope that around him will gather a body of deluded and ignorant Muslims who will be tools in the impious work of anti-Muslim Imperialists in the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. For this, we suspect, is the latest stunt—that certain Christian statesmen insult all Islam by proclaiming their belief and acting upon it that Muslims are as ignorant, as superstitiously pope-ridden, as some other sects are. The *Khalifa* of Islam is the slave of God equally with every Muslim, and if the slave betray his Master and the trust of Islam placed in his hands he must give place to a worthier. If he rebels against his deposition he becomes an enemy of Islam, and all who side with him become renegades." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: "If ever any people have shown self-determination of the highest order, the Kemalists have done it. No wonder that Indian Muslims should have more faith in them than in the propaganda of certain people who have suddenly developed great love for the Sultan. The Khilafat Committee's resolutions will, we are sure, find an echo not only in Muslim hearts but in the hearts of the many religious sects of Asia." Hindi papers generally approve of the action taken by the Kemalists against the Sultan on the ground that he was a puppet in the hands of the Allies and view with suspicion the help given to him by Britain. The *Vartman* remarks: "Those who tried to usurp the Holy Places of Islam have suddenly begun to plead for the religious rights of the Sultan. But the Angora Government, which fully understands the Allies, is establishing its new authority with valour and determination." The *Vikram* sees in the British help to Sultan an attempt to use him for their own designs and thinks he will play the part of a traitor to his country.

Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee.

The press has freely commented upon the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee and criticism is mainly directed on the question of entry into Councils. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* fears that the sharp division in the non-cooperators' camp on this question is likely to cause a serious split in the country. It would be a calamity, says the paper, if this should happen and advises all parties to carry out the mandate of the Congress whatever it may be, "and in whatever violent language and scenes that mandate might be given to

the people." The *Leader* is gratified that the truth which was proclaimed by the Liberals at the outset has now partially dawned on the lieutenants of Mr. Gandhi, who promised *swaraj* within one year and they have decided to enter the Councils. It defends the action of Liberals in entering into Councils and says that they are falsely charged with supporting "the repressive policy of the Government." The truth is that instead of causing "great misery and hardship to the people" they have done their best to mitigate the sufferings and hardships which were in a large number of cases brought on by the subversive preachings and the lawless proceedings of the non-cooperators themselves. The *Partap* regards the recommendations of the committee as extremely important, thoughtful and deserving of the fullest acceptance. With regard to Councils it is in favour of entering them, for it thinks that the best way of putting up a fight is to enter the Councils in order to wreck them, and that by doing so it will be possible to deal direct blows on the Government and inflict the greatest loss on it with the minimum of harm to the country's cause. It expects that if the recommendations of the committee are accepted a new life will be infused into national activities. The *Kartavya*, generally supports the recommendations of the committee but disapproves of entry into Councils on the ground that it will not be honest to obstruct Government after taking the oath of allegiance. It, therefore, advises public men to remain outside the Councils and devote all their energies and resources to agitation from outside. The *Bharat Bandhu*, on the other hand, holds the view that entry into Councils is by no means cooperation with the Government but indicates only a change of tactics. The *Najat* says: If entry into Councils is sanctioned by the Congress, it will deal a severer blow on non-cooperation than the Government itself has been able to inflict upon it. The *Medina* while supporting the finding of the committee regarding the postponement of mass civil disobedience, does not approve of entry into Councils. It lays stress on the carrying out of the constructive programme of the Congress. The *Azad* makes out a strong case for entry into Councils and regrets that the report has not placed any clear programme before the public, leaving it in suspense as to the future course of action. The *Hamdam* deprecates the tendency to decide the question of the entry into Councils under the impulse of the moment and suggests its consideration in the calm atmosphere of the next Congress at Gaya. The *Oudh Akhbar* applauds Mr. C. R. Das's advice regarding entry into Councils, but opposes the idea of joining them in order to wreck them. The good of India lies in constructive work and not in destructive efforts. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* says that Indians should not despair if non-cooperation has not been as successful as they desired. They should not enter the Councils in disregard of the orders of their great chief. If the next conference at Gaya decides for entry in the Councils all non-cooperators should unite and despite their differences should prevent the return of the Moderates. All seats should be contested by the non-cooperators.

Political propaganda.

Hindi papers are displaying growing interest in the future political programme of the country, almost all being in favour of a change. The *Abhyudaya* advocates the following measures as calculated to ensure the attainment of independence:—(1) boycott of British goods; (2) invitation of representatives of other nations to the Congress and deputation of Indian representatives to foreign countries; and (3) the organisation of labour, both agricultural and industrial. The *Vartman* blames the people for their cowardice and patience in spite of national humiliation and remarks:—"Your moustaches and beards are pulled, the honour of your mothers and sisters is assailed. What shall we say of your patience! You are dying of plague and famine, but are not brave enough to offer a drop of blood for the liberation of your country . . . You cannot gain independence by merely talking of it. For this cause you should be

prepared to offer one crore of heads. What does it matter if instead of 32 crores only 31 crores of you are left? Gird up your loins like the Turks and become united like the Bolsheviks . . . Laws and regulations are only for cowards." In another article under the heading "The blood has now begun to boil," the paper says: "Young men are now mad after freedom. They are now out for purchasing liberty and will pay whatever price is demanded. If blood is wanted they will shed rivers of it; if bones are wanted they will fill up ditches with them." The *Lakshman* urges the starting of civil disobedience although it admits that it is impossible to secure an atmosphere of complete non-violence. In its opinion there is enough of Hindu-Muslim unity and if it is desired to strengthen it further, the battle-field of civil disobedience will be the best arena for accomplishing it. The papers have largely commended Mr. C. R. Das's suggestion that Indians should participate in the Asiatic federation. The *Aj* says: The question of the freedom of India is only a part of the larger question of the freedom of Asia and therefore Indians should unite their soul force with that of the nations which are fighting for Asiatic freedom. The *Pratap* lays special emphasis on the need of organising labour.

U. P. Legislative Council.

The proceedings of the last session of the United Provinces Legislative Council have been followed with close interest. While the Hindu papers have strongly criticised the voting of official members in favour of Muslim representation on district boards, the Muhammadan papers deplore the action of the Ministers and the Liberals as a blow to Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Leader* is gratified at the passage of the District Boards Bill. It regards the victory as not only of the Liberal party but of all the progressive, enlightened and reasonable elements in the Council against the forces of reaction and class selfishness. The *Independent* does not agree with the *Leader* that the Liberals achieved their victory with the cooperation of enlightened and progressive zamindars. It says: "All this verbosity cannot successfully hide the fact that the Liberals terrified out of their wits by the possible loss of power made peace with a section of the zamindars with the invaluable help of the Government." Referring to the voting of the Secretaries and Ministers in opposite lobbies the paper points out that relations between the superior members of the permanent services and the Ministers are not regulated by any well understood rules and "it seems as though the Civil Service is pretending to work under Ministers merely to humour them. Under circumstances like these, when a Minister cannot have any control over his Secretary, when a Minister has to request his Secretary to withdraw his amendment, no self-respecting Indian can continue to hold any office, not even the exalted office of Minister to the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, for a day." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the landlords have behaved just as the geese that lay the golden eggs. "The United Provinces landholders have proved themselves worse than worms, for the worms have been known to turn sometimes. We hope that we will hear less of their brags and bombast after this crushing defeat and that they will devote themselves to reverential study under the lash of their Liberal Masters." The *Hamdam* says that those who witnessed the scene in the Council on the 6th and the 7th November and heard the excited and provoking speeches on those days, must have hung their heads in shame at the display of communal bitterness. The *Rahnuma* regrets that Hindus opposed the Muslim demands regarding the percentage of communal representation on district boards. It has little hope that Hindu-Muslim unity will make substantial progress. The Finance Member's speech in connection with the amendment relating to Muhammadan representation and the voting by some officials in favour of that amendment, have come in for a good deal of criticism in some Hindi papers. The *Aj* calls upon the supporters of the Reforms to note that even some of the officials under the Ministers voted against

them, and says: "This is a sort of rebellion which could not have been tolerated in any other country. It is clear that the Peforms have not succeeded in controlling the bureaucracy nor in changing their feelings. Special efforts were made to create Hindu-Muhammadan differences at the time of Morley-Minto Reforms when high officials instigated the Muhammadans to send a deputation to Lord Minto. This was the root of the trouble. The official attitude as displayad in this session of the United Provinces Council in connection with Muhammadan representation on district boards ought to dispel any lingering doubt about the Government following a policy of divide-and-rule." The *Vikram* says: "Taking advantage of the forbearance of Hindus the Government wanted to display its generosity towards Muslims at the expense of Hindus. Such things will never happen if we put our house in order."

Hindu-Muslim unity.

Hindi papers of all shades of opinion continue to emphasise the need of organisation among Hindus as a condition precedent to Hindu-Muslim unity and the establishment of *swaraj*. Calling attention to the organisation of Sikhs and Muslims, the *Vikram* proposes the holding of a big Hindu conference at Gaya with the object of having a frank discussion of the problem of organising the Hindus.

ZAFAR OMAR,

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Offg. Publicity Commissioner,
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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Khilafat.

Although the papers continue to criticise British policy in the Near East, attention has centred mainly round the *Khilafat* question. The Muslim Press views with suspicion the flight of the ex-Sultan on board a British ship. The *Independent* says that the Sultan has fallen an easy victim to the blandishments of the British Foreign Office. The paper does not doubt that he will be sent to India and an attempt will be made for his restoration, backed by British bayonets, but it will only be a restoration of the British control of Constantinople and the Straits. The *Hamdam* says that the ex-Sultan has by his ignominious flight given an indication of his complicity against the interests of his country. If the British Government wants to regain the confidence and trust of Musalmans, it should clear its position. The paper hopes that the sacred relics taken away by the Sultan will not adorn the museums of Paris and London. It advises the Turks to insist at the Peace Conference on conditions which may make the ex-Sultan's restoration an impossibility. The ex-Sultan would have succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of Indian Muslims if he had left himself at the mercy of the nationalist Turks instead of suffering the disgrace of accepting British hospitality. The *Hurriyat* remarks that the Sultan's flight has removed the feelings of uneasiness and doubt prevalent in the Muslim world. By taking refuge on board a British battleship, he has forfeited the little syampathy which the Muslims were beginning to feel for him owing to British propaganda. The *Haqiqat* writes in a similar strain. The Muslim papers continue to support the Angora Government in its action respecting the *Khilafat*. The *Hurriyat* says that the Kemalists have once more given proof of their wisdom and statesmanship by electing Prince Abdul Majid Khan. The *Al Bashir* welcomes the limitation of the powers of the *Khalifa* to religious matters only. It will result in the selection of a *Khalifa* of the right stamp and the temporal government of the country will be in the hands of the nationalists. Ghazi Mustafa Kemal has by this wise act rendered a great service to Islam. The *Hurriyat* says that it will add to the strength of the *Khilafat* if Turkey is ruled by the whole nation rather than by a single individual. The *Mashriq*, on the other hand, opposes the arrangement. It protests against the change of Government in Turkey and the deposition of Sultan Wahid-uddin Khan. It suspects that Mustafa Kemal Pasha wants to become the *Khalifa* himself and doubts his uprightness. The *Medina*, commenting on Lord Curzon's speech, remarks that his threats to the Turks amount to a direct challenge to the whole Muslim world. The *Leader* says that the Turks have come out successful out of an iron test and their right to free existence cannot now be denied. The *Hindustani* is gratified that the Allied efforts to sow discord among the Musalmans have failed. The action of the British in giving asylum to the ex-Sultan is not likely to make the path of the Lausanne Conference easy. The *Al Bashir* is apprehensive of another war in the Near East in which the Turks will be supported by Russia, Persia, and Afghanistan. It urges that all efforts should be made to avert war. The *Najat* attacks British policy in the East and says: The East has had enough experience of British duplicity. Britain's provocative policy towards

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the Turks clearly shows that the British desire to further their selfish ends. Their sympathy for the Eastern countries has no meaning. The deposition of the Sultan is generally approved by the Hindi papers and the *Aj* writes: Righteousness has triumphed and tyrants had to eat the humble pie. The Turks have regained their glory. The victorious and angry nation has deposed an immoral and servile Sultan, devoid of self-respect.

The British election results.

The success of the Conservative Party in the recent general election is not viewed by the Indian Press with satisfaction. The substantial gain obtained by the Labour Party is however welcomed by almost all the papers. The nationalist papers are afraid of a policy of reaction in regard to India under the Conservative Ministry. The Muslim papers, while expressing satisfaction at the comparative failure of Mr. Lloyd George's party, expect little change in British policy in respect of the Near East. The *Leader* says that Mr. Bonar Law's Premiership will by no means be a bed of roses as his colleagues will find it extremely difficult to hold their own against powerful speakers and parliamentarians on the opposite side. India's interest in the new House of Commons will mainly lie in the manner the Labour members behave in protecting Indian rights and principles and championing her claims for freedom. It hopes that the Labour members will exert their best to save India from the worst effects of die-hardism which is likely to assert itself in the counsels of Government. The *Independent* regards the results of the elections as "undeniably encouraging." "With the Labour Party as the official opposition the world should be treated to some candid comments on Imperialism as a policy. The House of Commons will hear more honest words during a single debate in the next session of Parliament than have been uttered in that venerable temple of hypocrisy in the course of the past six years." The *Advocate* has little to hope from a Conservative Government. Its chief satisfaction lies in the fact that Mr. Lloyd George has been shorn of power to do any mischief. The *Hurriyat* says the elections are of little importance so far as India is concerned. It deplores the defeat of Mr. Montagu who was a friend of India. The *Haqiqat* also regrets his defeat, but is glad that Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill, the enemies of Iraq and Egyptian freedom and of Nationalist Turks, were not returned. The *Hamdam* is gratified that the Labour Party secured a remarkable success, and that very few members of Mr. Lloyd George's party were elected. It holds that the new Parliament is better than the previous one in every respect. The *Azad* does not expect that the new Ministry will have a long life. So far as India is concerned, nothing can be expected as the beginning made by Lord Peel is reactionary and retrograde. The *Hamdam* says that there is little likelihood of any definite understanding being reached between Turkey and England if Mr. Bonar Law continues to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill. It expresses the hope that the new British Ministry will handle the existing critical situation in the Near East with patience and foresight. The Extremist Hindi papers are gratified at the victory of the Conservative Party, but for quite different reasons. They consider that the reactionary policy of the new Government with regard to India will stimulate the propaganda for *swaraj*. The *Aj* writes: Under the new Government the powers and emoluments of the Indian Civil Service and other officials will be increased. Even if the Army is not increased it will, at any rate, be kept at its present strength. The burden of taxation will also become heavier. All this will, no doubt, be injurious to the immediate interests of the country. But there is one great virtue in the party; it does not know the art of deceiving people by sweet words. It is, therefore, to be hoped that the new Government will demolish the illusory edifice of Reforms. The *Vikram* warns the new members of Parliament that if they do not try to unite Ireland, Scotland, England, India and other Dominions in a common bond of fellowship, Britain will fall on evil days.

The report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee.

While the *Independent* continues to support the findings of the Committee, other Extremist papers, both Hindi and Urdu, express their dissatisfaction with its recommendations, specially those relating to Civil Disobedience. The *Swaraj* says: The recommendations of the Committee have crushed the rising hopes of the people. The workers were looking forward to a mandate for a real fight, but the leaders in their report have ignored Civil Disobedience altogether. The Committee has gone out of its way to recommend a change in the Congress programme. The *Lakshman* is greatly disappointed with the report and regards it as a confession of defeat and lacking in wisdom and courage. The *Vikram* is equally emphatic in its disappointment and says: The leaders are responsible for the unpreparedness of the country for *satyagraha* for they have failed to infuse enthusiasm among the people. The *Hindu Gazette* says: The decision to enter into Councils will deal a severe blow to the non-cooperation movement. The *Hurriyat* questions the wisdom of the leaders who propose entry into Councils in order to wreck them and says: It is inconsistent to advise entry into Councils and at the same time to eulogise non-cooperation. If entry into Councils, which is nothing but cooperation pure and simple, is the only way to advance the national interests, we must boldly admit that the previous remedy was wrong. In that case let all the leaders and workers now in jail acknowledge their mistake and come out and serve their country. India seems to prefer hero-worship regardless of any respect for truth and ideals. If the leaders are wrong, let the whole nation follow the Muslim principle and take the matter into its own hands. The leaders will then be obliged to carry out the wishes of the general public. The *Medina* disapproves of entry into Councils. The *Haqiqat* supports entry into Councils and reminds those who are afraid of the oath of allegiance that Mr. Gandhi never preached disloyalty to the King. The oath of allegiance is not therefore opposed to the principles of non-cooperation. The *Nizam-i-Alam* favours entry into Councils for the sake of gaining experience of administration. The *Mansur* says that entry into Councils will either compel Government to yield to the popular wishes or proclaim its despotic rule to the world. The *Mashriq* compliments the committee on presenting an unprejudiced account of the present situation, even to the extent of admitting that the non-cooperation movement has not been a complete success. The *Hamdam* strongly supports entry into Councils and says that the year's experience has taught the people that they cannot influence the Government with spirituality and self-sacrifices and *satyagraha* alone. The only way to influence it lies in following the example of the brave Akalis. If the present situation continues any longer, political enthusiasm in the country will cool down. The *Vartman* says that the recommendations of the Civil Disobedience Committee have sorely disappointed the country, so much so that those who are engaged in constructive work are experiencing a paralysing effect owing to the postponement of civil disobedience. The paper calls upon the leaders to infuse fresh inspiration into the country by inaugurating individual civil disobedience and, if necessary, to give their very lives in the attempt. Strongly supporting the proposal for entering the Councils, the *Pratap* writes: The wrecking of Councils will be like destroying the chief citadels of the enemy. By our fight inside the Councils we can harass the Government, spread enthusiasm among the people, accelerate the pace of our agitation, complete the work of nation-building and carry the country nearer self-government. At the time of elections we shall have to go to every village and every house in the country in order to secure votes for non-cooperators. This will give us a unique opportunity for carrying the message of the Punjab, *Khilafat* and *swaraj* to every home. The *Abhyudaya* thinks that having done its work the non-cooperation movement is dead and that it should give place to a new programme, including entry into Councils. The *Swaraj* contends that

since the leaders of the non-cooperation movement have unanimously characterised the Councils as shams, it is not wise to enter them and waste energy in trying to destroy them. The *Kartavya* opposes entry into Councils as inconsistent with the spirit of non-cooperation.

Political propaganda.

The *Hurriyat* refers to Dr. San Yat Sen's keen interest in the Indian non-cooperation movement and emphasises the need of foreign propaganda in favour of the Indian struggle for freedom. The *Mecca Medina* accuses the British Government of misrule in India for a century and of alienating the sympathy and loyalty of a most faithful people. The *Hindu Gazette* urges the need of organisation of the Hindus and says that they ought to take a leaf out of the pan-Islamic book. Instead of feeling envious of the Muslim movement, which has liberated Persia, Afghanistan, and rejuvenated Turkey, they should emulate the example of their Muslim brethren and put their own house in order. The *Abhyudaya* says that so long as Hindus are incapable of protecting the honour of their mothers, daughters and sisters and the sanctity of their temples, it is impossible for them to win *swaraj*. The *Kartavya* writes: If the leaders want real Hindu-Muslim unity, they should try to organise and strengthen the Hindu society, for there can be no true union between the weak and the strong.

Organisation of labour.

Extremist Hindi papers are laying great stress on the organisation of labour, both industrial and agricultural. The *Vikram* says: Although the labourers are the mainstay of society, they are not allowed to lead a self-respecting and peaceful life. Millowners regard them as their slaves, while zamindars and officials consider it their duty to usurp their property. It is time that labourers took heed, realised what power lies in organisation and thought of removing their troubles by combined action. In France, Switzerland and Russia it was the labourers who brought about revolution. Labourers should realise their dormant powers and do all that is possible to safeguard their rights. Emphasising the need of organising labour, the *Aj* says: National independence cannot be won without the help of labourers. Through cheap labour foreign capitalists are exploiting the national resources of the country and enriching themselves by draining away Indian wealth.

The Viceroy.

The change of Government in Great Britain has revived the rumours about Lord Reading's retirement. The papers consider it difficult for a Liberal statesman to continue as Viceroy under a Conservative Government. The *Aj* says: Lord Reading's failure is complete. He has been held guilty before the bar of Indian opinion and he should no longer hold the post.

The District Boards Bill.

The *Haqiqat* congratulates Pandit Jagat Narayan on the passing of the Bill and remarks that after this crushing defeat, the zamindars will no longer try to oppose the Liberals. The *Oudh Akbar* exhorts the zamindars to set aside all prejudices and past unpleasantness and to work whole-heartedly to make the practical application of the measure a success. The paper deplores the Hindu-Muslim controversy in the Council for which it holds some of the Liberals responsible and hopes that the contagion will not spread outside the Council. The *Medina* remarks that the official members and the Ministers acted on the policy of divide-and-rule and that the Ministers are not concerned with the fate of the people but only look to their own interests. The *Rahnuma* deplores the Hindu-Muslim controversy in connection with the Bill and says that mutual toleration and goodwill is absolutely essential at a time when unity between the two communities is in its preliminary stages. The *Nizam-i-Alam* urges that the number of Muhammadan seats in the municipal and district boards should be fixed not in proportion to the number of Muhammadan voters, but to the entire Muhammadan population. The *Mashriq* holds the Hindu-Muslim controversy over the District Boards Bill in regard

to the question of Muslim representation as an object-lesson to Muhammadans against placing faith in the crafty Hindus. It advises them to always side with Government lest Hindus should desire their expulsion along with the Englishmen. The *Azad* is gratified at the passing of the Bill which has widened the scope of democratic rights.

Administration.

The press is generally dissatisfied with the report of the committee appointed to investigate the circumstances connected with the death of the political prisoner Avadh Narain Lal. Its comments are exemplified by the opinion of the *Abhyudaya*, which says that responsibility for delay in medical help has fallen on a warder and not on those officers who enjoin upon the warders not to leave their places and who turn a deaf ear to the complaints of political prisoners. The *Kshattriya* says that the prisoner's death would probably have been prevented had not the Superintendent of the jail been particularly hard on non-cooperators The *Swaraj* says that the country can no longer be deluded by these enquiry committees.

In a strongly worded article, the *Pratap* criticises the construction of the dam at Narora, characterising it as the work of a stupid bureaucracy and as calculated to lay the axe at the religious life and sentiments of the Hindus. It concludes its comments by calling upon all Hindus to prepare themselves for sacrifice at the altar of civil disobedience if the Government does not take steps for ensuring a free and continuous flow of 600 cusecs of water through the dam.

ZAFAR OMAR,

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United Provinces.

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Lausanne Conference.

Speculation is rife as to the outcome of the Peace Conference at Lausanne. While the *Pioneer* hopes that the Turks are likely to get all that they want, provided they remain moderate in their demands, the *Independent* is sceptical about a peaceful settlement. In an article headed "Curzon the Crusader" it accuses Lord Curzon of encouraging the Balkan States to form a league against Turkey which "will be unleashed on to Turkey." It asserts that the treaty now being 'conspired' will most assuredly be spurned as an insult by Turkey and in that event "the Great War appears scheduled to begin very shortly." The *Leader*, on the other hand, is very optimistic and regards the Turkish claim for the abolition of the capitulations as just and reasonable. "Justice and arguments are on their side and if the Turks are to be treated on a footing of equality with European nations, the Allies should not insist on the retention of the capitulations." The *Al Bashir* apprehends that the Conference is likely to split on the rock of capitulations, and in that case a great world-war will be started. It remains to be seen whether England will fight single-handed or will be supported by France and the Allies. The *Al Khalil* says that the Turks will agree to no compromise on the subject of capitulations. If the example of Mr. Lloyd George serves no warning to Lord Curzon and if Britain is still unchanged in its attitude towards Turkey, it can only be predicted that she will have to reap the consequences of her policy and will lose her prestige. The *Al Burid* fears that the pressure of the Allies on the Turks will result in breaking up the Conference. If this Conference fails, like the preceding ones, then the only arbiter will be the sword. The paper sees petty-mindedness and deceitful activities on the part of the Allies at every turn of the proceedings of the Conference. The *Hamdam* supports the Turkish demands in regard to capitulations and the freedom of the Dardanelles and hopes that a settlement will be arrived at which will satisfy both parties.

The Greek executions.

The Press condemns as barbarous the execution of ex-Ministers in Greece. The *Pioneer* says that they are bound to evoke a feeling of horror and indignation throughout the civilised world. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that the shooting down in cold blood of administrators sitting at the desk and carrying on the work of government to cover the cowardice of its military, must forfeit for Greece the companionship of the civilised world. The prestige of Britain has certainly risen by the prompt action in breaking off relations. The *Leader* says that these friends of the British have paid for their friendship with their lives and the British Government has not been able to save them, although the British Minister has withdrawn from Athens.

The Khilafat.

The Khilafat question continues to absorb the attention of the Muslim press, which is almost unanimous in supporting the action of the Angora Assembly and in condemning the flight of the ex-Sultan. The *Leader* rejoices at the decision of the Turks to do away with the temporal power of the Khalifa and says that the progressive change wrought in Turkey is a blow to the Indian Khilafatists. It asks the Indian Musalmans if they will revise their conceptions and follow their Turkish brethren in the separation of religion from politics in national affairs. "Will they also

become nationalists first and Musalmans afterwards, as the Turks and the Egyptians have become? If such an effect of the resurgence on Turkish nationalism is produced on them, nationalist Hindus will have every reason to rejoice. Hindus and Musalmans bound together by a genuine national spirit and defying religious differences to divide them against third parties, can achieve almost anything." The *Hindustani* disapproves of the flight of the ex-Sultan and reminds him that King Constantine had very bitter experience of British friendship. He has brought disgrace on Islam and will lose whatever respect he commanded in the Islamic world. The *Al Bashir* warns the British Government against the dangers of disaffection of the Musalmans which it has created by giving refuge to the ex-Sultan and advises it to arrange for the return of the sacred articles pertaining to the Khilafat said to be in possession of the refugee. The *Al Burid* accuses the British of spreading false news with regard to the deposition of the Sultan in order to discredit the Kemalists. The *Mansur* asks whether the British have any political object in affording shelter to the ex-Sultan and says that even any lip-sympathy on their part in respect of his claim to Khilafat is sure to prove ruinous to the British Empire. The *Aligarh Gazette* complains that the Angora Government did not consult the general Muslim opinion in the matter of election of the new Khalifa. The *Hindustani* welcomes the election of Sultan Abdul Majid Khan and suggests that the Congress and Khilafat Committees should send their congratulations to him. It rejoices that the schemes of the enemies of Islam to cause a civil war in Turkey by espousing the cause of the deposed Sultan have fallen to the ground. The *Haqiqat* advises the Indian Musalmans to have full confidence in the Nationalist Turks and their leader who will never do anything which may be a cause of grievance to the seven crores of Indian Musalmans. The *Hamdam* and other Muslim papers are satisfied with the election of Abdul Majid Khan as Khalifa. The *Hind* of Aligarh is gratified that the deposition of Sultan Wahiduddin and the election of the new Khalifa in consultation with the Muslim democracy have placed the Khilafat on a sounder basis. The Extremist Hindi papers continue to charge the British Government with trying to sow dissensions among the Musalmans through the agency of the deposed Sultan. The *Vikram* says: Efforts are now being made to secure if possible that the Muhammadans of India and other countries should recognise the fugitive Sultan as their Khalifa, but such tactics of the enemies of Turkey and Islam will not be successful. The *Pratap* writes: The Sultan was lured to Malta in the hope that this would lead to strife in the Muhammadan world. But these tactics will deceive no one for the people have now seen that in the whole world there is no body of men so deceitful as the European statesmen. The *Vartman* holds that a war is inevitable, for Russia, Turkey and Germany are all prepared for war and Persia and Afghanistan will also help Turkey. "Thus from Berlin to Kabul trenches have been prepared for the next war. Everything is being done at the bidding of Lenin."

Report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee.

Further comments on the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee are mainly restricted to the controversy regarding entry into Councils. The *Leader* continues to express gratification at the changed angle of the non-cooperators' vision in respect of entry into Councils. In a leading article in which the paper vindicates the attitude of the Liberals and praises them for their patience, courage and faith in their principles, it says: "The non-cooperators should enter the Councils, assume responsibility and carry out the constructive programme. The inside knowledge of the difficulties of administration will sober them and cure them of many of their wild notions. The assumption of responsibility will do good to them and to the country and bring *swaraj* nearer. Will they accept our friendly advice?" The *Oudh Akhbar* thinks it would be unwise to adopt an obstructionist attitude in the Councils without any

provocation from the official side. The *Hindustani* considers the scheme for entry into Councils as a mere chimera and urges that efforts should be made to get it rejected as it is bound to prove the proverbial apple of discord. The *Agra Akhbar* is opposed to entry into Councils on the ground that non-cooperators will deprive the country of the benefits of the present Councils which have a non-official majority and will thereby arrest the progress of the country. The *Najat* expresses itself against entry for the reason that it will amount to an admission of the failure of the non-cooperation movement and will mean association with the Moderates. The *Al Burid* favours entry into Councils to see how far the Government can be forced to yield by activities within these bodies. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* declares against entry into the Councils lest important national work be neglected in the course of the electioneering campaign. The *Mecca Medina* is opposed to entry on religious grounds remarking that religious injunctions should never be subservient to any expediency. The *Hamdam* welcomes the *Leader's* suggestion that Mr. Gandhi should be released in order to thwart those non-cooperators who favour Council entry. Strongly opposed to entry into Councils the *Vartman* writes: We are firmly convinced that for the attainment of liberty fight inside the Councils is useless. We want a complete change in the situation and revolution is the only means, but not discussions in Councils. Revolutions are brought about directly by the masses and end in the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Abhyudaya* favours entry into Councils on the ground that it is impossible to secure a complete boycott of Councils and if the Nationalists do not enter them they will, as at present, be filled again by Liberals and zamindars. The *Bharat Bandhu* supports the proposal to enter the Councils with a view to mend or end them and holds that this will not be contrary to the principle of non-cooperation. The *Prem* opposes entry into Councils on the ground that it will not be possible for non-cooperators to wreck them and thinks that mass civil disobedience is the only means of winning *swaraj*. Accordingly it suggests that the Bardoli programme should be so altered as to prepare the people for undertaking mass civil disobedience.

Political propaganda.

The resolutions passed at the recent sitting of the All-India Congress Committee have accentuated the differences regarding the future programme of the Congress. The *Aj* approves of the resolution of the Committee with regard to civil disobedience and thinks that the restricted civil disobedience permitted by it will prepare the people for mass civil disobedience and bring home to the bureaucracy that the aspirations of a living nation cannot be crushed by uncontrolled police repression. Since the Congress prohibited civil disobedience, the workers did not know what to do, but permission for even the restricted civil disobedience will raise the enthusiasm of the people and work will begin again. The *Vikram* exhorts the people to concentrate on *khaddar* and introduce the *charkha* in every home as an indispensable step for the inauguration of civil disobedience. The *Surya* suggests that the Liberal and non-cooperation leaders should devise a Congress programme acceptable to all political parties and capable of being acted upon by the masses. The *Prem* suggests that the Bardoli programme should be so altered as to prepare the people for undertaking mass civil disobedience. The *Kartavya* welcomes the signs of awakening among Hindus and emphasises the need of taking practical steps for the organisation of Hindus by establishing Sabhas in all villages and cities. The *Swaraj* writes in a similar strain. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* condemns the demand of Lord Sydenham for a commission of enquiry into the conditions of employment of the Indian services and says that the "Conservative die-hards" have already marked out their Indian policy and they will pursue it without alteration or deviation. "Today, with the Sydenham lead in Indian affairs, the new Indian policy stands in all its horrid nakedness. The Government of India Act is a scrap of paper."

Bolshevism.

Certain Hindi papers continue to emphasise the need of organisation of peasants and labourers. The *Vartman* writes: Where the peasants are harassed at every step, where the rights of the poor are trampled upon and where they are thrust into prisons the moment they raise their heads, what else can the poor creatures do than to make a bold effort to stand on their legs . . . So long as the masses are not awakened in large numbers like the peasants of Russia, the bureaucracy may continue to do what it likes, the rich may harass the poor, the zamindars may ruin the tenants, but the moment the peasants understand their rights, are inspired with the idea of making sacrifices for liberty, the bureaucracy will collapse, all the calamities will disappear, the trumpet of *swaraj* will be sounded and there will be rejoicing in every home. The *Independent* has given further indication of its pro-Russian sympathies in an article headed "The Freedom of the Straits," in which it says that the secret of the success won by Russian diplomats is that they are always entirely candid. When Russia designs a treaty with an Asiatic people the latter are perfectly confident that Russia seeks nothing more than what the terms of the treaty will stipulate. There are no evasions in the words of Russian statesmen, no mental reservations behind their provisions. Secret agreements are anathema to the Bolsheviks as they must be to all honest men. But the British fear publicity when engaged in delicate negotiations. Speaking of British intentions regarding Russia, the paper says: Verily British diplomats must be simple souls indeed if they dream their dishonest work deceives a single honest and intelligent man.

The Akali agitation.

The Akali agitation continues to be held up by Extremist papers as an object-lesson of the success of non-violent non-cooperation. The *Swaraj* appeals to the people to qualify themselves for self-government by taking a lesson from the Sikhs in heroism, self-sacrifice, forbearance and non-violence. The *Kartavya* pays a tribute to the Akalis' sacrifice, firmness, and devotion to religion and prays that every Indian may become courageous and dutiful like the Akalis so as to be able to resort to *satyagraha* for securing their emancipation. Referring to the passing of the Gurudwara Bill, the *Al Khalil* remarks that it is a signal defeat of the Government and that it is losing its prestige by its repeated mistakes and by maintaining its position by repression. It is impossible for the Government to atone for the atrocities committed on the brave Sikhs.

The Narora weir.

The Government resolution inviting opinion on the question of the proposed opening in the Narora weir has been taken advantage of by a section of the Hindi press in advancing political propaganda. In the course of a highly emotional article headed "Mother Ganges," the *Vikram* complains that the sacred river is being polluted by the erection of tanneries along its banks, the emptying of city drains and in various other ways. Concluding, it says: "Mother! thou art not allowed to flow freely from Hardwar to Ganga Sagar. Thy dignity is being lowered. The cause of thy miserable condition is the irresponsible system of Government. Mother, wake up thy sons from their hypnotic sleep so that they may become free and re-establish thy dignity." The *Kartavya* writes: "By prolonging our slavery our rulers are completely destroying our religious life. The bureaucracy has virtually imprisoned the sacred river. By polluting the pure water, the bureaucracy is laying the axe at the root of Hindu religion." The paper deprecates the action of the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal in sending representations to Government, for it thinks that the Hindus will not be able to "liberate" the Ganges, unless, like the Akalis, they inaugurate *satyagraha*. It therefore appeals to the people not to rest until the Government destroys the gates of the dam, even if they are beaten, arrested and killed in lakhs.

Political prisoners.

The new rules regarding the treatment of political prisoners in the United Provinces have received a good deal of attention in the Press. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is dissatisfied with the conditions obtaining in the Lucknow jail "with its historic tradition of the Avadh Narayan Lal tragedy and the recent scandal of an assault in which a graduate was beaten." It opines that the Government of India's new jail rules indicate a deliberate policy of terrorisation on the part of a civilised Government. The *Anand* deplores the change in the liberal policy of Government and says that it will be a matter of disgrace to a civilised Government to ill-treat political prisoners in India when even ordinary prisoners in all civilised countries are treated with consideration.

Improvement trusts.

Several papers have criticised the administration of Improvement Trusts in these provinces. The *Lakshman* condemns the Lucknow Trust as a source of calamity to the poor citizens whose hereditary houses and land are unnecessarily acquired and auctioned. It commends to the municipality of Lucknow the example of Allahabad which passed a resolution offering to take over the work of improving the city in its own hands. The *Azad* complains that money has been wasted on the palatial building of the Improvement Trust office at Cawnpore and suggests that the municipal board should purchase the building.

ZAFAR OMAR,

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Lausanne Conference.

The Muslim Press continues to support the Turkish claims and criticise the British attitude. The *Mecca Medina* accuses Britain of hostility towards the Turks and remarks that the British obstinacy on the question of the freedom of the Straits, the protection of minorities and the capitulations, clearly shows that instead of negotiating peace, the European Powers are engaged in drafting ultimatums to Turkey. The *Hurriyat* observes that the capitulations should be wiped out as the separation of religious and temporal powers in Turkey will automatically solve this problem. The *Haqiqat* demands the restoration of the pre-war frontiers of Turkey in Asia and the establishment of Turkish control over the holy places. It urges the satisfaction of Turkish demands in respect of the freedom of the Straits and the capitulations. If Lord Curzon resorts to diplomacy and underhand policy and disregards the dictates of justice and righteousness, the Conference will end in a failure. In another article, the *Hurriyat* suggests the representation of Indians at the Peace Conference under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi in order to settle the Egyptian demand regarding the freedom of the Suez Canal. The *Medina* observes that the satisfaction of Turkish demands is essential for her existence as a free nation. Capitulations are unjustified and the Turks are right in demanding their abolition. The *Mashriq* advises Great Britain to withdraw herself from the Turkish territory for the sake of her prestige and in the interests of the peace of the world. The *Nizam-i-Alam* advocates a policy of justice and tolerance if it is desired to prevent another war which, in addition to resulting in misery to the belligerents, is also likely to destroy the British Empire. The *Mansur* says the capitulations are an insult to the Turks as a free nation. The *Hindustani* infers from the strong attitude of Turks on the question of reparations and capitulations that the much talked of unity among the Allies has nothing substantial behind it. The *Najat* accuses Lord Curzon of favouring the Balkan States and suspects that they will be let loose on Turkey at a time when it is trying hard to stand on its own legs. It warns Britain of the dangers of a war with Turkey and apprehends the beginning of hostilities on the Indian frontier very shortly. At the present moment every part of the British Empire is involved in its own difficulties and Britain is not likely to receive help from any quarter. Lord Curzon's policy will cause an irreparable loss to the Empire and will afford an opportunity to the Bolsheviks to carry out their schemes. The *Rahnuma* fears that in case the Conference fails, the Turks will be forced to have recourse to the arbitrament of the sword. The *Al Burid* remarks that no other Allied representative is adopting an anti-Turkish attitude like that of Lord Curzon. The *Hindustani* is gratified at the representation of the Egyptians at the Conference and says that by their internal and external propaganda, the Egyptians have compelled the European Powers to satisfy their demands, and suggests that India should take a leaf out of the book of Egyptian nationalists and start an international propaganda. Referring to recent political developments in Greece, the *Hurriyat* remarks that the Greeks are only like pictures on a screen behind which the British Ministry is carrying on its game. The *Swaraj* is confident that the demands of Turkey will be satisfied and points the moral that pacifism is not the path of victory. As soon as the Turks unsheathed their swords, the Alliesshowed their readiness to come to

terms at a Conference. The *Leader* also thinks that it is the rattle of the Turkish sabre which has influenced the Allies. The Turks have learnt by bitter experience that the strongest argument which appeals to the Allies is that of force. If they had not driven out the Greeks from Asia Minor, the British would not have even recognised the existence of the Angora Government.

Khilafat.

The *Medina* says that Britain is trying to create division among the Muslims and to regain its lost credit in the Muslim world by espousing the cause of the ex-Sultan and reminds it that Islam does not recognise any personality as Khalifa, that it is only the person who wears the Khilafat crown that is respected and that even the first and the second Khalifas would have been deposed had they acted against national interests. The *Azad* approves the action of the Government in contradicting the rumour regarding the deposed Sultan's coming to India. In the case of his arrival many Indian Muhammadans would have justly entertained suspicions against the English. The *Rozana Akhbar* justifies the flight of the ex-Sultan and remarks that Khilafat will soon go out of the Ottoman dynasty. The Kemalists have followed a clever policy in electing the new Khalifa who will be soon deposed for his interest in pursuits such as painting and music which are forbidden by his religion. The *Agra Akhbar* welcomes the changes in Turkey as leading towards democracy and as making for Islamic unity through the common bond of the Khilafat despite the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire. The *Mashriq*, on the other hand, thinks that the Turks committed a most serious blunder in proposing to prosecute the late Sultan Wahid-ud-din and in depriving the new Sultan of his proper title and powers. It insists that Indian Muslims should have been consulted about the election of the new Khalifa and prophesies that the separation of religious and temporal powers will not prove beneficial to the Turks.

Lord Inchcape's speech.

Lord Inchcape's speech at St. Andrews' dinner has attracted some attention. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is afraid that the advanced school of Indian politicians will have very little sympathy with the views expressed by his Lordship. "From the axe-man who speaks of maintaining order we may not hope for much in the way of reduction in military expenditure." The *Independent* characterises the speech as a medley of half-truths and misstatements about Indian conditions. Referring to Lord Lytton's suggestion that the Reforms were safe under the Conservative Government, it agrees with him that the Conservatives are not "revolutionaries" but, says the paper, they are "reactionaries." The edifying sentiment about the necessity of bleeding India originated from a great Conservative leader. The country is absolutely indifferent to the Conservative Government's passion for preserving the Reforms. The *Leader* remarks that those who expected a great speech from Lord Inchcape are certain to confess to a feeling of disappointment at his performance. To ascribe Indian political unrest to the mischief wrought by agitators without making any mention of the ground furnished the agitators to work upon both in the political and economic sphere, is to look at one side of the picture only and to ignore the root of the evil. It welcomes his Lordship's hopefulness about the results of his Committee, but thinks that if the proposals of the European Associations as embodied in their letter are accepted his Lordship's hopefulness is foredoomed to disappointment.

Political propaganda.

Reuter's recent cable about the opinion of the British House of Commons regarding India is characterized as propaganda. The *Independent* asserts that the chief object of the cable is to put more cheer into the hearts of the Moderates who have sold away their souls for the wretched thing styled the Reforms Act. In plain English this means that if the Moderates stand by the Conservative Government in the action they may take to

suppress the nationalist movement in India they will be amply rewarded. Referring to the same cablegram, the *Leader* attacks the India Office and Lord Peel and complains that the Indian point of view does not count with Lord Peel. It is the grievances of the All-India services that loom large in Whitehall and Westminster. All the talk of responsibility to Parliament is sheer nonsense. The average member of Parliament does not bother himself about India. It is only a few die-hards who represent the interests of India in Parliament. The tremendous waste of money for maintaining the out-of-date corpse of the India Council should be stopped and the India Office must be told plainly and unequivocally that it had better change its line of argument, that nobody wants advice from it or its agents in the Press, that the Moderates should zealously work the Reforms. Commenting on the conviction of Parvati Devi at Meerut, the *Vikram* says: Just as the abduction of Sita resulted in the destruction of Ravan, the sacrifice of our mothers and sisters is sure to bring about the destruction of the Bureaucracy.

The non-cooperation movement.

The Indian Press in general regrets the split among the leaders of the non-cooperation movement on the question of seeking election to the Councils. The *Leader* doubts if the Committee recently elected by the United Provinces members of the Congress will be able to command much respect among the non-cooperators after the resignation of so many prominent members of its executive council. Those who virtually compelled Pandit Moti Lal Nehru to resign, acted in a very short-sighted manner. But precedents for such action are not wanting. History is repeating itself with a vengeance. The *Pratap* writes: "The fight has been suspended, the enthusiasm of the masses is waning. All the work so far done is being undone. Village and tahsil Congress Committees are breaking up. The Tilak Swaraj fund is becoming bankrupt. The number of workers and volunteers is going down daily. Even the semblance of non-cooperation has vanished." The paper then goes on to suggest that the only means of reviving agitation and achieving success is to enter the Councils in order to prove to the world "that all that is being done in India in the name of administration is entirely against the wishes of Indians. Wreck the Councils, expose the hollowness of the Reforms and show the Bureaucracy in all its nakedness. Stand up for the Councils and thereby prevent the election of those who become tools in the hands of our enemies." The *Vikram* says: The condition of the country is like that of a drunkard who is recovering from intoxication, whose physical powers are decaying and whose opponents perceiving his condition are looking forward to his approaching end. In the course of an article which has been printed in the editorial columns of the same paper, Makhan Lal Chaturvedi says: We must treat the foreign Government as a foreign Government ought to be treated and should, like discerning men, prepare ourselves to come to grips with it. Those who are aspiring for full self-government can have no manner of cooperation, whether responsive or non-responsive, with a Government which keeps them under subjection. Dying (in the cause of liberty) is the duty for this age. Therefore only youngmen whom no wordly affections and ties can deter should come forward to join the struggle for freedom. The *Vartman* holds the leaders responsible for the present helplessness of the country and says: The present *impasse* clearly exposes the incapacity of the leaders. Through their wavering attitude they are forfeiting the confidence of the people. They are greatly mistaken in their estimate of the strength of the masses. They presume to judge the strength and enthusiasm of the teeming millions of India by the standard of their own weakness and despair and are thus underrating the power of the masses. Referring to the opening of the two schools in the Punjab as memorials to Sir Michael O'Dwyer the *Swaraj* says: These O'Dwyer institutions are like darts thrust into the wounds in the hearts of Indians caused by the atrocities of Sir Michael O'Dwyer. Those schools mark the culminating point of our slavery. There are

only two courses open to us. We should either shake off our slavery or commit suicide. The *Oudh Akhbar* apprehends that the differences as displayed in the United Provinces and the Deccan will impede the country's progress towards freedom. The *Haqiqat* says that the dissensions will altogether incapacitate the people from making any headway in their struggle against Government, whose diplomacy and deceit have crushed the spirit of even the greatest statesmen of the world. The *Hurriyat* maintains that the non-cooperation movement is not dead inasmuch as every living soul is against the present system of Government. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* urges Indians not to waste their time in discussions over the question of entry into Councils, but to devote themselves to the completion of the constructive programme. The *Medina* opposes entry into Councils and urges that efforts should be directed towards Civil Disobedience. The *Hurriyat* urges that the Congress programme should not be changed until the release of Mr. Gandhi and suggests that those advocating a change should leave the Congress. The *Anand Pracharak* opposes entry of non-cooperators into the Councils on the ground that it will destroy peace and order and the entire constitutional machinery, and urges the need of taking measures for preventing the capture of Councils by non-cooperators. The *Al Khalil* supports entry into Councils with a view to wreck them.

Bolshevism.

In an article commending the example of Russia to Indians, the *Vartman* says: Russia has conveyed the message of freedom and self-reliance to all subject and oppressed nations. India will be able to obtain real *swaraj* only through the help of cultivators provided that they are infused with the spirit which is animating the Congress volunteers. The *Chhattari* points to the dangers of Bolshevism and appeals to the people to abandon the belief that they can obtain *swaraj* under any Afghan rule in India. The Afghans can do nothing unaided by the Bolsheviks, and if once the Bolshevik element is introduced into the country, it will never be possible to shake it off. The Hindus and Musalmans should therefore unitedly oppose the advent of Bolshevism in India. The *Independent* foreshadows the possibility of successfully organising labourers and agriculturists under the leadership of Congress workers whom it calls "brain labourers." It remarks that the *kisan* movement of 1920 and the *Aika* movement of the first quarter of this year are remarkable revelations of the capacity of the agricultural labourer for effective organisation. So far as grievances go, the agricultural labourer has his own share and none can say that they do not require a speedy remedying. The first thing necessary for the formation of an Indian Labour Party is to bring together agricultural and industrial labourers.

Retrenchment.

Several papers have devoted attention to the question of retrenchment. Referring to the Inchcape Committee, the *Aj* says: The British administration is topheavy and, therefore, no real economy can be effected unless some of the higher posts are abolished altogether and the emoluments of others are reduced to be in keeping with the financial conditions of the country. For provincial subjects there is no need for having any department in the Government of India. In another article, the paper says: After a perusal of the replies which are being given to questions in Parliament who can say that there is no possibility of great economic and political calamities overtaking India? At present that party is predominant in Britain which considers it to be its duty to keep India in subjection. It will not be a bad thing to vote against the entire budget and thus to compel the Bureaucracy to act upon its own responsibility if, even in our present economic distress, the pay and allowances of higher officials are raised. In a third article on the subject, the paper hopes that the Indian Legislatures will soon realise their helplessness in securing retrenchment and will be convinced that ultimately India must resort to Civil Disobedience to secure her emancipation. Civil Disobedience may not be practicable today, but new taxes will make it inevitable sooner or

later. The *Leader*, criticising the military expenditure, asks Lord Inchcape if he will apply his pruning knife to the bloated expenditure on account of military hospitals. It says: While the civil population dies like flies of epidemics and money is hardly available for extending facilities for medical relief and for the adoption of preventive measures, there is no dearth of money for military hospitals. Such a state of affairs is intolerable.

Mr. Sastri's tour.

The statements made by Mr. Sastri on his arrival in India have led the papers to comment that his Dominion tour has been fruitless and has involved a waste of public money. The *Swaraj* says: Mr. Sastri's tour has not at all changed the situation in the Dominions, but has saddled the tax-payer with a burden of sixty thousand rupees. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets the failure of Mr. Sastri's mission and the consequent waste of money over his tour.

Treatment of political prisoners.

The new rules for the treatment of political prisoners continue to receive attention. The *Lakshman* says: The more the Moderates clamour for the better treatment of political prisoners, the worse they are treated. It complains that the food supplied to them is unfit for human consumption, and the quantity of fuel and pulse supplied for separate cooking is altogether insufficient. The paper in conclusion attributes such treatment to the slackness in the non-cooperation movement.

ZAFAR OMAR,

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Lausanne Conference.

The prceedings of the Lausanne Conference are being followed with close attention. The *Independent*, which has recently adopted a sober tone in commenting upon the Near Eastern affairs, presumably on account of the change in the editorship, is not so pessimistic about the outcome of the Conference as it was in the last week. It declares that the Powers are playing a very clever game in trying to create an impression that Turkey and Russia speak differently. Side by side with this game they are making frantic attempts to get the United States of America to come into line with themselves. "But we may predict that all these attempts will fail. Turkey knows well who her real friends are. She has also learnt to make use of diplomacy when necessary." The Muslim Press continues to attack the British attitude and to be apprehensive of a premature break-up of the Conference. The *Hurriyat* accuses Lord Curzon of having adopted a non-conciliatory attitude and remarks that if the Conference ends in failure, the Turks will not hesitate to go in for another war, the responsibility for which will be England's and not theirs. In order to establish permanent peace in the Near East the question of the Straits should be settled on equitable and honourable terms. The Turks have as strong a claim to the Straits as the British have over the English Channel. The *Medina* observes that Lord Curzon is trying to goad the Turks into a *jehad*. It advises the Turks to insist on the maintenance of their sovereignty and authority despite the allied compact against them. The *Najat* accuses the Allies, specially Britain, of selfish motives on the question of the mandates and the freedom of the Straits and says that the hope for a world-peace will be shattered if the Conference ends in failure. The *Hindustani* observes that the failure of the Conference will bring about a war between Greece and Turkey and will deal a fatal blow to British diplomacy in the Balkans. The *Al Bureed* writes in a similar strain and warns the Allies, and Lord Curzon in particular, of the danger of disregarding the just demands of the Turks lest they are forced to obtain what they want by an appeal to arms. The *Nizam-i-Alam* sees little hope of peace from the Conference owing to the differences among the Allies on the question of the freedom of the Straits. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam*, on the other hand, thinks that in spite of the Russian attempt to sow discord, the Conference will succeed in bringing about a satisfactory settlement. Referring to the complaint of the Assyrian delegates regarding Turkish misrule, the *Najat* says that the whole thing has been engineered by the British. The *Hamdam* also thinks that the delegation is a creation and instrument of European capitalists who being avaricious of the oil fields of Mosul invent hundreds of plans to get the Mosul area under their control. The *Nizam-i-Alam* urges that the Conference should concede the Egyptian demands without the least hesitation. It accuses Britain of being opposed to the aspirations of the Egyptian nationalists. The Hindi papers generally admire the firmness and tact of Ismet Pasha at the Conference and express confidence in his ability to secure the fulfilment of Turkish demands. The *Vartman* eulogises the prudence of Lord Curzon and thinks that realising the dangerous situation in which Britain has placed herself by her Imperialism, he is doing all he can to save her from being involved in a war. It adds: Lord Curzon is rendering invaluable services to the British Empire and if he succeeds in making a treaty with Turkey and thus checkmating the Bolshevik designs he will be entitled

to be called the saviour of England. The *Al Bashir* is at a loss to understand why Britain continues to support Greece against Turkey in spite of her disregard of British protests against the execution of her Ministers.

Political propaganda.

In a series of articles headed "Pan-Asian Movement" the *Independent* advocates the need of propaganda in order to unite the Asiatic people against the domination of Europe. It says that a federation of the people of Asia actuated by a burning desire to emancipate Asia from political and economic bondage and to rescue the world from the coils of modern civilisation is a practical idea that should be soon taken up by earnest workers. "In this movement India occupies a pivotal position geographically and spiritually and it follows that we in India should take the leading part in it." The Hindi papers deplore the set-back in the political movement and the Extremist organs are trying to rouse popular enthusiasm by sentimental appeals. The *Vikram* writes: The Motherland is in sore need of sacrifice. She wants sacrifice for the success of the national cause. The first army of twenty-five thousand heroes has demonstrated its valour and the futility of prisons. Another army should now come into the field. Only such heroes should join this army as are eager to sacrifice themselves in the cause of the country. The next bugle call is to go forth to the soldiers to get themselves ready. The *Pratap* says: We have, no doubt, reduced to dust the prestige of the Bureaucracy, but we have not yet succeeded in breaking a single part of the administrative machinery which will have to be completely wrecked before we can win *swaraj*. We ought to prepare ourselves for a pitched battle with the Bureaucracy for wrecking the present system of administration and then calling for the final assault for winning self-government.

The non-cooperation movement.

The split in the non-cooperators' camp appears to have chastened the tone of some of the Extremist organs. The *Independent* has adopted a persuasive attitude in regard to the question of entry into Councils. In an article headed "The Only Course" the papers says: "Those who hold that non-cooperators should not enter the Councils will not be yielding their ground in the least by agreeing to contest the elections. They will be helping in the more complete boycott of the Councils by doing so. They can take up the position that after the elections we should refuse to enter the Councils whether non-cooperators gain the majority of seats or not." The *Democrat* sadly admits that the present lull has wrought immense harm to the movement. National schools and *charkha* activities have either stopped or are suffering for want of adequate support from the Congress workers. It advocates the pushing of the *swadeshi* and *charkha* movement and suggests that Indians should unite and drive the poverty away from the country before trying anything else. The *Vartman* persists in its opposition to entry into the Councils and says: The path of the Councils is the path of despair. The people are themselves refuting the allegation that they are not prepared. Countless Congress workers, who are the pillars of the present agitation and are in direct touch with the masses, are opposed to Council entry. The people cannot accept a course which betrays despair and helplessness. The *Abhyudaya*, on the other hand, strongly supports the proposal for entry into Councils but opposes a policy of indiscriminate obstruction as untenable and suicidal. Continuing it says: If we adopt a policy of wholesale opposition we shall sooner or later have to be ashamed of our own folly. To dream of mass civil disobedience is to forfeit all claim to intelligence. In these circumstances we ought to enter the Councils as non-cooperators at heart and fight the country's battle both inside and outside the Councils. The boycott of British goods is the only weapon with which we can make haughty England bend her knees. We should, therefore, resolve at the Gaya Congress that even if we cannot do away with foreign goods, we shall not buy British goods in any case. The *Medina* continues to oppose the proposed changes in the Congress programme, specially with regard to entry into Councils. It says that the changes

are against the principle of non-cooperation. The Moderates will ridicule the non-cooperators and it will be impossible to convince the people at large of the consistency of the policy of the nationalists. In another article the paper says that if the Gaya Congress approves of Council entry there should be no quarrel about it. All parties should compose their differences and yield to the Congress mandate whatever it may be. The *Hurriyat* maintains that instead of leading the country to *swaraj*, entry into Councils will strengthen the hands of the Bureaucracy. The *Agra Akhbar* thinks that the entry of non-co-operators into the Councils with a view to wreck them will uproot the very foundations of peace and order. The *Nizam-i-Alam* is afraid that owing to all religious and political leaders being in jail, the Moderates will gradually regain full mastery over the Congress. The *Al Bashir* protests against the rowdy element in the Congress and deplores personal attacks on patriots like Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das, whose motives are unassailable. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the non-cooperation movement has failed, otherwise there would have been no need for proposing a change in the Congress programme. It calls upon the leaders to make a candid confession of the failure. The *Hindustani* says that Government is sure to take advantage of the split in the non-coopertion camp and suggests the deletion of the question of Council entry from the future programme. The *Azad* condemns the attitude of the people who hold that non-violence has to be maintained in dealing with Government only and that violence is permissible in the Congress camp itself. It urges the need for a change in the Congress programme in order to revive political activity. The *Haqiqat* advises Congressmen to settle their differences regarding Council entry before the Gaya meeting.

Organisation of Hindus.

The *Northern Star* points out the danger to the Hindu community if it allies itself indefinitely with the *Khilafat* movement and asks if the Hindus are to be identified as the followers of the Angora *Sarkar* and eventually to become a subject-race of the Turks like the Armenians, the Jews and other non-Muslim people of the world. It warns Indians against the dangers in which the accentuation of religious fanaticism in the Muslim world is sure to place India. "Whatever the Muslims may think, non-Muslim India cannot support any pan-Islamic movement if such a movement is likely to weaken the indigenous Indian nation. We have no time to think or talk about the pan-Asia Federation which Srijut Das appears to be advancing now. All we advocate strongly and ceaselessly is a pan-Indian movement, not hostile to the maintenance of happier relations with all other peoples of the world, including those of Europe." The *Vartman* holds up the example of Muhammadans and suggests that the question of cow-protection is the strongest basis for unity and organisation. "But this cannot be effected by resolutions alone. Hindus should organise themselves like Akalis and prepare themselves even for death for the protection of cows. With the stoppage of cow-slaughter not only will the poverty of the country be removed, not only will difficulties be caused in the way of the food-supply of the whites, but the Hindu-Muhammadan disputes will also cease completely for ever. Writing in *Free India* Mr. Ranga Iyer points out that a mighty propaganda of pan-Hinduism, hand in hand with pan-Islamism, will save Asia, freed from Western shackles for the good of humanity.

Action against agitators.

The imprisonment of Musammat Parvati Devi and the arrest of Shankracharya have been the subject of a good deal of angry comments in the Indian Press. Under the heading "The murder of a goddess," the *Vartman* says: The wails of the poor, the sighs of the cultivators, the unrestricted atrocities of the Bureaucracy, the use of machine-guns against the helpless, forced the lady to leave her home and family and to enter the field at the call of Mahatma Gandhi and by her national services, powerful speeches and glorious sacrifices to infuse life into those who are practically dead, to teach people how to break the chains of slavery and to remove thorns

from the road to *swaraj*. The *Abhyudaya* says: Perhaps the Government forgot that Sita was instrumental in causing the war between Rama and Ravan and Draupadi in bringing about the *Mahabharat*. The *Lakshman* writes: A Government which oppresses women hastens its downfall. The *Bharat Bulletin* of Muzaffarnagar says that the conviction smacks of vindictiveness and will not cow down Indian womanhood. Conviction produces no good result and is considered to be a price of tyranny when the public holds the person convicted to be innocent or the crime committed to be no crime. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* says that the conviction shows that the Bureaucracy has begun to tyrannise over women also. Disrespect towards women has already proved fatal to those who indulged in it. This conviction will make the women come out and work along with men for the national cause, which in consequence is sure to be crowned with success. The *Hamdam* sees in the conviction a challenge from Government to women to display their activities in a practical shape. If Government persists in such a policy it will, before long, find women working side by side with men. The *Medina* says that the punishment of women is a prelude to *swaraj*. The sufferings of Parvati Devi will be written in letters of gold in the history of the non-cooperation movement. The arrest of Shankracharya is being represented by some Hindi papers as an insult to Hindi religion, calling for some bold action on the part of the Hindus. The *Shakti* says: Even now the masses should take heed. It would be a shame to the Hindus if they remain quiet when their Jagadguru is arrested on the charge of propagating religious *swaraj*.

Retrenchment.

The question of retrenchment has received a good deal of attention, the general view being that no substantial economy can be effected unless some of the higher posts are abolished or their emoluments are reduced. The *Aj* says: The emoluments of the Governor General, the Governors, the Executive Councillors and the Ministers are all very excessive. The pruning knife should first of all be applied to these. At least the Ministers should voluntarily accept smaller pay. This will not only benefit the country but will also put the Executive Councillors to shame. The *Mansur* expresses the hope that the High Court Judges will accept the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee for the reduction of holidays and extension of office hours in view of the financial stringency and the need for all-round retrenchment. The *Azad* says that the reduction of summons-writers in the United Provinces has not added anything to the comfort or benefit of the public. It would have been better to fix a fee of one anna per summons instead. The *Najat* wonders why the huge military expenditure should not be reduced when friendly relations have been established with Afghanistan. The *Hamdam* says that India is impatiently waiting to see what reductions are effected by Lord Inchcape in the military budget which swallows up more than half of the total revenue simply to keep the Indians under control with the aid of the military force, in spite of the fact that India has decided to win freedom through non-violent non-cooperation.

Labour.

Extremist Hindi papers while emphasising the need of organising labour are displaying considerable solicitude for the welfare of labourers. The *Shakti* writes: The question of ameliorating the lot of labourers cannot be solved merely by legislation or strikes. If we want to eliminate the evils connected with the labour question from our society, we should cease looking at labourers with contempt, but should, on the other hand, honour them as the chief limb of our nation.

ZAFAR OMAR,

The 16th December, 1922. *Offg. Publicity Commissioner,*
United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Lausanne Conference.

The Press continues to speculate as to the outcome of the Lausanne Conference. The *Pioneer* refers to the kaleidoscopic change in the situation at Lausanne and remarks that financial considerations must preclude the Angora Government from proceeding to extremities. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* observes that the attitude of the Turks has been one of uniform conciliation throughout the Conference, but that there are certain vital subjects, like the Straits, for instance, over which there can never be a compromise. It would be a fatal blunder if, after having gained so much and with peace almost in sight, any attempt should be made to stampede the Turks into an agreement in matters where they can agree only by compromising the very principles of freedom for which they have been dying freely and killing fiercely. The Muslim Press persists in its attacks against the attitude of the Allies. The *Nizam-i-Alam* complains that the Allies, though obliged to make peace with Turkey, are hesitating to accord Turkey what is her due. The paper disapproves the terms proposed by the Allies and says that they are too disgraceful to be accepted by any Power. The *Medina* observes: If the present state of affairs in the Conference continues, a bloody war is sure to follow. The *Hamdam* resents the French attitude in siding with Britain on the question of the Straits and accuses all the European Powers of trying to gain their selfish ends at the expense of Turkey. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* remarks: If the Conference fails owing to the uncompromising attitude of the British delegates, the Turks are prepared for every course of action and Britain will be responsible for its consequences. The *ji-huzurs* of Mosul have been incited by Britain to complain against the Turks in the Conference. Their attempts remind one of the resolutions which the Liberal Leagues and *Aman Sabhas* pass against the Congress in order to please the authorities. The *Oudh Akhbar* says: If the deliberations of the Conference end in peace, a great cause of unrest in the world will be removed. But it is essential for the Peace Conference to satisfy the Turks and the Indian Muhammadans, for, as long as they are not satisfied, no decision or arrangement will be final. The *Al Khalil* is gratified that the people of Thrace after being denied a plebiscite have overthrown the Greek administration and established their own Government. The *Hurriyat* regrets that the Turks are being forced into a hornet's nest called the "League of Nations." The *Aj* disapproves of Turkey joining the League of Nations, for it holds that for non-European Powers to join the League of Nations is to deliberately diminish their independence. It adds: The powerful nations of Europe have formed this institution to promote their own interests, its ulterior and sinister object being to maintain and extend the dominance of Europeans over the world. The *Al Khalil* urges *Khilafat* committees not to stop their activities with the evacuation of Constantinople by the Allied forces, but to continue their work till the sacred places are immune from foreign influence.

Indians in Colonies.

The *Aj* complains that laws are being enacted in South Africa to deprive Indians domiciled in Durban of their landed property, and remarks: It is certainly our duty to help our suffering brethren, but we cannot discharge this duty effectively so long as we are a subject nation in our own country and are repressed with unjustifiable laws and a "steel frame" is considered

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necessary for our very existence. The *Pratap* regards Mr. Sastri's Dominion tour as a mere waste of public money and observes: So long as our country is in slavery, it is impossible to do any real good to our countrymen domiciled in the Colonies by approaching the Dominion Governments as Mr. Sastri has sought to do. The *Independent* regards Mr. Sastri's attempt to justify the result of his recent tour as hopeless and queer. The problem of colour which Mr. Sastri attempts to solve for the whole world by his post-prandial speeches is too great to be settled by diplomacy. Not till India is free and independent can Indians with any hope of success extend the hand of fellowship to their brethren in the Colonies.

Political propaganda.

Writing in *Free India*, Mr. Ranga Iyer points out the need of work among the villagers. After describing his wanderings in the villages of the United Provinces, he says that the villagers were non-cooperators long before the movement of non-cooperation was inaugurated by Mr. Gandhi. "They never admired or appreciated the white strangers who were in their eyes a very strange people indeed." He despairs of the dwellers of the cities whom he accuses of twisting and torturing the non-cooperation movement and advises the people to go "back to the villages." Until the cities are demolished and the citizens become villagers the movement cannot be said to have achieved any triumph. The *Prem* holds that the *Khilafat* question cannot be solved without the attainment of *swaraj*, nor can the Muslim world be said to be free until the seven crores of Indian Musalmans have been emancipated from the bond of slavery. The paper therefore urges that all *Khilafat* committees and other Muslim bodies should merge themselves in the Congress for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Naved* of Bulandshahr asks Muslims to take greater interest in the Congress and to secure representation therein. Commenting on the communist programme for the Congress contained in a recent telegram, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* rebukes Reuter's Agency for having shot upon the Indian Press five columns of rubbish and says that it is not the German Republic or Soviet Russia but the British Government that harbours a fanatic for purposes of political propaganda. "We refuse to lend our columns to the propagation of what is evidently intended by Reuter's News Agency to discredit the Congress but which, we are afraid, will only inoculate the communist serum in convenient material that has been prepared by the non-cooperation movement. It is a pity that a vigilant Government that would censor the Liberal Conference at Fyzabad should have permitted such inflammatory rubbish. To discredit the Congress one need not invoke communist aid from Berlin."

Non-cooperation movement.

The question of entry into Councils continues to absorb attention. In a series of seven articles headed "The work before us" the *Independent* attempts to prove that the spirit of the non-cooperation movement can only be kept alive by contesting the next elections, as it is necessary to devise some plan of work which will keep true to the principle of non-cooperation and will fire the public and the workers with a greater enthusiasm. It assures its readers that it will be possible for the Congress candidates to go at the head of the polls if they begin organised work early. "The mere work of bringing home to all the message of the Congress irrespective of Council elections involves tours and lectures by the Congress workers and canvassing for votes is likely to attract larger audiences than was otherwise possible. An electioneering campaign is best suited for the purpose. The candidates in their tours will not only solicit the votes of the franchise-holders but also educate them and press before them the constructive programme. Contesting the elections, in addition to being a political programme, is well suited to keep the workers in touch with the people. These same workers going from village to village clothed in "sudh" *khaddar*, visiting the villager in his home and speaking to him in his own mother-tongue, of the cooperators' inability to lighten his burden and of Mahatmaji's gospel of the *charkha*

can and will fire the enthusiasm of the villager for the national cause in a way in which no other method till now suggested can do." The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the differences of opinion on the question of entry into Councils has assumed a serious form, and apprehends that the split will afford an opportunity to the enemies of Indians to ridicule their political activities. Those in favour of Council entry should be allowed to contest the elections. The *Al Bashir* says that the crying need of the moment is to adopt a course which will prevent a split in the Congress. In the event of such a disaster, the two years' work of sacrifice will be wasted. The *Medina* vehemently protests against entry into Councils which it thinks will be a betrayal of the cause of the patriots who have undergone sacrifices and are still suffering hardships in jails. The present programme is too efficacious to be altered. The energy now spent in a futile controversy should be devoted to the reform of the Congress and its organisation. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* suggests a compromise before the Congress meets and advises political workers to be prepared to accept the Congress mandate whatever it may be. The extremist Hindi papers deplore the split in the non-cooperation camp and the set-back in their movement. The *Pratap* emphasises the necessity of completing the "constructive programme" in order to win and maintain *swaraj*. It goes on to say: "All of us are out for winning *swaraj*. We have a right to revolt and a peaceful revolution is the only means at our disposal. It is the birthright of a nation to subvert a system of government which instead of being beneficial is injurious to its interests." Although holding that anarchy is in some respects better than the present condition of dependence and the present system of administration, the paper urges the need for organisation in order to avert the dangers of anarchy and create a popular government. It is of opinion that fighting inside the Councils cannot win *swaraj*, but that it can wreck the Reforms and generate the enthusiasm necessary for bringing about a revolution. The *Abhyudaya* supports entry into Councils because it considers this course as likely to advance the interests of the country and deprecates all controversy on the question as to whether it is consistent with the principles of non-cooperation. The *Leader* holds that the forces of non-cooperators will take a long time to reorganise. No political alchemy can combine passive futility or active nihilism into a satisfactory amalgam. The country is tired of both. It wants neither. The paper advises the Liberals to take time by the forelock and rally in strength at the Liberal Conference at Nagpur. But, continues the paper, their stroke must be bold and their strategy decisive. They must take count of the prevalent sentiment of the country. They must also reckon with the changed condition of opinion in England. India as a whole, was never satisfied with the Reforms and few Indians are happy over the spirit in which they are being worked. It is clear that the Indian intelligentsia will not wait for another decade for a fresh instalment of devolution.

Organisation of Hindus.

The Hindi Press continues to advocate the need for organising Hindu society for political purposes. The *Vikram* takes the Hindus to task for remaining asleep in spite of the arrest of such jewels among men as Jagadguru Shankracharya and Mahatma Gandhi—the greatest personality of the present age. The paper calls upon Hindus to give up false caste distinctions and unite together in order to shake off their slavery.

The Akali movement.

The *Vikram* regards the release of Akalis below 18 and above 50 as the outcome of the Government's anxiety to wash off the stigma incurred by it in repressing them, but it goes on to say: "We hold that there is no expiation for such diabolical atrocities. Even if it were, it is certainly not possible in the case of this Bureaucracy whose professions and practices are entirely at variance." The *Vartman* regards the release of the Akalis as a further triumph for them and another example of the efficacy of *satyagraha* in meeting the brute force of the Government. The *Hamdam* urges

Government to release all the Akali prisoners without any exception, assuring it that this course of action will in no way injure the prestige of Government.

Retrenchment.

The question of retrenchment is receiving considerable attention. The *Leader* is gratified that the Local Council has passed the resolution for the appointment of a Retrenchment Committee. The paper attacks the zamindar class for fighting against the resolution recommending the postponement of the building of the Council Chamber and says that in doing so they acted in a thoroughly irresponsible manner and betrayed a spirit of reckless extravagance, which portends ill for the future. The *Vartman* says: The financial condition cannot improve so long as the military expenditure remains at the present level. Crores are wasted in Waziristan, the Provincial Governments continue to increase police expenditure in the name of law and order and there is a frightful increase in expenditure incurred in pampering the Civilians. As an indispensable step towards retrenchment, the *Kartavya* recommends the abolition of some of the higher posts and such departments of the Government of India as deal with provincial subjects and considers a reduction of the pay of higher posts necessary. The *Oudh Akhbar* is opposed to the Waziristan campaign on the score of financial stringency and agrees with the view of some English papers that the evacuation of hill territories would result in great saving of expenditure. The *Free India* sees nothing but exploitation in voting money for the British Empire Exhibition and says that India is to pay the piper and the Empire to enjoy the tune. It is surprising, says the paper, that very feeble protests have been made on the point both by members of the Legislature and by Liberal politicians who pose to be the custodians of public opinion. Like other sources of waste of public money, this exhibition business is another white elephant. Is Lord Inchcape unaware of the matter or has he connived at it, is the question.

Action against agitators.

The Indian Press continues to protest against the conviction of Musammat Parvati Devi. The *Swaraj* writes: By imprisoning Parvati Devi the Bureaucracy has presaged its inevitable downfall. The wound inflicted upon the hearts of Indians by this insult can only be healed by the balm of *swaraj*. Let this insult kindle the fire of your determination to win *swaraj* and to throw the Bureaucracy into that fire. As in the case of Ravan and the Kauravas, let them taste the fruits of their misdeeds.

United Provinces Council.

The *Vikram* regards as an insult to the Council that the Government did not give effect to its resolution regarding the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the release of political prisoners. It asks if members of the Council have not yet realised the hollowness of the Reforms and suggests that they should withdraw themselves from the Council until the new Governor meets their wishes.

Labour.

Emphasising the need of organising cultivators and labourers, the *Vartman* says: The struggle for winning *swaraj* will be far more terrible than is generally supposed. For winning the war we want a huge number of soldiers and in order to keep up the course of sacrifices and to continue feeding the fire of Bureaucratic wrath, it is essential that all classes should join the Congress and prepare their soldiers for the coming war. Recounting the various difficulties and disabilities of the labourers the *Kartavya* says: Until the Indian labourers form themselves into a powerful organisation, the major part of the population of the country will continue to remain in misery.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer,
United Provinces.

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The Near East.

The situation in the Near East continues to attract attention in spite of the pre-occupations of the Press in connection with the Congress and other National gatherings. The *Pioneer* thinks that if the Turks are reasonable in their demands, they can obtain peace with honour and an opportunity for reconstituting the Turkish State on a sound and stable basis. They have nothing to gain by persisting in their present recalcitrant attitude, by which they stand to lose much, if not all, that they have secured by their victory over Greece. The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, referring to a rumour in Lucknow of war between Turkey and Britain, says that in case of a war the political situation in India will undergo a rapid change. The split in the Congress will become a thing of the past and in the struggle of an Asiatic nation for freedom, even the Liberals will not refrain from extending their sympathy to the Turks. In another article, the paper considers the situation as most revolting to Asia, for this has only one meaning to all the Asiatic countries, namely, that Europe is out to stifle the nationalism of a great Asiatic Power. Referring to the British attitude regarding Mosul, the paper says that the whole Lausanne proceedings stink in the nostrils as a studied move for the extinction of Turkey in Europe and of Turkish power ever rising in Asia. The *Independent* thinks that the situation at Lausanne Conference calls for friendly conversation in a spirit of "give and take." It feels that there will be no war. But should war break out the whole world will know that it is not the British Empire's war, nor England's war but Lord Curzon's war. The *Hamdam* holds that the intrigues of the British have sufficiently warned the Turks to disregard their threats. The Turks depend on God who is the avenger of national wrongs. Men of such determination should not be treated with contempt. The *Leader* apprehends that there will be widespread trouble in this country if war breaks out between the Allies and the Turks. But it believes, in spite of the very gloomy outlook in the Near East, that the forces of peace will triumph and that reason and commonsense will prevail on both sides, while justice and not Imperialistic greed will be the dominating note of the Allied policy in the Near East. The paper is confident that a peaceful settlement will be arrived at which will be greatly to the advantage of the British Empire. The *Mansur* says that while the Turkish demands in regard to the capitulations and the Straits are just and equitable, those of the Allies, specially of Britain, are inspired by mere self-interest. The *Haqiqat* holds that whatever the result of the Conference, the outbreak of a fresh war is impossible as neither Turkey wants it nor is Britain ready for it. The paper further says that the result of the Conference cannot be the repetition of the treaty of Sèvres as the Turks are negotiating as conquerors and Ismet Pasha cannot be cowed down by Lord Curzon's threats. The *Hamdam* strongly hopes that the Turks will come out successful in the Lausanne Conference and the settlement will be a harbinger of peace and order in the Near East. The paper agrees with His Highness the Aga Khan's opinion that a powerful and friendly Turkey will be a source of great strength to Britain and that a union between the two countries will be an effective guarantee for the world peace. The *Hurriyat* warns the Turks against referring their demands to the League of Nations which is no more than a clique of the European Powers to carry on the

exploitation of Asiatic countries. The *Hamdam* ridicules Lord Curzon's arguments for the retention of the Mosul oil fields and says that British greed for the Mosul oil fields will perhaps sacrifice the peace and tranquillity of the Near East. The *Aj* attacks Lord Curzon for having won over France and Italy to his side by his persuasive art, promises of concessions and fear of future consequences, and says that an Asiatic Federation, as pointed out by Mr. C. R. Das, becomes a necessity.

The Gaya Congress.

Considerable interest has been shown in the proceedings of the Gaya Conference. While the comments in the Extremist papers are marked with reserve and lack of enthusiasm, the *Leader* says that the Gaya Congress has failed to give the right lead to the country. Its labours have made confusion worse confounded. Thousands that went to Gaya for light must have come back considerably befogged. Referring to the secession of Mr. Das and his party the *Leader* holds that the split in the Congress camp is a real one and is by no means of a nominal nature. It welcomes the split as indicating a healthy development. But it sees a great deal of camouflage in the manifesto which would not have been probably necessary if the leaders of the new organisation had not almost inextricably committed themselves to Mr. Gandhi's programme. Starting with the idea of wrecking the Councils from inside, the new party is proceeding to apply itself to destroying the Congress itself. The *Pioneer* thinks that the resolutions passed at the Gaya Congress will organise the forces of sedition and fears that the seditionist campaign which is about to be started would furnish a fruitful soil for the machinations of the Bolsheviks. It characterises Mr. Das's address as an appeal to the loftiest sentiments of humanity but in view of the bloody events which have followed upon revolutionary agitation in India in the past three years, the paper is amazed that a man of Mr. Das's education and knowledge of affairs should embody these fantasies in a speech for public consumption. It regrets that Moderate politicians as a body are not devoting more energy to combating the activities of an agitation which is now directed against property as well as against the existing constitutional régime. The *Leader* is disappointed in Mr. C. R. Das's speech, which it says is the speech of the leader of a party which knows that it has failed to "deliver the goods," which has broken to the heart the word that it spoke to the ear, but which is unwilling to own its failure or defeat. It regards the speech as a curious amalgam of constitutional history, constitutional law, metaphysics, philosophy, mysticism, obscurantism, casuistry, hope and despair. It thinks that Mr. C. R. Das is out for a class-war. It is the speech, says the paper, of a man who feels that his mission has failed and whose methods have yielded no results. It is the speech of a man obsessed with false notions of prestige obscuring his judgment and dimming his vision. It has no doubt that the speech will be barren of all results excepting one and that is that it will make confusion worse confounded. The *Advocate* applauds the presidential address as a "masterly and superb performance," which has shattered the cobwebs of the critics of the great non-cooperation movement and has knocked the bottom out of the pretensions of "Law and Order" of the Indian Bureaucracy and its satellites and has placed before the country the true ideal of nationalism. According to the *Indian Daily Telegraph* the address compares with the best pronouncements of the Indian National Congress in its best days. "In language it bears the mark of a great literary genius; in ideas, of a forceful thinker; and in the succinct presentment of arguments shines the eminent lawyer. The entire speech is conceived in the happiest vein, free from any acrimony of current differences, blurred by no personal predilections, but actuated by one, unerring vision of a free India,—a full, straight and forcible survey of the present situation and the remedy." It hopes that the entry of Mr. C. R. Das and his party into the Council will silently revolutionise the Government of the country. The infusion of new blood into the Council will give the virility to the Liberals which at

present they lack. Referring to the proceedings of the Gaya Congress, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the intellects of the country that gathered at Gaya are certainly more imposing than the fifty-man show at Nagpur, where the president had to wait for half an hour for the chairman of the Reception Committee. The Congress has resolved to leave the Councils severely alone, thus relieving the Government and the Moderates of a good deal of anxiety. Referring to the new party, the paper says that their attitude will be watched with anxious concern. It would be well if they boldly affirmed a policy of responsive cooperation and coalesce with the Liberals, with a firmer voice and a steadier step. The *Independent* holds that Mr. C. R. Das's address is a lucid statement of the principles of nationalism. It is forceful, energetic and life-giving. It agrees with Mr. Das in his rough scheme of *swaraj* and says that it is the only scheme erected on historical foundations and suited to the genius of the Indian people. It hopes that Mr. C. R. Das's clear exposition of the case for Council entry will carry conviction to all doubters and holds that the suggestion of labour and peasant organisation is one of the greatest importance, as the people of the country are mostly peasants and labourers. The paper is not satisfied with the decision of the Congress in respect of the Council elections and says that there are two distinct courses which can be followed by the Congressmen. They may either accept the decision of the Congress as final and work it or, while doing nothing against the present decision as long as it stands, seek to have it reviewed again by the Congress itself in a special session. The *Independent* is glad that Mr. C. R. Das's party has refused to accept the decision of the Congress as final and strongly hopes that the new party will very soon be the majority party of the Indian National Congress. The more important Hindi papers are loud in their praise of Mr. C. R. Das's address. The *Vartman* while criticising his plea for Council entry, says that the speech is unique in the history of the Congress. "His exposition of the right of the people to revolt will shake the Bureaucracy to its fibres." The *Vikram* says: The address is of vital importance. The lofty ideals preached by Mr. Das can be practised in everyday life. The speech will infuse life into lifeless minds and inspire the exhausted workers with a new hope. It is a life-giving message and has the power of rousing the nation. Writing in a similar strain, the *Pratap* says: Mr. Das has elucidated the problems of the country so comprehensively that the workers can have no doubt as to their duty. We pray that God may grant India the wisdom and strength to follow the path chalked out by Mr. Das. The *Aj* says: The fearless and independent views expressed by Mr. Das will greatly help the cause of the Congress. Very few Hindi papers have so far commented on the resolutions passed at the Congress. The *Aj* deplores the split over the resolution relating to Councils and says that the delegates ought to have followed Messrs. Das and Nehru, the most capable among the leaders. It regrets that the Congress allowed itself to be dominated by the *Khilafat* party and remarks that national service cannot be rendered under the lead of Maulanas and Pandits. The paper says in conclusion: We cannot hope for the success of the programme placed before the country by the Congress, for our goal remains undefined and we do not know what we are struggling and suffering for. The *Vartman* rejoices that the resolution favouring entry into Councils, which would have tarnished the sacredness of the non-cooperation movement, has been thrown out and says: Views in favour of a general revolution are gaining victory. It has been decided to uproot the citadels of Imperialism and to establish *swaraj*. Young men prepared to give up their lives are waiting eagerly . . . Now revolution is not far off. Break the chains of slavery at one jerk. *Satyagrah* is your weapon of victory and jails and gallows are your fields of battle . . . Labourers should now be ready and display their valour in the national battle. The time has now come for a real battle . . . The day is not distant when we

shall unlock the prison gates to release our brethren and welcome them on behalf of a free India. The *Hamdam* while holding that the presidential address is full of many controversial subjects, agrees with Mr. C. R. Das that "law and order" has been the excuse for repression and coercion on the part of the Government. It urges that his suggestions regarding foreign propaganda should no longer be ignored. It regrets the rejection of the resolution on Council entry as the greatest national misfortune. The Congress majority has failed to give a lead. A mere march on the beaten track of *khaddar*, national institutions and subscriptions will lead to no useful results. The *Hurriyat* is opposed to the scheme of *swaraj* propounded by Mr. Das and says that it may be useful in a Bolshevik country but its adoption in India will be fraught with evil consequences. It ridicules the idea that a mere stoppage of cow-killing on the part of the Muhammadans and of stopping music before mosques on the part of Hindus will solve the Hindu-Muslim problem. The *Najat* deplores the differences in the Congress Camp on the question of Council entry and the definition of *swaraj*. The *Al Bureed* advocates a change in the Congress programme and says that it will mean no disrespect to Mahatma Gandhi.

The Liberal Federation.

With the exception of the *Leader*, the papers which have so far commented upon Mr. Sastri's address at the Nagpur Conference have severely criticised it. According to the *Leader* Mr. Sastri's address is a carefully thought-out utterance, a thoroughly business-like speech which approaches the whole question of self-government from a practical point of view. It is a clear, firm and dignified statement of the Liberal position and the aims and aspirations of the Liberal Party, of their differences with their countrymen and the Government. The speech is worthy of his reputation as a constructive statesman and a devoted servant of India. According to the *Pioneer*, the main feature of Mr. Sastri's address is a persistent and insistent demand for a speedy constitutional advance. The paper deplores that the Liberal Federation at Nagpur should have by formal resolutions thrown doubt on British good faith and British promises. It is astonished at the Liberals' demand for speedy action in granting full responsible government to India. Referring to the Indianisation of the Army demanded by the Liberals, the paper says: This attitude would be bad enough if India were free from organised revolutionary agitation; in existing circumstances it is deplorable. In an article headed "The Summit of Wisdom" the *Independent* severely criticises the attitude of the Liberals and says that they have willingly and knowingly merged themselves in the Bureaucracy. They cannot afford to think of other matters. Their first thought is to appease their partners by coming into line with them. Commenting upon Mr. Sastri's address, the paper says that his speech is remarkable for the absence of a single sentiment or passage calculated to inspire the hearer or the reader. The paper deplores the omission of a reference to Mahatma Gandhi and the Akali *satyagraha*. Mr. Sastri's speech is admittedly a party address which leaves out questions of general interest. The present position of the Moderate party is that of coparcenary with the Bureaucracy. Like the Bureaucracy the Moderates desire no change in the system of government. Between them the Bureaucracy and the Moderates hold all the offices, the former generally holding most of the high salaried posts. Each section has its organisation for watching and promoting its interests. What the Civil Service organisation is to the Bureaucracy, the Liberal Federation is for the Moderates. The Extremist Hindi papers are no less strong in criticising Mr. Sastri's address. The *Vartman* ridicules Mr. Sastri's pleas for the adoption of constitutional methods and asks what the people should do when the rulers perpetrate atrocities, enter the people's houses and commit robbery, dishonour women, shower bombs, make people walk on their knees, have them flogged after stripping their clothes, prohibit meetings and gag the people. The paper

thinks that the time has come for the disappearance of Moderates as happens at the beginning of revolutions. The *Vikram* writes: The speech of Mr. Sastri is the speech of the leader of one party and only those who want to remain inactive can appreciate it. The self-respect of the country will not accept the advice of Mr. Sastri that the people should have faith in Government. Does he think that the people will shut their eyes to the inhuman atrocities and kicks of the Government and seek alliance with it? The *Aj* writes: The speech is devoid of those high ideals which shake a nation to its foundations. One looks in vain for such lofty ideas as are to be found in Mr. Das's speech.

The Khilafat Conference.

The proceedings of the *Khilafat* and *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* Conference have not yet been commented upon by the Vernacular Press, with the exception of the *Aj* which commends the address of the president of the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* to the leaders of the Hindus and other religions and asks whether they will also make the declaration that there can be no religious progress without national freedom. The paper holds that no nation in the world can make religious or social progress in a state of subjection. The *Independent* considers Dr. Ansari's address at the *Khilafat* Conference as a well-considered pronouncement on the future work to secure to the *Khilafat* its rightful position. But it does not agree with Dr. Ansari's views about contesting Council elections. His suggestions, says the paper, of alternative parallel polling booths to which pro-Congress voters may flock is not workable. It will be a mock polling and cannot create the necessary enthusiasm either among the canvassers or among the voters.

The Christian Conference.

The Christian Conference held at Lucknow has received considerable attention, and the Indian Press generally welcomes the entry of Indian Christians into the field of politics. The *Leader* particularly commends the definite lead given by its president and the chairman of the Reception Committee in the matter of communal representation. The Indian Christians, says the paper, have shown notable foresight in declaring themselves unhesitatingly against communal representation. According to the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, self-reliance was the dominant note of the Indian Christian Conference. It hopes that the high ideal of freedom from communalism will permeate the Christians. No wiser lead could have been given to the community than the appeal not to be communal in politics. With leaders who think and act with such higher patriotism and active concern for their future, the progress of the Indian Christians must be decidedly assured. The *Independent* says that the evidence of a growing desire among the Indian Christians to take their legitimate share in national activities is a welcome sign. It suggests that in future the Christian community should hold its annual conference at the place where the Congress holds its session. It applauds its resolution in respect of communal representation. The *Hamdam* is gratified at the reference in the President's address to the services of Mahatma Gandhi and the resolution demanding his release. The paper contrasts with regret the attitude of the Liberal Conference whose chairman denounced the non-cooperators in terms which even the Anglo-Indian papers have not dared to use. The *Christian Nationalist* in its Christmas message severely criticises the British Government in its attitude towards non-cooperators and says: There are some thoughtful Christians who resent the term "non-cooperation" but have they asked why it sometimes becomes inevitable? Could the parents of Jesus cooperate with Herod, who was thirsting for the blood of the Golden Child? Not till Herod, the arch-tyrant was dead, could the parents of Jesus step in his domains. Cooperation was only possible with the humble shepherds, not with King Herod whose object was foul and selfish. "England, give up pride and prestige. Repent and atone for what you have done to India. Release Mahatma Gandhi and other

brave patriots. Come to terms with the country, that you have exploited and misruled. Let the people have *swaraj*." The *Vikram* welcomes the signs of awakening among Indian Christians and hopes that they will soon achieve the distinction of helping in the emancipation of their motherland.

Civil Disobedience.

The Congress Working Committee's decision with regard to Civil Disobedience is severely criticised by the *Leader*. It says: "Already the non-cooperators have squandered about a crore of public money on projects which have yielded no durable results but have ruined the careers and blasted the prospects of many. The spirit behind the move is purely destructive and it will have to be met by all the stable forces in the country, which cannot view with equanimity the inauguration of an era of anarchy, or lawless repression." In its opinion the key to the situation probably lies in an early conclusion of a satisfactory peace with Turkey. The *Pioneer* regards as certain that attempts to institute some form of civil disobedience will be made sooner or later. It urges Indian constitutionalists to take the sound advice of Sir Maneckjee Dadabhoy and tackle the problem of non-cooperation with energy and determination, instead of clamouring for a constitutional advance which is impracticable so long as the menace of non-cooperation continues. The *Lokmanya* exhorts the people to prepare for Civil Disobedience which is the only means of the attainment of *swaraj*.

Political propaganda.

The *Democrat* emphasises the need for propaganda among the masses as they are not yet inspired with that passion for freedom which characterises the regeneration of a nation. The people at large must be aroused from this slumber. They must feel that life is worth nothing without *swaraj* however it may enjoy other worldly pleasures. This sacred passion for liberty must thrill the whole country with a noble rage and break down all other calculative and worldly considerations. It exhorts the young men to go from village to village and preach from every house-top with absolutely non-violent spirit the gospel of freedom till the masses are roused from their apathy or the workers die in the attempt. Some Extremist Hindi papers are laying a good deal of emphasis on the need of a non-violent revolution. Under the heading "We shall revolt" the *Vartman* writes: We are preparing for a non-violent revolution. Even a thousand bureaucracies cannot stop the terrible revolution of ours. We have been secretly making preparations for a revolution . . . The day is near when every province will be a field for *satyagrah* . . . We shall bring about that day when the waverers will also be forced to sacrifice themselves in the fire of revolution or they will have the same position as was accorded to Mr. Collins and Mr. Griffith in Ireland. The *Swarajya* writes: Being unable to bear the atrocities and injustice of this cruel Bureaucracy any longer, we are impatient for *swaraj*. Satya Bhakta, editor of the *Pran Vir*, contributes an article to the *Swaraj*, in the course of which he urges that the goal of the Congress should be complete independence and that the means for its attainment should be organisation of labourers and cultivators and the boycott of British goods. The *Independent* welcomes the decision of the Congress to take up the work of organising labour and expects that a large mass of labourers will range itself by the side of the Congress-Khilafat-Swaraj Party. The *Mecca Medina* draws the attention of the Hindus and Muhammadans to the imperative necessity of formulating a compact for future work and cooperation. The cow question and the echo of the Hindu-Muslim riots, says the paper, will not help in organising a national union.

Bolshevism.

Mr. Roy's programme for the National Congress cabled by Reuter has been regarded as an attempt to discredit the Congress. The *Advocate* protests against the suggestion that the Indian National Congress receives inspiration from the

Bolsheviks. While admitting that the ideal of complete independence is the highest national ideal, the paper does not think that it is either practicable or desirable under the present circumstances. It does not agree with Mr. Roy that any measure of self-government or *swaraj* under the Imperial hegemony of Britain will not amount to anything. In its opinion no responsible Indian leader will subscribe to the idea of confiscation of large estates and abolition of landlordism. To say that Indian leaders are inspired by Bolshevik ideals because there is some resemblance between certain items of the programme drawn up by Mr. Roy and those of the Congress programme, is a gross perversion of truth. There is not the ghost of a chance of India substituting the leadership of Lenin for that of Mahatma Gandhi. The *Leader* agrees with the *Times of India* in asking why it should have been thought worth while to cable three columns of Bolshevist delirium to this country. The authors of the scheme would not otherwise have received one-hundredth of the publicity which has been given to them by Reuter. Was it merely the enterprise of a smart news agency or something else? The *Hurriyat* says that the affair is a piece of propaganda on the part of Reuter's agency which has taken advantage of the present split in the Congress Camp, and remarks that Indians should stand on their own legs and not look to the Bolsheviks for help. The *Pioneer* says with reference to Mr. Roy's programme that the danger involved in Bolshevik propaganda cannot be ignored either by Government or by those members of the community who possess stakes in the country. The non-cooperation agitation has created an atmosphere favourable to the development of militant lawlessness and there are obvious and cogent reasons why the sinister proceedings of the leaders of that agitation should be actively opposed by all who are concerned in the preservation of property and of the public peace. According to the *Independent*, the object of giving publicity to Mr. Roy's programme is to damn the Indian National Congress as a body depending for its inspiration on the Bolsheviks and alienate from it the sympathies of the landlords, employers, traders and the professional classes. It does not agree with Mr. Roy that the reconstructive programme as sketched out by him will work for the best interests of society. "Our faith is in non-violent non-cooperation based on love-force. Mr. Roy's plan has no room whatever for love-force."

Organisation of Hindus.

Hindi papers of all shades of opinion continue to emphasise the need for organisation of Hindus. The *Vikram* writes: We see that our religion is receiving fresh blows every day and yet we are not roused from our insensibility. The flow of the Holy Ganges is being obstructed. Slaughter houses are to be erected for the slaughter of cows. In connection with the construction of a railway line near Paharganj, Delhi, tombs are to be preserved, but temples are to be demolished . . . Your *sanyasis* are in jail . . Jagadguru Shankaracharya, the head of your religious community, has been assailed by the Bureaucracy as the sun is covered by an eclipse. Does your religious sensibility still remain unaffected?. . . Open your eyes, come to the field, and by resorting to *satyagraha* tell the inebriated Bureaucracy that its atrocities and our forbearance have reached their limit.

Indians in Colonies.

Commenting upon the commercial boycott of Asiatics in South Africa, the *Azad* remarks that two duties are incumbent upon the Indians. Firstly the Government of India should be compelled to retaliate against the South Africans and secondly the Indians should be prepared to discharge their duties to their country and nation in the same way as the South Africans are doing. The *Hamdam* protests against the boycott and condemns the *Pioneer's* attempt to throw responsibility for this upon the shoulders of the non-cooperators. There is a vast difference between the two movements. The Indian movement is for the freedom and emancipation of India, while the Colonial movement is to enchain the Indians in fetters of slavery. The *Hurriyat* accuses Mr. Sastri of

achieving nothing in his Dominion tour although it involved a large expenditure of money. Referring to Mr. Andrews' statement with regard to the treatment of Indians in South Africa and other Colonies, the *Independent* says: "No talk of Britannic Commonwealth of Nations, no original membership of the League of Nations, no tours by sagacious individuals selected by the Government of India can mask the truth. The only way to bring about a change is for India to secure political freedom herself."

Malabar train tragedy.

The Indian Press is dissatisfied with the result of the prosecution of officers in connection with the Moplah train tragedy. The *Leader* does not question the judgment of the Magistrate but says: If a similar occurrence had taken place in, say England, it is quite conceivable that the persons immediately in charge might similarly be held not guilty of any criminal offence by a dispassionate judge. But we make bold to think that there such an event cannot pass away without at least somebody in executive authority being held responsible for it. The *Independent* says that the judgment in the case is bound to have a very damaging effect on public opinion against the administration of justice in cases where Government employees are involved or where there is a racial element. The *Al Bashir* holds that the tragedy was in no way less horrible than that of the black-hole and deplores the result of the prosecution. The *Hurriyat* says that the prosecution of officers was launched with a view to white-washing the crimes of officials. Such incidents will be repeated so long as the present system of Government lasts. British justice can still be vindicated by liberally compensating the families of the victims of official negligence.

Imprisonment of Shankaracharya.

The imprisonment of Jagadguru Shankaracharya is being represented by the Extremist Hindi papers as an insult to Hindu religion. The *Lakshman* asks if Hindus will, like mute-cattle, bear quietly this insult to their spiritual guide and their religion. The *Aj* says: Indians will be shocked and amazed and cut to the quick at the news of the sentence on Jagadguru Shankaracharya. We do not know where the senses of this Bureaucracy have gone, for it continues to deal blows upon blows on the vitals of this huge nation. The *Vikram* writes: In the intoxication of power the rulers have lost their senses. As the Jagadguru is a religious leader, the Government had no cause to fear him. He would not have caused any harm to Government, but from the prison he can put an end to the autocratic rule over India. He has done his duty. Now we in our turn should follow his example by our readiness to suffer and even to die for our ideals.

The Services Commission.

Commenting upon the proposed Royal Commission for an inquiry into the condition of Indian Civil Services, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* sees no need for a Royal Commission. "To a country that has to refuse medical aid to the sick poor because of financial stringency, any proposal to sanction more pay to the services to attract men of imaginary prowess is a positive injustice." To the paper the Royal Commission has only one significance—that the Civil Services are still powerful and that the Indian zone in diarchy is helpless. The *Leader* thinks the Commission can serve no useful purpose under India's present circumstances.

Administration.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* congratulates His Excellency the Governor on the wisdom, foresight and courage that characterise his action in withdrawing the Criminal Law Amendment Act. It is a bold and statesmanlike act, says the paper, and urges the release of political prisoners who went to jail for a definite issue which has now been settled.

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United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 13th January, 1923.

The Near East.

The Muslim Press continues to be apprehensive of the failure of the Lausanne Conference and of serious complications in the case of a rupture. The *Hamdam* sees in the movement of British warships an indication of the attitude of the British towards the Turks, and says it will not be surprising if a Turko-British war breaks out. The Turks are equally determined and are prepared to sacrifice their all for the protection of Islam. The *Hindustani* alleges that the Allies are intentionally prolonging the Lausanne Conference with a view to set up a new Balkan alliance against Turkey. The *Al Khalil* thinks that Britain has some ulterior aims in its claim to Mosul, and adds: With swords in the hands of Turks it is idle to think that the British will be able to retain Mosul. The *Najat* apprehends a war in the Near East in which the Turks and Bolsheviks will fight against Britain, and which will end in dealing a severe blow to British prestige and the vital limbs of the British Empire at Suez and the Persian Gulf will be irretrievably damaged. The *Hurriyat* remarks that Lord Curzon's persistence in his policy will engulf the world in a fire which will prove ruinous to hundreds of nations. The Hindi papers also show concern at the prospect of a war with Turkey. The *Aj* says that if a war breaks out between Turkey and England, it will be impossible for Indian Muslims to remain calm and the Hindus and the Sikhs will side with them. The paper, however, hopes that a warning from Lord Reading that a war with Turkey will produce a very bad effect on India will deter the British Government from going to war. The *Pratap* advises Englishmen to establish friendly relations with Turkey and get from her in a friendly way what they cannot obtain by threats. The *Vikram* apprehends that a break-up of the Conference will be followed by a war in which Asia will be involved in a conflagration from one end to the other. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* supports the Turks in their demands and says that they are resolved to be free in their own land and will not tolerate any change. Referring to the punishment of two influential *Mujtahids* from Mesopotamia, the *Hamdam* remarks that in their greed for territorial aggrandisement the British statesmen do not care for the consequences of their actions.

The Paris Conference.

The failure of the Reparations Conference at Paris is regarded as a harbinger of a new war in Europe. The *Leader* thinks that the rupture has isolated Britain and united France, Italy and Belgium. It apprehends that Germany, driven to despair, may take to anarchy as the only way of defeating France. An angry and hungry Germany, consisting of about sixty million souls, cannot be doomed to destruction without its putting up a frantic struggle for self-preservation. France is pursuing a mad policy which cannot bring peace and which may easily lead to another conflagration, the effect of which will be widely felt and will stimulate uncontrollable disruptive forces. In the opinion of the *Pioneer*, the possibility of an outbreak in Germany which would be beyond the power of the German Government to control, if the German people are driven to despair, cannot be overlooked. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regards the French military action in Germany as the deliberate action of a strong party against a weak party. It deprecates the French occupation of the Ruhr as national cannibalism and says: There is no Indian today who is not horror-struck

at this display of "civilisation" that comes from the land of the Gaul. The savage Hun is a lamb as compared with the savage Gaul. The *Independent* says: If France resorts to force, the consequences of isolated action in venturing to land among her enemies would indeed be dangerous for the peace of Europe. The *Hamdam* predicts a European war in case France persists in her warlike actions. The *Oudh Akhbar* condemns the attitude of France as calculated to ruin Germany and goad it into a war of revenge. The *Advocate* says that the failure of the Reparation Conference bodes ill for the future of Europe.

The Gaya Congress.

The Vernacular Press is unanimous in deploring the split in the Congress camp but shows a considerable divergence of opinion regarding the resolutions passed at Gaya. The *Bharat Bandhu* deplores the split, but thinks that a widespread political awakening cannot but give rise to differences of opinion. It hopes that in the absence of Mr. Gandhi, the nation will follow the lead of Mr. C. R. Das and adopt his programme. The *Prem* praises Mr. C. R. Das for the blow he has dealt at the very vitals of the Bureaucracy. He has torn into shreds the official cant of "law and order" and has completely exposed the Moderates and the cooperators. The *Vikram* deplores the split and holds that it is impossible for Mr. C. R. Das to follow the decisions of the Congress and at the same time to strengthen his party. The paper appeals to the leaders to act with unanimity in order to disperse the forces of the enemy. In another article the paper expresses the hope that Mr. Das will soon be able to bring the majority of the Congress to his view and that the work of his party will prove of the greatest help in the battle for India's freedom. The paper approves of the Congress resolution regarding repudiation of debts and says that such a step was necessary in view of the Government not taking sufficient steps to effect economy in expenditure. The *Pratap* regrets that the Congress did not pass a resolution favouring entry into Councils as in its opinion the contest for elections alone can supply the motive power needed to complete the constructive programme. It adds: The canvassing for votes would have furnished an opportunity of spreading revolutionary ideas among the people and to complete our organisation. The *Abhyudaya* thinks that the delegates have performed the last obsequies of the Congress at Gaya. Obstinacy, imprudence and egotism have thrown the Congress from the heights of the Himalayas into an abyss. Proceeding, the paper says: The Congress has now become a one-party organisation. Appeal was made not to intellect but to sentiment in the name of Mr. Gandhi and everything was done against the first principles of politics. The *Aj* deplores that the Congress allowed itself to be guided by Mullahs and blind followers of Mr. Gandhi and thinks that political salvation cannot be achieved by such a course. It therefore justifies the formation of a new party in order to counteract such influences and hopes that it will place before the country a practicable programme which will remove the present slackness in politics. The *Kartavya* apprehends that the split will hamper the national cause and doubts the ability of Mr. Rajagopalachari to lead the country. The *Haqiqat* regrets the rupture and thinks that the old Congress programme has lost its vitality. The *Azad* is dissatisfied with the Congress for having sacrificed its free opinion under the influence of the *Khilafat* party and adds: A country where political affairs are controlled and guided by Pandits and Maulvis is doomed to disgrace and humiliation. The *Mansur* also regrets the split but thinks that the country's salvation lies in following the programme of Mr. Das's new party. The *Oudh Akhbar* takes consolation in the thought that the Congress parties are manned by tried and experienced leaders. The *Hurriyat* hails with delight the resolution regarding the question of Council entry and the boycott of British goods, as expressing the real sentiments of the people. It regards the resolution on the repudiation of debts incurred by the Government of India as a first step towards Civil Disobedience. The *Oudh Akhbar* rejoices that the Congress

negatived the resolution in respect of the boycott of British goods but is surprised at the resolution regarding the repudiation of national debts and says that it will adversely affect the future loans of the Government. The *Hamdam* regrets that owing to the obstinacy of the majority in the Congress, the country has lost the guidance of prominent leaders and expresses the hope that the split in the Congress ranks will only be a passing phase and will soon be followed by unity and concord. The *Hindustani* approves the rejection of the Council entry resolution. Had the Congress passed the resolution, the Congressmen would have been fighting and wrangling among themselves. The *Mashriq* disagrees with Mr. Das's opinion regarding Hindu-Muslim unity and says that the Hindu-Muslim strife is due to political and economic reasons : let Hindus establish their rule by *swaraj* and cowslaughter will stop by itself. The welfare of the Muhammadans and the stability of the British Government are inter-dependent because the Hindus aim at the overthrow of the latter and the enslavement of the former. The *Hurriyat* deplores the formation of a new party by Mr. Das and remarks that it will cause discord in the country at a time when harmony is most needed. The *Mansur* urges the adoption of the programme recommended by Mr. Das and his party. The *Hamdam* apprehends that the two parties of the Congress will collide to the detriment of national interests. It favours the programme of the new party and says that there is room enough in the Congress for the activities of both the parties. It regards Mr. Rajagopalachari as an unpractical idealist, whose resolutions have evoked no enthusiasm in the country. Had the resolution of the boycott of British goods been passed it would have given a great shock to the British capitalists and the rulers of India and strengthened the *swaraj* movement. The *Advocate* approves of the formation of a new party under Mr. C. R. Das and says that it ought to be called the " Advance Congress Party." It fervently hopes that the programme and method of work of the new party will be elastic enough to avoid any friction with the majority.

The Viceroy's speech.

The Viceroy's speech at the meeting of the Associated Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta has been adversely criticised. The *Leader* does not agree with the Viceroy that the fiscal policy of India should be regulated in consultation with the Home Government. Such a consultation can hardly be regarded as consistent with the principles of fiscal autonomy which it is believed has been practically conceded to India. In the matter of tariffs, the paper asks if the recommendations of the Fiscal Commission are going to be treated almost as scraps of paper. The Viceroy's speech, says the paper, is likely to create misgivings which can only be removed by a clearer and more definite statement of Government policy with regard to the protection of Indian industries. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the chief interest in the speech of the Viceroy lies in the distinct threat that His Excellency has administered to the Congressmen who passed the Gaya resolutions. The paper warns the Government that the answer from the Nationalist party to its firm steps will be more deflections from the Gandhi programme, and adds : But when Lord Reading leaves his pose as the harbinger of repression and tries to play the rôle of a patriot, dreaming of a united, prosperous India where each community and class and interest works for the common weal he fails to carry the least conviction . . . Union does not come by the mere wish ; union can never be the result of a policy of divide-and-rule. The *Independent* sees in the Viceroy's speech an invitation to the Commercial interests to join hands with the Bureaucracy in such measures as might be taken to put down the activities of the Congress. With regard to the Viceroy's declaration that the Gaya resolutions do not constitute even a faint echo of the real voice of India, the paper says that both the majority and the minority parties of the Congress will give His Excellency their answer in deeds and not in words. If the legitimate work of the Congress is rendered technically

illegal by the use of extraordinary laws, as was done during the visit of the Prince of Wales, the responsibility for the consequences will rest on the Government. The *Hamdam* deplores the attitude of the Viceroy towards the Congressmen, and says that his professions of justice which he announced at the time of his appointment as Viceroy have been changed into an autocratic attitude under the influences surrounding him. The *Aj* strongly resents the remark that the Gaya Congress resolutions do not represent the popular voice, and says: Will Lord Reading have the courage to tell us with whose consent he is ruling India? Those very persons who have no connection with Indians, whose sole concern is to increase their own pay in spite of the financial stringency, and who have not the slightest sympathy for the troubles of Indians, come forward to say that the resolutions of the National Congress do not contain "even a faint echo of the real voice of India." Can there be a greater piece of impudence than this?

The Chauri Chaura case.

The *Independent* thinks that the sentence of death passed in the Chauri Chaura case will be received by all with a shock. That 172 men have to forfeit their lives is a thing that cannot but arouse in every one, even the learned judge who passed the judgment, serious thoughts about the adequacy of the existing criminology. It is a judgment on all responsible immediately or remotely for all the suffering of the victims of the tragedy and their kith and kin. The paper asks its readers to bear the result in a true Gandhian spirit. The *Oudh Akhbar* while admitting the necessity of keeping law and order by punishing the guilty, calls attention to the severity of the sentences and expects that the Local Government will exercise its powers of clemency. The *Hamdam* says that the severity of the sentence will excite rather than pacify the feelings of the people. It draws attention to the Katarpur riots in which a large number of Musalmans were murdered under similar condition yet no more than 12 rioters were condemned to death. The *Aj* points out that the murderers in the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy went unpunished and no punishment whatsoever was inflicted on those responsible for the Moplah train tragedy. The *Democrat* sees in the death sentence on 172 men a reminder that Indians are ruled by British justice. The *Pioneer* says: The lesson is a terrible one, and it is astonishing after this and other crimes committed by bands of "volunteers" and their associates that the feeling in India against the non-cooperators does not find more general and more emphatic expression.

Political propaganda.

In the course of a highly emotional article the *Vartman* takes the people to task for their love of ease, and says: Ease and comfort are not meant for slaves. It is a matter for shame that 33 crores of able-bodied Indians are tolerating their humiliating position. They should learn to die honourably, otherwise they will die a miserable death. It is a false fear that has frightened them, for they can reach the goal in one assault. In an open letter to Mr. Rajagopalachari, the *Vartman* urges him to place on the forefront such items of the Congress programme as would enable the country to put an end to the present injurious system of Government. The paper adds: At present we are not establishing a system of Government, but are only trying to win self-government. Therefore, in our programme we ought to lay the greatest emphasis on destructive methods which will enable us to win victory. The *Vikram* regrets that the Congress rejected the resolution advocating a boycott of British goods and says that the secret of success in a war is to take advantage of the enemy's weakness. The weakness of Englishmen, continues the paper, lies in their mammon worship. The whole aim of British rule is to enrich Manchester and Lancashire at the expense of India. Englishmen cannot bear a pecuniary blow, and they are bound to yield if their goods are boycotted.

Administration.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* congratulates the Ministers on their sacrifice in voluntarily foregoing a substantial portion of their salary and says that their example will exercise a wholesome influence all over India. It invites other Indian officers to follow the lead given by the Ministers and forego a portion of their salaries. Such an act would immediately draw to this country the admiration of the whole world. The *Independent* believes that the Ministers are actuated only by their sense of justice to the embarrassed Government they are serving and insinuates that the chief motive behind the decision is to do something that will appeal to the imagination of the people with a view to capturing votes at the next election.

The Vernacular Press is loud in its praise of His Excellency the Governor for having withdrawn the Criminal Law Amendment Act. The *Aj* applauds the action of the Governor and says that if he can also reform the Police of this province, there will be little danger of breach of peace.

ZAFAR OMAR,

The 13th January, 1923. *Publicity Officer, United Provinces.*

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 20th January, 1923.

The Near East.

As a result of the rupture of the Paris Conference, the papers take a more hopeful view of the success of negotiations at Lausanne and the prospect of an early peace. Comments on the affairs in the Near East are few and the bitterness of the tone of the Muslim Press *vis-á-vis* the British attitude has substantially decreased. The views of the Muslim Press may be exemplified by a note in the *Al Khalil* of Bijnor, which says that the British are now left alone in the Lausanne Conference and the reports sent round the world are manufactured for propaganda purposes, and in order to conceal the failure of the British aims. The continuance of peace negotiations in spite of the concentration of the British fleet and the war preparations on the part of Turkey, go to show that Britain is now anxious to secure peace without any loss of prestige, as it cannot fight the Turks single-handed. The *Hurriyat* remarks that in case of a war between Turkey and Britain, the situation in India will become very serious. Britain will get no recruits and will have to face risings in the country and on the frontier. The *Hamdam* thinks that the failure of British diplomacy at the Paris Conference will influence the situation at Lausanne in favour of the Turks. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* is delighted at the failure of the Paris Conference and says that England will now have to accept the Turkish demands, otherwise she will be driven out of Mosul, for France and Italy will not support her in a war with Turkey. The *Leader* welcomes the prospect of the final success of the Lausanne Conference as "a bright spot in a gloomy international sky," and hopes that the spirit of give and take which has so far eventually managed to triumph over the forces of irreconcilability and pride will conquer also the remaining obstacles to success. It advises the Allies to appreciate the Turkish standpoint with regard to Capitulations and to remain content with the assurance of fair treatment to foreigners which the Turks are prepared to give.

Indians in Colonies.

The Hindi papers continue to complain of the treatment meted out to Indians in the Colonies. With regard to Indians in Kenya, the *Vikram* says that if India were free, her inhabitants would not have been subjected to dishonour in foreign lands. The paper regards with satisfaction the inauguration of *satyagraha* by Kenya Indians and hopes that it will make the Government yield. The *Aj* gives some instances to show that Indians in the Federated Malay States are subjected to brutal treatment, that the chastity of Indian women is violated and that a woman was badly wounded by a Major owing to her inability to work in the field as she was in an advanced stage of pregnancy. Commenting on these, the paper asks: If such is the treatment of Indians in a part of the British Empire, what is the gain to them in remaining a member of the Empire? In the opinion of the *Independent* the entire question of Indian emigration to Colonies is the outcome of the inability of Indians to find for their poorer fellow countrymen ordinary human wants in their own country. It sadly remarks that children born in the land made fertile by the Ganges and the Indus have now to go to distant colonies and have to

submit to all the legal and illegal penalties awarded them to find the wherewithal for leading a mere animal existence. It calls upon the Indian leaders to plan some way of finding sufficient work for the poor Indians.

Political propaganda.

The *Leader* complains of the "short-sighted policy" that has been pursued by Government in dealing with the manifestation of political, economic, and religious unrest. It advises Government to set before itself a clear-cut constructive policy which may be acceptable to active political elements in the country, as a mere condemnation of the policy of direct action and the prosecution and clapping into jail of those who resort to it cannot strengthen its position, nor bring lasting peace to the land. It holds that Government's negative and obstructive policy is cutting the ground from underneath the feet of the Moderates, who have been anxious for peaceful development, and warns the rulers of India that the British Empire is menaced by many external hostile forces and that its real security lies in internal solidarity. If England is entangled in another great war and in the meantime the confidence and goodwill of the Indian people is not won by timely concessions, it may present quite a different spectacle to what it presented at the outbreak of the last war. The Government of India may be very conscious of its strength, but all the big guns and armaments of the Empire will not avail in the hour of need and adversity if there are nearly 300 millions of hungry, exasperated and disappointed people. In a highly emotional appeal to Indian youths, the *Jain Kesari* asks them if they will forget the Punjab wrongs and the fearful repression in the name of law and order and exhorts them to shout *Bande Mataram* so as to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies and break the fetters of subjection. In a letter to the *Vikram*, Babu Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi, ex-editor of the *Pratap*, emphasises the need for propaganda for capturing votes which it hopes will furnish an opportunity to prepare the villagers for civil disobedience. The *Kartavya* makes a passionate appeal to young men to enlist as volunteers for inaugurating civil disobedience and to be prepared for the very worst. "The heads of thousands will be broken one after another, rivers of blood of innocent men will flow, bombs will be dropped, but you should remain firm and calm on the battle-field." Emphasising the need for sacrifice, the *Vartman* says that no country can be prosperous without liberty which cannot be won unless the people offer their blood to the goddess of Liberty. The *Medina* urges the public to work wholeheartedly for the success of the Congress scheme regarding preparations for civil disobedience. "In spite of our present weakness and helplessness we are sure to gain a victory through devotion and perseverance. We should thoroughly prepare for a final war."

The Congress.

The split in the Congress Camp continues to be deplored. The *Vikram* apprehends that as a result of the split, the followers of the two parties will use up all their energies in mutual strife. It regrets the decision of the Congress regarding Council entry and says: "In order to remove the present slackness in the country it is necessary to introduce fresh items in the Congress programme and these should be of a kind which would provide opportunities for harassing the Government. It is necessary, by attacks from all quarters, either to compel the Government to reveal its inhuman and diabolical nature or to make it yield to public opinion." The paper lays emphasis on the need for propaganda in foreign countries in order to win over the sympathies of all lovers of freedom in the world. The *Bharat Bandhu* supports Mr. Das's views and hopes that the country will soon adopt them. The paper deplores the split but sees no reason for despair, for it thinks that the spirit of freedom has taken such a hold of the country that it cannot stop short of the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Garhwali* disapproves of the action of Mr. Rajagopalachari and his followers and doubts whether they will ever succeed in their

civil disobedience scheme. While deploring the split in the Congress camp, the *Pratap* thinks that the points of difference between the two parties are very few and hopes that national work will go on with a healthy spirit of emulation and that when the country is faced with a special danger or it is decided to come to grips with the enemy, both the parties will unite to march to victory or death. The *Hurriyat* says that in view of the decision of the Congress in respect of the Council entry, there is no justification for the formation of a new party opposed to its decision. It apprehends a great loss to the interests of the country if the new party does not soon retrace its steps. The *Medina* says that the passage of the resolution recommending preparation for civil disobedience has brought back the non-cooperation movement to the point from which it had receded. It adds that ruin and destruction are sure to befall the nation if the differences of opinion are not buried and the decisions of the Congress are not respected. It agrees with the views of Mr. Das on all questions with the exception of those on Council entry. The *Hindustani* is gratified that Mr. Gopalachari's party has softened its attitude and is desirous of coming to terms with Mr. Das's party. It points out that the increasing lustre and progress of Mr. Das's party is due to the fact that he aims at extending the scope of activity to Europe, America, and Central Asia. The *Al Khalil* is satisfied that the Congress has at last granted to the national workers the right of self-defence. It was the absence of this right alone that was responsible for the Chauri Chaura incident and the police excesses on the public. The *Al Burid* regrets that the Gaya Congress did not chalk out any new programme for the country and says that Mr. Das is not to be blamed for the formation of a new party. In its opinion the lack of a clear definition of *swaraj* is disuniting the Congress and the resolution regarding the repudiation of national debts is childish and ridiculous and can by no means affect the credit of the Government.

The Liberal Party.

Mr. Sastri's recent speech at Madras has been severely criticised by a number of papers. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that Mr. Sastri could not have opened his campaign better than by taking mud in both his hands and throwing it on the party that was holding the imagination and attention of India, leaving his gallant fifty to shiver at Nagpur. The *Hamdam* admires the pluck of Mr. Sastri in trying to convert the country to his view with the help of the 50 odd liberals who gathered round him at Nagpur, and ridicules the assertion of the Liberal party, in view of the narrowness of its influence, that it can win over the whole country by propaganda. It holds that Mr. Sastri's denunciation of the Congress will only result in extending its popularity. But considering the patronage of Government which the Liberals enjoy and the ample funds they command, the non-cooperators cannot afford to disregard their activities with contempt, specially at a time when disappointment and apathy is increasing in their ranks. The Liberal party's activities under Mr. Sastri are likely to close up the ranks of the non-cooperators and infuse a new life in the movement. If this happens the country will not hesitate to thank Mr. Sastri for his great services. The *Medina* remarks that Mr. Sastri's condemnation of the non-cooperation movement was due to his going over to Government side as a result of his being fêted in the Dominions and asks him whether the huge congregation at Gaya was an index of the death of the non-cooperation movement.

The Ministers' salaries.

The *Leader* warmly congratulates the Ministers on the public spirit shown by them in voluntarily surrendering 25 per cent. of their salaries and says that the generous response to the call for retrenchment and economy cannot but raise them in public estimation. They have subordinated all considerations to the paramount need of retrenchment and have thereby enhanced their prestige and given one more evidence of their eminent public spirit. The *Aj* says: Although wishing to congratulate the Ministers we cannot do so, for considering the financial condition of these provinces, even

Rs. 4,000 are excessive. Secondly, the time for showing such liberality was in the beginning but then they would not agree to the reduction of even a pice. In these circumstances it will not be regarded as mere irresponsible talk if any one attributes the liberality to the anxiety to smooth the path at the next election. The *Anand* pays a tribute to the self-sacrifice of the Ministers and expresses the hope that other high-salaried officials will follow the example and that the Civilians will not clamour for a further increase of pay. While congratulating the Ministers on their "novel" self-denial, the *Vikram* thinks that it was a result of the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee and urges that there is room for further reduction. The *Pratap* congratulates the Ministers on having learnt to make sacrifice but insinuates that this was undergone in the hope of improving their chances of re-election. Writing to the *Aj*, Mr. Sri Prakash (editor of the paper, on leave) says: The Ministers should not take more than Rs. 1,500 per mensem in addition to house-rent and travelling allowance. Even the small reduction voluntarily made by them is welcome, but if they had offered to reduce their salary in the beginning, their action would have evoked greater appreciation.

The *Leader* congratulates the Hon'ble the Raja of Mahmudabad on his patriotic action, and says that the spirit that has prompted him is one which will be widely appreciated. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* pays a tribute to the Hon'ble the Home Member's public spirit. The *Hamdam* offers grateful thanks on behalf of the tax-payers and hopes that the Government will fully appreciate the action of the Raja Sahib and devote the money to the construction of the Council Chamber which is being persistently opposed by the partisans of Allahabad.

The Chauri Chaura case.

While the *Pioneer* finds it difficult to analyse the mentality which can be capable of giving expression to sentiments expressed in certain papers, the Indian Press unanimously condemns the judgment on the ground of severity. The *Leader* says that the execution of no less than 172 dupes of the lawless propaganda of the non-cooperation movement cannot but cause revulsion of public feeling, and if the sentences are confirmed it will be for the Local Government to consider the administrative, as distinct from the legal, aspect of the question. It does not question the merits of the judgment but says that there is an administrative consideration which ought not to be overlooked. The *Vikram* regards the sentence as an indication of the cruelty and callousness of the Bureaucracy. The *Democrat* says that a wave of shudder will pass through the country at the vindictiveness of the judgment. The *Vartman* holds that the responsibility for the tragedy was on the Government officials, whose atrocities made the people frantic. This judgment, says the paper, will make the blood of Indians boil. "Those whose rule is based on tyranny and blood may well regard this as fair, but those whose hearts have a place for truth, justice, and righteousness will not fail to note the crookedness of the Bureaucracy." The *Abhyudaya* says: The judgment may be all right from the legal point of view, but in our opinion this legalised murder is a blot on human society and calls for a drastic change in law. It may be asked how many of the perpetrators of the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy were sentenced to death. In the opinion of the *Anand*, the effect of the punishment will be more terrible than that of the outrage itself. The *Pratap* regards the judgment as vindictive and as a murder of justice. The *Kartavya* says that while guilty officials, like those responsible for the Jallianwala Bagh and Moplah tragedies are let off, the people are hanged when they are guilty. Nothing better could be expected from the Bureaucracy. The *Hurriyat* holds the sentences to be very severe and says that the condemnation of so many persons to death will cause terror in the country and may give rise to some unrest.

Withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

The *Abhyudaya* expresses pleasure at the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act and learns that within a few days Sir William Marris has effected a reduction

of 25 lakhs in the annual expenditure. The *Hamdam*, the *Aryavart*, and the *Tohfa-i-Hind* welcome the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act as a far-sighted, liberal and courageous step on the part of the Governor and urge that all the persons convicted under this law should be released. The *Hindustani*, while approving the action, does not regard it as an indication of any change in the mentality of the Government and insinuates that the step has been taken with a view to rallying round the cooperators and loyalists who are getting disgusted with the present state of affairs. The *Al Khalil* advises the Government to restore to the political prisoners the concessions of which they have been deprived. The *Hurriyat* urges His Excellency to follow up the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act by the release of all political prisoners specially as a resolution to that effect has already been passed by the Council.

Boycott.

Urging the boycott of British goods, the *Vikram* gives figures to show that the boycott of British goods has told heavily on British mills and says: This is the punishment for the unspeakable atrocities committed upon us and for the gross humiliation to which we are subjected every day. Consistently with our principles, it is only the boycott of British goods by which we can punish the Bureaucracy, the members of which can slay our innocent men and women, can flog our children, and insult our women, and spit on their face, can insult us by making us crawl, can treat us brutally in their prisons and whose most reprehensible faults are regarded as errors of judgment.

Organisation of labourers.

Emphasising the need of organising labourers, the *Vikram* says: Those who live by manual labour, including agriculture, form not less than 90 per cent. of the population of the country. It can therefore be easily imagined how helpful these millions will be to us in our struggle for freedom. But owing to their ignorance and apathy they are of no use to us at present. In order to win them over we ought to establish Mazdur and Kisan Sabhas and organise the scattered forces of the peasants and labourers, diffuse education and Congress ideals among them and inspire them with aspiration for freedom. Once they incline towards us they will prove invincible even if all our enemies in the world are ranged against us. Victory will be in sight the moment these crores of men, with national flags and cries of *Bande Matram* march in front of our battle-field.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Near East.

Recent developments at the Lausanne Conference on the question of Mosul have shaken the confidence of the papers in the prospect of an early peace. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the news will be received with a shock as the people had been lulled into a false sense of security over Lausanne. Each moment is pregnant with dire possibilities and for a time all the little whispers between the two Congress parties must subside and give way to the Khilafat upheaval. The *Oudh Akhbar* takes a hopeful view although it admits that in view of the delicate questions regarding Mosul and the Capitulations, the chances of strife have not yet altogether disappeared. The *Aligarh Gazette* thinks that there is now no danger of a war between the Allies and Turkey and prophesies the death of Khilafat organisations as soon as peace is established between Turkey and England. Referring to the Greek military action in Thrace, the *Mansur* asks Britain to use her warships now concentrated at Constantinople against the Greeks who are again threatening the peace of the Balkans. It regards the possibility of a fresh war with equanimity as it will afford an opportunity to the Turks of again beating the Greeks. It also asks Britain that as she is so solicitous for the protection of Christian minorities at the Lausanne Conference, she should protect the Muslim minority also which is being oppressed by the Greeks. The *Najat* says that Britain stands today deserted as she never has been before and she will see things in the proper perspective only when she finds France opposing her in the Turkish policy. The *Hindustani* takes consolation in France's pre-occupation in Germany and hopes that the moment is near when the Turks will return victorious from the Lausanne Conference. Maulvi Abdul Majid of Budaun, writing in the *Hamdam*, urges immediate activity in enlisting the Angora legion in view of the possible breakdown of the Peace Conference. The *Aj* points out that the Turks are quite justified in insisting on the abolition of the Capitulations. The paper predicts that if there is a rupture in the Lausanne Conference, it will be on this question and that the British propaganda department will then try to deceive the people. No Asiatic nation, adds the paper, should agree to allow special rights to foreigners. The war which was to usher in an era of self-determination, has only led to an era of determination by the League of Nations, which is only the 20th century edition of the Holy Alliance. The *Independent* says that justice requires that Mosul should be returned to Turkey.

The Khilafat.

The ex-Sultan's journey to the Hedjaz is regarded by the Muslim Press as an attempt to set up a rival Khalifa at Mecca. The *Medina* accuses the British of using the ex-Khalifa to gain their own ends and says that they have set up a rival Khalifa with the object of creating discord in the Muslim world. It urges Indian Muslims to protest against the Khilafat of Sharif Husain who betrayed his country and religion and to proclaim that they recognise only the present Sultan Abdul Majid Khan as their

Khalifa. The *Hamdam* supports the proposal of the Angora Government to convene a meeting of Muslim theologians from different Islamic countries, including India, in order to solve the Khilafat question and advises the Central Khilafat Committee to leave the matter of selecting Indian representatives to the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. The *Aj* expresses the belief that the visit of the ex-Sultan to Mecca has been designed by the British with a view to create a split among Muhammadans, and warns them to be on their guard against this "crooked move."

France and Germany.

The crisis in Germany is being followed with close attention. The Indian papers are openly in sympathy with Germany, and deprecate the policy of France. Referring to the French action in Germany, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that with one leap France has "out-Hunned the Huns," and she stands before the world as the savage that she portrayed Germany to be. The *Leader* says: We can only shudder at the thought of the huge catastrophe France is trying to bring about in Germany, the effect of which will be felt all over Europe, but if Germany continues to offer a united front and fights with the weapon of non-violence and non-cooperation with France, the latter will sooner or later realise the futility and costliness of coercing a nation of about 70 million people. The *Independent* says that although France is the Power chiefly responsible for the happenings in Germany today, the other Powers cannot wholly escape responsibility. Notwithstanding the peculiar history of Franco-German relations, world opinion will not support France in a course of sabotage. France, owing to the course she is now pursuing in Germany, is fast losing the sympathy which the cry of President Poincaré in August 1914 evoked in the world. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that if France persists in her obstinate attitude, the world will not remain unaffected. But so long as Britain adheres to the policy of "wait and see" there can be no ground for anxiety in India. Although holding Germany to be innocent in the present case, the *Abhyudaya* congratulates France on her determination to crush her old enemy, for it holds that no nation deserves to live in whose heart does not burn the fire of taking revenge on the enemy. The *Aj* characterises French action as downright robbery and the French Government as an enemy of liberty and an apostle of brute force.

Political propaganda.

The *Independent* says that every time the Government puts itself in the wrong, the people take one step further in the path leading to preparedness to offer civil disobedience. It sees no point in the resolution to enrol 50,000 volunteers passed by the Congress. But if the Government were to take any action against such enrolment, then the question may arise of vindicating the people's right to associate freely. The entire programme of the Congress-Khilafat-Swaraj party will be framed with a clear perception of the truth that the growing volume of right on one side and of wrong on the other will alone create an atmosphere of preparedness for civil disobedience. The *Navayuga*, a new Hindi daily started from Allahabad, under the editorship of Pandit Gauri Shanker Misra, exhorts young men to enlist as volunteers in order to carry on national work. The paper condemns the proposed propaganda for capturing votes at the next elections and calls attention to Mr. Gandhi's view that the establishment of representative institutions of the Western type is against the best interests of the country. In another article the paper strongly criticises the programme of Mr. Das's party and says that the party has adopted Western methods of politics and has deviated from the path of non-violence. The *Shakti* emphasises the necessity of organising villages to enable them to take their due share in the struggle for freedom and suggests that Congress Committees should be established in every village so that the message of truth and fearlessness may be carried to every nook and corner of the country. The *Vartman* prophesies that Mr. Das's programme will fail and appeals to him and to his party to carry out the Congress mandate regarding the enlistment of volunteers and collection of funds in order

to free the country by means of civil disobedience. In another highly emotional article, addressed to Mr. Gandhi, the paper assures him that Indians in crores will propitiate the goddess of liberty with their blood. "Every drop of our blood will quake the earth and will banish for good the oppressors and murderers." The *Abhyudaya* warns the people against the dangers of civil disobedience and hopes that the people will not contribute towards the fund for inaugurating civil disobedience. The paper is of the opinion that the resolution about civil disobedience passed at the Gaya Congress was not meant to be carried out but was only put forward to win over the masses. The *Partap* makes an impassioned appeal to the people not to allow party differences to stop the national work, but to go on with the "constructive programme" in order to prepare the country for civil disobedience. The paper exhorts non-cooperators to capture the municipal and district boards at the next elections as it hopes that propaganda for this purpose will generate fresh enthusiasm in the country and further the work of organisation and the fulfilment of the "constructive programme." The *Vikram* appeals to both parties of the Congress not to allow the Bureaucracy to take any further advantage of the present slackness in the political agitation, but to carry on their respective programmes as the two arms of the same body. The views expressed by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the course of the interview granted by him to a press representative, have come in for a good deal of criticism in Extremist Hindi papers, the general opinion being that India's political salvation cannot be achieved by such methods as were indicated by Sir Tej Bahadur. The *Aj* writes: Nothing can be achieved unless India makes herself strong enough to be able to dispense as much as possible with cooperation with the Government, for in non-cooperation lies *swaraj* and in *swaraj* alone lies the power of solving all problems. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* exhorts Indian youths to take a lesson from the patriotic and determined Turks and devote themselves whole-heartedly to the recruitment of fifty thousand volunteers and the collection of twenty-five lakhs of rupees. The *Hurriyat* urges that all possible efforts should be made to make the pan-Asiatic movement a success, which is so necessary not only for the peace of the world but also to save the East from falling a prey to European diplomacy. The *Azad* opines that the country is not prepared for civil disobedience and that any attempt to that end is a mere waste of time. The *Oudh Akhbar* approves of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's views recently expressed to a representative of the Associated Press regarding Indianisation of the Army and other services and the slackening of the control of the Secretary of State over the Government of India and says that he has voiced the real sentiments of the Indians and that his views are specially weighty owing to his knowledge and experience of the inner circle of the Government of India. The *Najat* sees in the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act an attempt on the part of Government to deal a blow on the non-cooperation movement which draws its sustenance from repression and coercion and exhorts all non-cooperators to sink their differences and begin preparations for civil disobedience with greater enthusiasm.

The Reforms.

The Indian Press is dissatisfied with the Secretary of State's despatch on the question of further advance in Reforms. The *Leader* says that the Secretary of State's reply will cause little surprise in view of the attitude he is known to have adopted in the matter of the Indianisation of the services in India and the working of the Reforms. The *Independent* thinks the despatch will be an eye-opener to the Moderates who were patted as "good boys" by the officials in order to use them against the non-cooperators. In its opinion it is couched in the style of an inspecting officer's remarks on the work of the subordinates. It urges the Moderates to carry on vigorous propaganda among the masses side by side with the Congressmen.

The Congress.

The *Hindustani* holds that the Congress and Khilafat resolutions have affected the Lausanne Conference, sustained the Turks and embarrassed the English who will now hasten to make terms with the former lest the question of India also may arise in the Conference and lest on the arrival of the Khilafat deputation the high-handedness of the English in India may be exposed. The *Azad* deplores the passage of extreme and childish resolutions in the Congress and remarks that such resolutions not only make the Congress a laughing stock but are very likely to injure the *best* interests of the country. Non-cooperation has failed to defeat the Government. Now it is time to try other schemes for the benefit of the country and enter Councils to enforce popular rights. The *Najat* disapproves of the formation of the new party and urges that the Congress verdict must be unanimously obeyed, for in unity lies our strength. We must sink our differences and move forward united without retracing a step back. The *Haqiqat* hails the advent of the new party saying that there can be no doubt about the honesty and integrity of the organisation which is headed by such self-sacrificing men as Messrs. Das and Nehru and Hakim Ajmal Khan. The Bardoli resolutions having failed, some other means must be tried to achieve the national ends. The *Hamdam* remarks that if the activities of the majority party are confined to merely collecting 25 lakhs of rupees and enlisting fifty thousand volunteers, it is very doubtful if the half-hearted public will respond to their call.

Boycott.

The *Vikram* deplores that cloth merchants have again begun to import foreign cloth and makes a passionate appeal to them to refrain from doing so and assures them that if they stop the import of foreign goods, especially British goods, the whole country will be indebted to them for their invaluable help in the national cause.

Indian Arms Rules.

The *Pioneer* says that the report of the committee appears to afford a satisfactory solution of a problem bristling with difficulties. The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, while admitting that the committee have approached the questions with vision and understanding, says that their report will be received by the Indian Press with no enthusiasm. It will only serve to emphasise that the angle of vision has not yet changed and that Indians are still not trusted. It is unfortunate that a committee should have sat to emphasise this view at the present time. The *Independent* says that the only effective way to ensure the proper working of the Arms Act Rules is to do away with the need of enquiry except to find out whether an applicant comes within the schedule of "undesirable." It does not see the wisdom of restricting the exemptions to the propertied class. The *Oudh Akhbar* is dissatisfied with the report and says that it is futile for Indians to expect that a foreign nation which wants to rule over them will ever willingly give them the right of carrying arms freely. Whenever there is an agitation on this question, a commission is appointed. There is always a report, but nothing substantial comes out of it. The *Aj* severely criticises the Arms Act Rules and says that their administration in India is immoral and unnatural. It advocates the freedom of carrying arms by all citizens.

The Chauri Chaura case.

The Indian Press continues to condemn the Chauri Chaura judgment. In an article on the *Basant* festival the *Kartavya* reminds Indian youths that it is no time to celebrate a festival when the families of 172 men condemned to death will soon be left adrift in the world. Let them all espouse the cause of non-violent non-cooperation and sacrifice themselves in the struggle for liberty so as to break the fetters of slavery and enchained Mother India and put an end to the tyrannies of the tyrants. The *Haqiqat* says that the heavy sentences will make people regard the British courts in India as very cruel and oppressive and hopes that Sir William Marris

will show mercy to the convicts. It would be no far-sightedness to turn the Gorakhpur central jail into a scene of horrible deaths like the Chauri Chaura thana. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* deplores that indiscretion and lack of judgment on the part of the police sub-inspector resulted in the loss of lives of so many policemen and ignorant villagers and in the waste of public money. A little illegality on the part of officers results in great evils and it is therefore the officers who should first of all respect the law. The *Hamdam* condemns the legal validity of condemning so many men to death. The *Mansur* says that the severe judgment is bound to create hatred against British justice. The wholesale condemnation of 172 men to death is altogether unjustifiable. The *Azad* remarks that it is difficult to say that all the persons were equally guilty and expresses the hope that His Excellency will show clemency to these unfortunate persons and in order to meet the ends of justice and at the same time to satisfy the public sentiment of humanity will set aside the death sentence.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

Reports of fresh violence on Hindus at Multan and of a proposal to boycott them have revived in an acute form the discussion in the papers of the question of Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Vartman* warns the Hindus that if they fail to organise themselves for self-protection they will meet with a fate worse than that they met with in Malabar during the Moplah rebellion. It also warns the Muhammadans that *swaraj* cannot be won unless they solve the cow-question and the question of Hindu-Muslim unity, and that if Hindus and Muslims remain disunited they will continue to be ruled over by a third nation. Some kinsmen of General Dyer will blow them off with machine-guns and no discrimination will be made between Hindus and Muhammadans and that when bombs are dropped there will be abortions of Hindu and Muslim women alike. The *Oudh Akhbar* and the *Azad* offer heartfelt thanks to the Nizam of Hyderabad for stopping cow-slaughter within his State and commend his example and that of the Amir of Kabul to other Muslim States. The former also says that such an action will greatly strengthen Hindu-Muslim unity and the latter remarks that these prohibitions show that the stoppage of cow-slaughter is not against the Islamic laws and wonders why then the Muslims in British India should oppose efforts for cow-protection.

Hon. Home Member's salary.

The *Aj* is the only Hindi paper which has so far commented on the offer of the Hon. the Home Member to forego his salary. While appreciating the sacrifice made by the Raja Sahib, the paper thinks that he can render better service to the country as a non-official and adds: It is necessary that the Home Member should be one who can act independently, and in the present circumstances of the country it is impossible for a wealthy man like the Raja Sahib to come to grips with the officials at every step and give preference to the interests of the country over those of the Bureaucracy.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Near East.

Events in the Near East are being followed with close attention and the Indian Press throws the responsibility for the present deadlock at Lausanne on the Allies, specially Britain. The *Independent* remarks that if the treaty is found unacceptable and Turkey is forced to sign it, the responsibility will rest entirely on Britain, and feels sure that the world opinion will be wholly on the side of Turkey. Referring to the refusal of Turkish representatives to abide by the decision of the League of Nations regarding Mosul, the *Leader* writes: The Turks are thoroughly justified in distrusting the League of Nations, for, as at present constituted, it is merely a tool of the Allies and not an independent and impartial body. As regards the peace terms the paper says that among all the defeated nations the Turks have been offered by far the best terms and an honourable peace is within sight. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is dissatisfied with the peace terms and is confident that in a war between Britain and Turkey, Hindu sympathy with one accord will go forth to the Muslims. At the first sound of the cannon, the division in the non-cooperation camp will disappear and the British attempt to snatch Turkish territory will make Britain as much execrated as France today is execrated throughout the world. According to the *Pioneer*, Turkey is offered an honourable peace. If she is wise she will accept the offer without more ado. If she decides to make trial of the arbitrament of the sword, her decision can only end in disaster and humiliation. The *Nizam-i-Alam* accuses the Allies, and specially Britain, of being greedy of the oil-fields of Mesopotamia and of pursuing an anti-Turkish policy and says that in spite of all decisions arrived at in the Lausanne Conference, the question of Mosul and the Dardanelles will be settled by the arbitrament of the sword. The Musalmans should be prepared in every way for the coming war and should pray for the success of the Turks. The *Hamdam* thinks that in the event of failure of the Lausanne Conference very dangerous consequences will follow. We tremble to imagine the horrors resulting from a collision which must take place some day between the East and the West. The *Mansur* opines that the political firmament of Europe is dark with the clouds of selfishness and the desire for territorial aggrandisement and that the Allies have lost their reason to such an extent that a second war seems imminent. The *Oudh Akhbar* sees in Lord Curzon's attitude the possibility of Britain adopting measures against the Turks similar to those the French are taking against the Germans in the Ruhr and wonders whether the oil-fields of Mosul will lead to a bloody war between the East and the West. The *Medina* holds that the Turks have given enough proof of their peace-loving attitude and blames Mr. Bonar Law's Government. It insists upon the entry of Persia into the Lausanne Conference as she is interested in more than one way in its fate.

The Khilafat.

The *Al Khalil* thinks that the alleged transfer of his religious powers by the ex-Sultan to Shah Husain of the Hedjaz is due to a design on the part of the enemies of Islam to sow discord amongst the Muslims and to keep alive unrest

in the East. There can be none more treacherous than the Sharif of Mecca in the Muslim world, as he is proving an instrument for the ruin of Islam.

The Reforms.

The Indian Press continues to criticise bitterly the Secretary of State's Dispatch on the demand for an acceleration of the pace of constitutional progress. After a detailed examination of the Dispatch, the *Leader* contends that the Act of 1919 is not being used as an enabling measure by those who ought to enable India to rise to self-government and hence it has nearly reached the limit of its usefulness. If India is to be a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth her right to freedom must be admitted without any qualification or reservation not applicable to the other members thereof, and she should be trusted to use that freedom in the same spirit of responsibility in which the others exercise theirs, and with equal advantage to the Commonwealth. The *Aj* says: "Lord Peel has frustrated the hopes of those who pinned their faith on Reforms, but we thank him for his plain-speaking betimes as it will enable the voters at the next elections to estimate at their proper worth the hopes which the candidates for Councils will hold out to them." In another article the paper says: For those who cannot give up their attachment to Councils the only course is that of obstructionism. They should create obstruction at every step, throw out the entire budget, oppose every official resolution and by a formidable volume of questions and meaningless resolutions render the work of Councils impossible. The *Vartman* regards the Dispatch as a fresh proof of the futility of agitation inside the Councils. The *Vikram* asks the Moderates if even now they will stick to the policy of mendicancy and refuse to join the non-cooperation movement. The *Lokmat* regards the Dispatch as a fresh slap on the face of the Moderates and as one more divine warning to those who expect crumbs from the Bureaucracy. The *Pratap* represents the Secretary of State attempting to treat the people of India as old men and school-masters treat their children and pupils. The *Navayuga* regards the Dispatch as an indication of the Secretary of State's desire to keep India's fetters of slavery as tight as ever and therefore appeals to Indians to give up the policy of mendicancy and to openly tell the Government that they do not want its sham gifts and will have recourse to non-cooperation until *swaraj* is established.

Civil Services Commission.

The entire Indian press strongly resents the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the organisation of the Civil Services in India. The *Leader* emphatically opposes the Commission and is of opinion that hardly any one in India wanted it and that it was appointed because the "die-hards" in England pressed for it. The circumstances surrounding its appointment are such that no Indian can regard the decision of the Secretary of State with anything but profound distrust. The *Pioneer* does not expect any enthusiasm for the Commission among members of the Services themselves, but is of opinion that the existing situation, which involves discontented services, a grave diffidence on the part of potential recruits, and Indian dissatisfaction with the position of the Services, demands a careful and speedy investigation if the administration of the country is to be maintained. The *Independent* regards the Commission as a piece of criminal extravagance and exhorts the people to redouble their efforts to replace the present Government of India by one more in touch with the heart-beats of the people. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regards the appointment of the Commission as intended to perpetuate the "steel frame" which will earmark for ever the field to be reserved for the "English boys" in the self-governing India of the future. The *Anand* thinks that the appointment of the Commission smacks of racial partiality and that it will accentuate unrest in the country and will lend countenance to the views of those who characterise Reforms as a sham and urge the people to keep aloof from them. The *Hamdam* apprehends that far from being beneficial to the country the Commission

will entail a heavy burden on the indigent Indian exchequer. The *Oudh Akhbar* thinks that undue importance is being attached to the grievances of the civil servants, and that in view of the financial stringency and the need of money for educational and social progress of the people the Legislative Assembly will never vote any additional amount in favour of the civil servants.

The release of political prisoners.

The release of political prisoners has been generally received with enthusiasm by all sections of the Indian Press, but some of the Extremist papers insinuate that it was only a diplomatic move on the part of Sir William Marris. The *Leader* is of opinion that His Excellency has shown courage and statesmanship which will evoke the highest appreciation throughout the land and touch the sentiment of gratitude of those who felt keenly the incarceration of their friends and relatives. The *Independent* writes: Our view has always been that none of the political prisoners should have been sent to jail. Their release is nothing more than an act of bare justice. However, under the existing Government it is only rarely that even bare justice is rendered. So we congratulate His Excellency on his just decision. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regards the release as a great act of statesmanship and says: It was left to His Excellency Sir William Marris to take this step alone in all India, in the same way that it was left for these provinces, mainly under his inspiration, to show self-sacrifice in salaries by an Executive Councillor and Ministers. A master hand has been visible everywhere, and the close student of Reforms has shown that he has understood the people well and knows how to handle a difficult position with imagination and correct insight. The *Anand* regards the release of political prisoners as an evidence of His Excellency the Governor's pacific policy which it hopes will be conducive to the progress of these provinces. In an article headed "The Bureaucracy has acknowledged its mistake," the *Vikram* insinuates that the political prisoners have been released to save the Reforms from being made a laughing-stock and to win over the Moderates and says that the return of the brave leaders, after demonstrating the failure of the iron claws of Bureaucracy, has generated fresh enthusiasm in the country. The *Aj* says: By releasing the prisoners Sir William Marris has demonstrated his political wisdom, for this action of his will win over the Moderates, weaken their opposition to the Budget, specially to any proposals for fresh taxation and help them to bear the grave insults offered by Lord Peel. In welcoming the released prisoners, the *Navayuga* remarks: Every district was awaiting their return home so that people might derive inspiration from their self-sacrifice and their sufferings and be ready to sacrifice their all at the altar of the Motherland. The *Hamdam* and the *Oudh Akhbar* applaud His Excellency's action and commend the case of Said-ul-Rahman Qidwai for reconsideration. The *Hindustani*, however, sounds a discordant note when it insinuates that the object of the release of prisoners is to allay the bitter feelings caused by the financial situation and that the Home Member is trying to show that the present Government is not so repressive as the late one of which he was a leading spirit.

Speech of His Excellency the Governor.

The speech of His Excellency the Governor at the Council has received a good deal of attention. Commenting on some of the points dealt with in the speech the *Leader* says that the terms of reference of the Retrenchment Committee are very restricted. Regarding the statement of Government policy in connection with the municipal and district boards elections the paper urges the desirability of officials being expressly debarred from seeking elections. "The Government may not participate in elections, but the objection to official participation will not be entirely removed, so long as Government servants are not prohibited from seeking election to municipal boards." The *Independent* says that certain sentiments expressed by His Excellency betray an inadequate grasp of the feelings of the people and that the discontent in the country is deep and not

limited to any class or section. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the Governor's speech has caused much gratification not only in the province but throughout the length and breadth of the country. In fact every word of the speech is a guarantee for future peace, progress, and prosperity of the United Provinces. The *Hamdam* remarks that the speech reveals not only a desire for economy in Government expenditure but also his lenient temperament and sympathetic attitude towards the people of the province.

Political propaganda.

The *Swaraj* does not expect that the propaganda for capturing votes at the next Council elections will prepare the country for civil disobedience and supports the proposed enlistment of fifty thousand volunteers for inaugurating mass civil disobedience. The *Navayuga* exhorts Congressmen to make villages the centres of their activities and says: The villagers who are the living examples of the evil consequences of subjection should be roused and they should be the first to raise the cry of liberty. The *Vikram* makes a passionate appeal to the people to organise themselves, especially the labourers and cultivators and says: "Without organisation it is idle to hope for revolution. It is certain that mass civil disobedience is the best and an infallible weapon of making India free. But it cannot be inaugurated without an effective organisation and the best means of bringing about such organisation is the capture of municipalities, district boards and Councils." The paper urges that the Tilak Swaraj Fund should be placed on a permanent footing by arranging that every merchant and householder should daily set apart a small portion of his income in the the name of the Congress. In the course of an open letter to the leaders, Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya, editor of the *Abhyudaya*, says that the downfall of Europe and the rise of Asia are inevitable and calls upon the leaders to be ready to take advantage of the situation. He adds: When the time comes, let us not be found unprepared or disposed to yield to sentiments of generosity, for in international relations and politics, we should not be guided by the precepts of religion and sentiments of liberality but by self-interest. Selfishness alone leads to emancipation. The *Hamdam* thinks that Maulana Azad Subhani's proposal for the formation of a Congress party advocating complete independence for India will find much favour with the masses and that the party will gain sufficient popularity. Referring to Mrs. Besant's Conference at Delhi the paper says that Mrs. Besant is out to re-establish her leadership and predicts failure for her efforts as it holds that the methods likely to be adopted in this Conference for obtaining further reforms have been tried over and over again and have proved futile.

Organisation of Hindus.

In view of the reported attacks on Hindus in Multan, Hindi papers are giving increasing attention to the question of the organisation of the Hindu community. The *Abhyudaya* is glad that the question is receiving wide attention and urges the need of practical work in this direction. It asks Mullahs of Multan where Muhammadans would be if Hindus decided to boycott them. While calling upon the leaders to concentrate their efforts on preventing exacerbation of Hindu-Muhammadan relations at Multan the *Kartavya* advises the Hindus to organise themselves and pay Muslim non-cooperators in their own coin. One Siddha Prasad, writing to *Vikram*, calls attention to the corruption among priests in the places of pilgrimage and in temples and exhorts the Hindus that if they want to live as a nation, they ought to form committees like the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee in order to oust the sinners.

Retrenchment.

Commenting upon the recommendations of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee the *Mansur* complains that the main sufferers thereby will be Indians and the "Transferred" departments. The *Hindustani* resents retrenchment at the cost of civil employees when unnecessary military expenditure is not curtailed and the equally unnecessary Waziristan campaign not abandoned.

So far as the Local Government is concerned it suggests that endeavours should be made to get the annual contribution to the Government of India remitted. Referring to the forgoing of his salary by the Home Member the paper doubts if he can remain in office in an honorary capacity and remarks that it would have been much better if he had distributed his salary among various Muslim institutions. The *Hamdam* ascribes the present financial stringency to the currency and exchange policy of Government and to the huge military expenditure. It suggests the abandonment of the Waziristan campaign, stoppage of the employment of Indian troops outside the country and the displacement of the English element in the Army by cheaper Indian element and substantial curtailment of the ordinary military expenditure as essential for effective retrenchment. The *Azad* commends the recommendations of the Bengal Retrenchment Committee to other Provincial Governments. The papers continue to express appreciation of the Hon'ble Home Member's and the Hon'ble Ministers' self-sacrifice in forgoing in part or whole their salaries and commend their examples to others, including the Governor and the English Member of the Executive Council.

Chauri Chaura.

The *Jain Kesari* asks Lord Reading whether, in view of his loud professions of justice, it was fair that the perpetrators of the Jallianwala Bagh atrocities and the Moplah train tragedies should be allowed to go scot-free, while 172 persons are punished with death sentences for the Chauri Chaura outrage despite serious provocation from the police. The *Medina* points out that though the Moplah train tragedy was more horrible than the Chauri Chauri riot, for which there were some extenuating circumstances also, yet no one has been held responsible for the former tragedy, while 172 rioters have been sentenced to death in connection with the latter. The *Al Khalil* compares the judgments in the Moplah train tragedy and the Chauri Chaura cases and says that the astounding disparity between the two decisions is to be attributed to the fact that in one the officials were guilty and in the other the people. The *Haqiqat* urges that the death sentences should be reduced in a fairly large number of cases not only in the interest of the accused persons but also in that of the Government.

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Lausanne Conference.

The Muslim Press is greatly exercised over the break-up of the Lausanne Conference and is attacking the British Government for offering humiliating peace terms to Turkey which she can never accept. The *Nizam-i-Alam* says that the Turks can obtain nothing beneficial to their country so long as Lord Curzon directs the foreign policy of Britain. The treaty drafted at Lausanne is as detrimental to Turkish interests as the Treaty of Sevrès. It deplores the break-up of the Conference which it ascribes to the shortsightedness of Great Britain. The *Hamdam* justifies the action of the Turks in refusing to sign the treaty which is likely to prove a millstone round their neck on account of the clauses relating to Capitulations and finance. The *Najat* characterises the peace terms as a repetition of the treaty of Sevrès and holds Britain responsible for the breakdown of the Conference. Britain wants war in order to keep intact the territories she has usurped. The *Al Bureed* justifies the Turkish refusal of the peace terms and says that Britain will lose the little prestige she still enjoys in the East, if she does not abandon her policy of territorial aggrandisement and does notıcome to terms with the Turks. If the British cemeteries in Gallipoli are to be taken away there is no reason why the Turks should not have a similar right with regard to their soldiers' graves in Iraq, Syria and Western Thrace. The *Medina* accuses Britain of hostile intentions towards the Turks and says that during the two months of futile negotiations at Lausanne, the Greeks have been made strong and supplied with war material. The *Al Bashir* says that Lord Curzon's obstinate attitude is responsible for the breakdown of the Lausanne Conference and that England has suffered loss of prestige and popularity at the hands of her own Ministers. The *Al Khalil* asserts that the peace terms offered to Turkey indicate that the Allies are not desirous of a peaceful settlement. No sane man can agree with the war policy of Britain which will lead to her destruction. If a war breaks out it will be a religious war, for which Britain will be responsible, and the Islamic world, which now forms a direct chain of independent States from Angora to Peshawar, will rise against her. While the *Al Khalil* and *Mansur* deprecate the reference of the Mosul question to the League of Nations, the *Oudh Akhbar* says that the Turks will be very unwise if they begin hostilities by attacking Mosul and advises them to wait for the decision of the League of Nations. A fresh war once begun will be very difficult to localise. The Hindi papers support their Muslim contemporaries in pointing out the dangers of another war. The *Aj* apprehends the outbreak of a war in Europe and warns Lord Curzon that as the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy is still rankling in the hearts of Indians, he should not expect any help from them in Britain's emergency. The *Navayuga* says that Britain is prolonging the Lausanne Conference with a view to gain time for war preparations. The *Pioneer* repeats its former opinion and says that Turkey has nothing to gain and much to lose by precipitating hostilities. The *Leader* regrets the break-up of the Lausanne Conference and says that the hopes of a settlement being arrived at in the near future need not be given up. The two countries need not go to war on the question of Capitulations if other major questions have been settled to mutual satisfaction. It does not think that Britain or the Empire stands to lose anything if Lord Curzon agrees to the abrogation of the Capitulations. In another article the paper praises Lord Curzon and says that he would probably have acted wisely and in the interest of the Empire if he had concluded a separate treaty with Turkey. As to the Turks the paper is afraid

that in refusing to accept the reasonable terms offered to them, they have committed another blunder similar in magnitude to their participation in the world war on the side of Germany. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* approves of the action of the Turks in refusing to sign the treaty because Europe insisted on forcing upon them the badge of slavery. Angora would have laid itself open to be shunned even as the late Sultan has been shunned if at this supreme hour it had forgotten its birthright. It is not a question whether Turkey will win a war with Britain: it is decidedly a question of whether a nation has the right to die in the cause of freedom. That right Turkey has, and the world will watch her great example with wonder, awe and deep feeling. India, with one bound, will sympathise with Turkey, as indeed with any Asiatic nation fighting for very existence as Turkey will be doing. The *Advocate* holds that the attitude taken up by England has been anything but friendly to Turkey. The *Free India* remarks that the draft treaty is not a document which will satisfy the Turkish aspirations nor can it bring about peace which is supposed to be its objective.

The Khilafat.

Referring to the demand of Lord Curzon for the return of the sacred relics to Medina, the *Al Bureed* says that the King of Hedjaz has no right to keep them. The Turks are the only rightful protectors of the relics and the Indian Ulema have not recognised Shah Husain as a lawful ruler. Lord Curzon has no right to pose as a representative of Indian Musalmans. He should have some regard for their feelings and should not interfere with their sentiments. A correspondent writing in the *Hamdam* says that the sympathy of the British representative at Lausanne has astonished the Muhammadans and that the Khalifa and not the British puppet, the King of Hedjaz, can be the custodian of the sacred relics of Islam. The *Hamdam* remarks that Shah Husain is a rebel and has no right to keep the relics under his charge and that the Indian Musalmans are quite satisfied that they are still in the keeping of the Turks. The paper resents Lord Curzon's demands as well as his posing as the representative of Indian Musalmans. The *Medina* urges that it is the Khalifa and not the dishonest and rebel Sharif who has the right to the possession of the Medina relics.

The Civil Services Commission.

The Indian Press continues to protest against the appointment of a Royal Commission on Civil Services. The *Lakshman* writes: The opponents of the Reforms have got one more ground for exposing their hollowness and condemning the policy of the Bureaucracy. The *Abhyudaya* says: While costing the tax-payers crores (*sic*) of rupees the Commission will result in an increase of the pay of the Bureaucrats. Still we shall be grateful to the Commission if it helps to bring home to the liberals the illusory nature of the Reforms. The *Azad* opines that the Commission will aggravate the general discontent and will decrease the confidence of the people in the Civil Services. It is undesirable to think of increasing the emoluments of Civil Services when the retrenchment axe is being applied and retrenchment is the order of the day. The *Al Khalil* characterises the appointment of the Commission as a fresh attack on India and the Moderates. The Commission is coming out to assure the Europeans of their position and future prospects and to demonstrate that India is not for Indians but for Europeans. The *Bharat Bandhu* remarks that the Secretary of State has proved himself to be a great supporter of the non-cooperation movement and that he is digging the grave of the British rule. The *Lokmat* asks if the Moderates will non-cooperate with the Commission or be satisfied with their customary telegram of protest.

Racial Distinctions.

The report of the Racial Distinctions Committee has been severely criticised by the Indian papers, specially with reference to the alterations and modifications which have been embodied in the Bill. The *Leader* remarks that the Secretary of State would have belied his reputation for meddlesomeness if he had not made these alterations. It is the Secretary of State's proposals which really raise controversial issues and discriminate against Indians

in favour of colonials. It concludes its criticism by saying that as a whole the Bill offers a compromise though it does not abolish racial distinctions altogether and marks an appreciable improvement on the existing position. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thinks that the report and the Bill must cause intense disappointment in the Legislature. The struggle to maintain the privileges that the Europeans possess is perfectly understandable, but it is very doubtful indeed whether as time advances Indian India will ever tolerate any such distinctions that are still to remain. In the opinion of the *Advocate*, the provisions of the Bill are quite inadequate for removing those conditions in practice in which miscarriage of justice on racial grounds is a rule rather than the exception. The Bill in its present form could never be acceptable to anybody in India save to the European community. The *Pioneer* holds a different view and applauds the broadmindedness and toleration shown by the members of the Committee in framing their recommendations. It hopes that the commonsense and broadmindedness characterising the general trend of the Committee's report will prevail until the Bill comes before the Legislature. While recognising that the Committee has proposed the abolition of distinctions in certain respects, the *Aj* is highly dissatisfied with the report and says that the maintenance of distinctions even to a small extent is to proclaim the superiority of Europeans over Indians. It takes particular exception to the grant of special privileges to colonials and says that so long as all distinctions are not completely wiped out, Indians can have no faith in the law courts and the British judicial system in India. The *Navayuga* says: This is an acknowledgment on the part of the Sapru Committee of the superiority of Europeans over Indians and a proclamation to the world that Indians are still willing to pass their lives in slavery. Such acts of the Moderates cannot but injure the interests of the country. The *Vartman* writes: Although Indians have been granted some nominal privileges formerly enjoyed by Europeans alone, the vicious principle of discrimination remains intact. The paper holds that perfect equality between Indians and Europeans cannot be secured until the power of administration comes into the hands of the former.

Official Secrets Act.

The *Navayuga* says that the new Official Secrets Act adds one more link to the chain of India's bondage. The *Aj* takes exception to the opinion of the Committee on Official Secrets Act that offenders can be punished on circumstantial evidence, as the provision is liable to extensive abuse in the country under alien rule.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* advises the people not to watch the activities of the Council party but to work earnestly to carry out the Congress mandate for funds and volunteers so that civil disobedience may be started at the earliest possible opportunity. In another article the paper deprecates "evolution" and says that India cannot wait for such a slow process. It is necessary that we should have recourse to civil disobedience and create a revolution whenever we get the least opportunity through the mistakes of the Bureaucracy. The *Navayuga* holds that the Congress party cannot succeed in its campaign for capturing the Councils and therefore advises it to rejoin the majority party and help it in the preparation for civil disobedience. The *Lakshman* advocates the launching of civil disobedience and remarks that the necessary atmosphere and time for it have always been in existence. The *Vikram* emphasises the need of organising the villagers and inspiring them with aspirations for liberty. Extremist papers strongly criticise Dr. Besant's scheme of self-government. The *Aj* exhorts the readers not to run after the mirage, but to remain firm in the path of non-cooperation. The *Mansur* deprecates the formation of a fresh Congress Party by Maulana Azad Subhani as tending to weaken the national cause and advises him to exert his energies to reunite the two existing parties of the Congress. The *Medina* urges the Congress to reorganise itself and make preparations for civil disobedience. It also asks the Khilafat Committee not to abandon its activities on the successful termination of the Lausanne

Conference but to continue them until Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and the Hedjaz are free from Christian influences. The *Nizam-i-Alam* deprecates the Council controversy and says that the *khaddar* and boycott propaganda as also preparations for civil disobedience being questions of supreme importance, entire attention should be directed towards them.

Release of political prisoners.

The release of political prisoners continues to absorb the attention of the vernacular papers. The Extremist papers regard it as a diplomatic move on the part of Government to win over the Moderates, especially members of the Council in order to facilitate the passing of the forthcoming budget. The *Navayuga* offers heartfelt thanks to Sir William Marris as a man, as distinguished from a Governor, for his just and humane action. It however enquires whether the announcement of release applies to those prisoners also who have been treated as non-political though sentenced for political offences and remarks that if it does not, it is a mere clever political move which cannot delude the people. The *Vartman* regards the release as a proof of the Governor's wisdom, though not necessarily of his large-heartedness. The paper is however certain that His Excellency will succeed in evoking the gratitude of the simple-hearted residents of the United Provinces. The *Abhyudaya* says that it will be improper not to acknowledge the liberality of Sir William Marris' Government. The *Pratap* heartily congratulates Sir William Marris on his wisdom and statesmanship although it thinks that his action deals a severe blow on the national self-respect of Indians and brings home to them their helplessness, unmanliness and slavery. "We have to hang our heads in shame when we think that the patriots have been released by the very power which imprisoned them." The paper hopes that the release of prisoners will strengthen the national movement and make it more restrained and organised, and adds: "Sir William will soon come to know that he was wrongly informed that the villagers no longer listen to non-cooperators. The fury of the non-cooperation movement cannot abate until the funeral rites of the present bureaucratic system have been performed." The *Bharat Bandhu* congratulates the Governor on the courage displayed by him in releasing the political prisoners and says that his entire speech breathes a spirit of large-heartedness. If His Excellency continues to exercise similar courage, tact and large-heartedness in the administration of the provinces, much of the bitter feeling among the people against the Government will disappear. The *Lokmat* hopes that the people who have been set free will start work with renewed energy. The *Lakshman* regards the release as a political stratagem and finds no trace of sympathy or large-heartedness in His Excellency's action. The *Kartavya* thinks that only 70 prisoners getting special treatment in Lucknow jail have been released while those who were imprisoned under sections 107, 108, Criminal Procedure Code, still remain in jail. It adds: By releasing a few individuals the Governor wants to be popular, but he should know that the people are not such simpletons as to be deluded in this manner. The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that the release of the political prisoners will prove advantageous both to the Government and the Congress and demands the release of other political prisoners also on the ground of political expediency. The *Hamdam* also makes a similar appeal on behalf of the political prisoners convicted under sections 106, 107 and 108, Criminal Procedure Code. The *Aligarh Gazette* prays that the Governor's expectations of peace and quiet in the province may be fulfilled but doubts whether this will be possible in view of the preparations for civil disobedience. The *Free India* remarks that both His Excellency and the gentleman who assured him of the attitude of the villagers towards non-cooperation seem to be as much remote from the situation as the person in the moon.

ZAFAR OMAR,

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 17th February, 1923.

The Lausanne Conference.

THE Muslim press continues to attack the British Government for offering humiliating terms to Turkey. The *Hamdam* says that the demands put forward on behalf of Great Britain were most intolerable and that it was this Power alone which refused to accept most of the reasonable claims of the Turks. The Turks, it thinks, are justified in not reposing confidence in the League of Nations regarding the Mosul question as it considers that body a mere tool of the Allies. It would, in its opinion, have been more equitable if the Turkish demand with regard to Mosul had been conceded. In another article the paper claims a moral victory for the Turkish and Russian representatives over "the selfish and haughty delegates of the Allies and specially Lord Curzon, who having been defeated at the Conference is now trying to excite the anger of his countrymen against the Turks." The *Al Khalil* is gratified at the refusal of the Turks to sign the treaty and says that Lord Curzon did not enhance his credit by returning to the Conference after pretending to have left it. It adds that the Turks cannot be cowed down by Lord Curzon's threats as they know full well that Britain cannot fight single-handed. The *Al Burid* remarks that the only object of Lord Curzon in making a conciliatory speech at the Lausanne Conference was to induce the Turks to sign their own death warrant. It wishes Lord Curzon to remember that the Turks can no longer be duped by his tricks and that they are not so unwise as to drink the bitter cup offered to them by him, and adds that he should bid adieu to the idea of territorial aggrandisement. If the Turks are forced to go into a war Lord Curzon will be responsible for it. The *Hindustani* asserts that the Conservative Cabinet of England acted blindly in allowing France to gain Turkish sympathy and that the Turks did not swerve an inch from their position because they knew well the reality of the so-called unity amongst the Allies. The *Mansur* regards the treaty as a good specimen of the cunning and dishonest diplomacy of the Allies, especially of Britain, and as an example of the selfishness and lust for territory and power of the British Empire. It believes that the treaty is an instrument for the annihilation of the Turks. The *Oudh Akhbar* thinks that it would be an act of short-sightedness on the part of the Turks to advance on Mosul before a decision by the League of Nations. The *Medina* opines that if a war breaks out it will be only a Turco-British war. Every Muhammadan will help the Turks to his utmost and will fight for the protection of the Khilafat. The paper also resents the anti-Turkish attitude of the British press, and says that in order to shift the responsibility for any possible war to the shoulders of the Turks, Britain has inserted unacceptable terms in the draft treaty. The *Al Burid* and the *Zulqarnain* say that to ask Turkey to renounce its rights in Sudan and Egypt was not right on the part of the Conference and that undue obstinacy has been shown over the Mosul question. They express the hope that the Turks will be given some more concessions. The *Bharat Bandhu* blames Lord Curzon for the breakdown of the Lausanne Conference. It thinks that another war will not augur well for the British Empire as owing to dissatisfaction with British rule in India, Egypt and Ireland, these countries will not render help to Britain in her emergency. The *Pioneer* thinks that there are limits to the concessions which the British and French can make to secure peace with Turkey, and that those limits have been reached.

Racial distinctions.

The report of the Racial Distinctions Committee, and the Bill introduced in order to remove the distinctions, continue to receive attention. The *Anand* writes: Though Indians cannot be fully satisfied with the Bill as it does not go far enough to eliminate the distinctions, we would advise them to accept it in a spirit of compromise in the hope that in future the remaining inequalities will also be done away with. The *Lakshman* regrets that Dr. Sapru and other Indians should have acquiesced in the retention of certain distinctions by way of compromise. The *Aj* exhorts members of the Legislative Assembly to prevent the passage of all clauses of the Bill which even in the least concede special rights to Europeans, and adds: If the Secretary of State does not agree to wipe out the existing distinctions completely, let all remain intact, but for Indian members to acquiesce in preserving even the smallest distinctions is to ruin the future of India. The *Lokmat* says that if the Bill passes in accordance with the mandate of the Secretary of State, the removal of distinctions which are now to cease will be a mere farce. The *Vikram* writes: The Bill still retains evidence of India's slavery; every word of its text is proclaiming that so long as India does not break for ever the chains of her slavery, the distinctions between the white and the coloured people cannot be wiped out. The *Pratap* holds that even if all the distinctions in criminal procedure were completely wiped out the possibility of partiality in favour of Europeans would still remain so long as the present system of foreign government continues to hold sway. The *Leader* takes strong exception to the demi-official letter of the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court on the subject of racial distinctions which it says has come as a shock to many an Indian and has produced a very unfortunate impression. It adds: "As regards the argument that there are cases in which Indians as such are incompetent, whether as judges or as lawyers to try or conduct the cases of Europeans in criminal trials because of their ignorance of the manners and customs of Europeans, we have to say that it cuts both ways and is an untenable argument. If the force of validity were admitted, then European judges and lawyers also, who are generally ignorant of Indian customs and manners, should be considered equally disqualified." The *Free India* regards the Bill as a halting measure and thinks that it does not do away with the root cause of ill-feeling and discord between the Indian and British communities. The paper holds that Indians cannot accept a measure which keeps up the traditional inequality of the two races.

Release of political prisoners.

Indian papers of all shades of opinion are strongly protesting against the majority of political prisoners remaining in prison in spite of His Excellency's announcement in his speech in the Council. It is pointed out that it was an act of gross injustice to classify persons convicted for similar offences as political and non-political. The *Navayuga* writes: The more we have of such pinpricks from the present system of administration, the more confirmed shall we be in our principle of non-cooperation. The *Lakshman* wonders how long such hypocrisy can serve and how after such pettiness the Bureaucracy can expect the people to give up non-cooperation and try to secure *swaraj* by means of cooperation. While not making an appeal for the release of the remaining political prisoners, the *Vikram* wishes to point out to the people how an irresponsible Government evades carrying out its own promises. The *Shakti* regards the release of political prisoners and the withdrawal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act as a political stratagem intended to win popularity, to please the moderates and to crush the non-cooperation movement. The paper does not expect liberality from a Government that is "wicked, impure and crooked" and cannot believe in the good faith of the Government until it kneels down before the people, asks their forgiveness, releases Mahatma Gandhi and all other political prisoners and establishes *swaraj* after undergoing expiation in accordance with the directions of the people. The *Prem* says that the United Provinces Government

does not deserve any thanks for the release of political prisoners, for it has only rectified its own mistake. The paper advises the people not to take any notice of such actions of the Bureaucracy so long as Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners in this and other provinces are not released and *swaraj* is not established. The *Leader* urges that to release the leaders and to allow their misguided followers to remain in jail is hardly just. The paper does not think that by releasing the latter any extra risk will be incurred and strongly urges that the scope of the amnesty should be extended so as to include the political prisoners who are treated as ordinary prisoners. "Let not a halting or too cautious a policy mar and discount the good effect produced by the withdrawal of the notification under the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the release of a large number of prominent non-cooperators." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* understands that servants had been classed as first-class misdemeanants while their masters were thrown in as ordinary prisoners to work in the oil mills, and says: It is for the Legislative Council to say whether they are satisfied with a few prominent persons being released from jail and others remaining there until their term expires. The *Al Bashir* thanks the Governor for the release of political prisoners and invites his attention to those prisoners who have not yet been released. The announcement of release does not lay down any condition regarding the term of imprisonment or the status of the prisoners. Government should soon rectify its mistake and release all prisoners who are still in jail for political offences. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* says that no political prisoners have been released from the Moradabad jail and appeals for their restoration to liberty. The *Hamdam* agrees with the suggestion of the *Pratap* of Lahore that M. Said-ur-Rahman and Parvati Devi should also be released but disagrees with its opinion that the release of political prisoners is a moral victory achieved by Government. The *Haqiqat* expresses satisfaction at the release of political prisoners, characterising the step as a precursor of peace, but urges that Said-ur-Rahman and other political prisoners should also be released. A writer in the *Hamdam*, Shahji Abdul Aziz, urges the release of Babu Bhagwati Sahai Bedar and Pandit Jai Dayal Awasthi, the two political prisoners of the Shahjahanpur district. The *Najat* congratulates Sir William Marris and says that he surely deserves the popularity he has tried to gain by releasing political prisoners. It requests His Excellency to reconsider the case of Mr. Qidwai. If the release has any effect on the non-cooperation movement it may be to strengthen it by the presence of the released prisoners.

Municipal board elections.

Extremist papers continue to ask non-cooperators to capture the municipal and district boards. Referring to the Government resolution on the working of the municipalities in the United Provinces, the *Vikram* gives instances to show that the members of municipal boards have not been discharging their duties faithfully. It therefore exhorts the people to elect at the forthcoming election only such candidates as are recommended by the Congress Committee. The *Aj* also writes in a similar strain. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* complains that the words of His Excellency the Governor have not been observed in regard to the municipal rights of the released prisoners. "From Bareilly comes the definite intelligence that the Governor's words are to be ignored. They do not want the 'ex-convicts.' Again in certain places they are afraid of the educated classes from whom the right to vote is being ingeniously withdrawn." The *Oudh Akhbar* complains that in nearly all districts released political prisoners are being disenfranchised as shown by the new electoral rolls. It asks why the subordinates indulge in such practices notwithstanding the Governor's announcement on the subject in the Council. It asks the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government whether such practices of the subordinates after the Governor's announcement in the Council are an indication of the policy of Government in the matter. The *Hamdam* complains that despite the Governor's announcement the names

of certain released political prisoners have been struck off the electoral rolls in Bareilly and Etawah and inquires if this has been done with the sanction of the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government. If not, it urges the Government to issue a circular embodying explicit directions to all District Officers and municipalities on the subject.

The Delhi Conference.

The Delhi Conference has received a good deal of attention, especially in the *Leader*. The *Pioneer* is of opinion that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has ignored the possibility of political progress within the limits of the Government of India Act. The paper emphasises the need of educating the electors concerning their powers and responsibilities under the existing constitution, before putting forward a programme for a further constitutional advance. The *Leader* eulogises the presidential address of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as thoroughly businesslike and intended to appeal to reason and not to sentiment. The paper emphasises the need for restricting the scope of the conference and feels that the hour is not ripe for framing a new constitution, and that the object in view can be achieved by an expansion of the existing constitution. It adds: "In the interest of stability, tranquillity and good government it is becoming increasingly necessary that a responsible system of government should be established in the provinces as well as in the centre, and that an enquiry should be instituted without loss of time to decide how best to bring this about." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regards the conference as one of the most authoritative assemblies ever held but thinks that its importance lies only in the excellence of the resolutions and the clear cut demands formulated. The *Aj* strongly criticises Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's speech and remarks: We fail to understand how a sensible person can believe that the freedom of a country depends upon the favour of another country. We are firmly convinced that our goal can be achieved through self-help alone.

Allahabad versus Lucknow.

The *Leader* strongly pleads in favour of Allahabad and says that the Government is bound by its past pledges to maintain the capital at Allahabad, not only in name, not only for purposes of official letter-heads, but in reality. The paper is of opinion that His Excellency has not been able to remove the feeling of suspense to which expression was given in the address of the Allahabad municipal board and that the people of that city and of the province of Agra expected a more hopeful statement than that which he has made. In another article the paper says that to build up a new capital at Lucknow would require an enormous outlay which cannot be justified on financial grounds. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* criticises the *Leader* for advocating that the meeting of the United Provinces Council should be held at Allahabad as it has been settled by a vote of the Council that the Council Chamber should be built at Lucknow. In another article the paper says: "In this struggle of Allahabad against Lucknow we look to the Oudh leaders burying political friendship and differences and standing for justice and fair play."

The Lawrence statue affair.

The arrest of Lala Dunichand at Lahore has attracted a good deal of attention in the Extremist papers, some of which welcome it as likely to strengthen the cause of the non-cooperation movement. The *Vartman* calls upon the Congress Committees to prepare for civil disobedience as an answer to Government's repressive policy in the Punjab. The *Aj* strongly criticises the action of the Punjab Government in arresting the president and the secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee and in ordering the postal department to withhold the letters and newspapers meant for the committee. "By insisting on keeping the Lawrence statue in a public place it is intended to remind the Punjabis of their being ruled by the British sword. After this can anyone assert that Britain won and is ruling India by moral force?" The *Hamdam* urges that the statue should be removed from its present site or at least those inscriptions should be effaced which give a shock to the Indian sentiments and the

sword should be removed, so that no serious developments may take place over the affair. The *Pioneer* suggests that the inscriptions on the statue cast no invidious reflection on Indians in general or the inhabitants of the Punjab in particular.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* commends the work of the Cawnpore Congress Committee in the enlistment of volunteers and in inviting subscriptions for the Tilak Swaraj Fund and exhorts other Congress Committees to follow its example and prepare the country for civil disobedience. The *Abhyudaya* advises the people not to waste their energies on fruitless controversies about big and remote ideals, but to restrict their objective for the time being to securing the release of Mr. Gandhi and Lala Lajpat Rai. Referring to the proposed scheme for complete independence the *Nizam-i-Alam* says that mere paper work, resolutions and drafting of schemes will not do, but that more effective measures requiring courage will be necessary which in their turn cannot be carried out unless educational advancement and commercial prosperity prevail in the country.

ZAFAR OMAR,

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The Near East.

THE Near Eastern affairs continue to receive attention, especially in the Muslim press. Commenting on the King's speech the *Oudh Akhbar* says that His Majesty's reference to Turkey can neither satisfy the Indian Muslims nor the Turks. The *Hamdam* points out that a war in the Near East will be highly injurious to the peace and tranquillity of the whole world and advises Britain, as the greatest Muslim power in the world, to adopt a generous policy towards the Turks who, it says, are anxious to begin a new national life in a peaceful and friendly atmosphere. The *Medina* opines that despite Lord Curzon's statement to the contrary no nation will ever blame the Turks for not maintaining a peaceful attitude. It asks Lord Curzon to remember that India and the whole Muslim world would support the Turks and advises him not to conduct negotiations with Turkey in a way which would injuriously affect the Indian situation. The paper adds: Lord Curzon will do well to adopt a friendly attitude towards Islam in view of the growing strength of Turkey which is now powerful in men and munitions and enjoys the confidence and support of the Muslim world. The *Oudh Akhbar* approves the action of the Turks in giving notice to foreign ships to quit the port of Smyrna and says that they have shaken off their responsibility in the eyes of the world for any action they might take against those ships. The *Al Burid* accuses Britain of instigating the Arabs against the Turks and says that any one, be he Feisul or Husain, who intends to fight against the Turks is not a Muslim but in reality an enemy of Islam. The *Hamdám* says that Mr. Fazal Borozji Bharocha has expressed the real sentiments of Indians and especially of Muhammadans in warning Britain that India will stand shoulder to shoulder with Turkey in case of any untoward developments in the Near East. In another article it advises the British Foreign Office to refuse to patronise or assist the Armenian conspirators in Turkey as otherwise suspicions against the British will be created among the Turks. The *Leader* hopes that the Turks will soon realise that the balance of advantage lies in accepting the terms offered. The *Vartman* says that Britain hesitates to declare war against Turkey lest the Germans and Bolsheviks should side with the Turks in which case Britain must find it difficult to hold her ground successfully over a front extending from Europe to the very frontier of India. The *Shakti* says that England does not want Turkey to enjoy independence and that the British policy is not to protect the weak, but to devour them.

Indians in Kenya.

The threats of European colonists in the Kenya against the Indian settlers have provoked angry comments in the Press. The *Leader* says: We know the answer that such bullying in India would have called forth from His Majesty's Government and all Indians would anxiously watch whether the nationality of these bullies would make any difference in the answer. The *Abhyudaya* urges the British Government to press the European community and the Government of the colony to allow Indians to enjoy their rights. Under the heading "Kenya will be dyed with the blood of Indians" the *Vartman* expresses the apprehension that the white colonists will begin a violent attack on Indians and calls upon all parties in India to pay attention to this matter.

Mr. Das' scheme.

With a few exceptions the *swaraj* scheme of Mr. C. R. Das has been strongly criticised by the papers. The *Leader* regards the scheme as fantastic, unsound and impracticable and thinks that such indirect representation as is proposed in it

is opposed to all principles of democracy and has been found by actual experience to lead to autocracy and irresponsibility. It strikes the paper that it would lead to topsyturvydum if India is subjected to the constitutional experiment proposed in the scheme. The *Pioneer* also regards the scheme as fantastic, deriving its inspiration, in part at least, from the system adopted in Soviet Russia and involving the negation of democratic government. While conceding that the principles which underlie the scheme are those which have been honoured in India from time immemorial and which provide for a maximum of local autonomy, the *Advocate* thinks that except as an ideal to be kept in view for ultimate realisation the scheme will be of little use for the immediate future. The *Free India* is of opinion that the scheme has fallen short of expectations and would not excite much enthusiasm. The paper is afraid that like Mr. Das' scheme for contesting Council elections, it would serve as another block in the way of working the constructive programme. The *Anand* characterises the scheme as absurd and impracticable and thinks that the village *panchayats* of Mr. Das will be unable to carry on administration successfully even for a single day. The *Vartman* apprehends that the scheme will mar the progress of India and appeals to Mr. Das to help in preparing the country for civil disobedience by completing the constructive programme. The *Abhyudaya* is of opinion that on the whole the scheme is good and if worked will carry the country near self-government. The *Aj* is in favour of the scheme and says that if effect is given to it, India will lay down a new path in the art of government. It thinks the scheme will ensure internal and external peace and make the people industrious, self-helping, courageous and really free. The *Navayuga* thinks that the scheme concerns itself with unpractical plans and fails to deal with practical politics and that the methods suggested for the provision of funds to carry out the scheme are quite fanciful and will never be successful. The paper expresses the hope that non-cooperators in general will reject the scheme and will unite in carrying out the old Congress programme. The *Oudh Akhbar* sees in the scheme signs of Mr. Das' gradual reversion to the path of constitutional struggle and hence welcomes it.

The Delhi Conference.

The Delhi Conference has been adversely criticised in the Extremist press. The *Vartman* says that the Conference can have no influence on the people in the face of Mahatma Gandhi's manly movement, and adds: In fact Dr. Sapru and Dr. Besant, who have surrendered their souls to the Bureaucracy, have no place in Indian politics. The Indian people will now have none of the old mendicant policy advocated by Dr. Besant and Dr. Sapru but will obtain *swaraj* through their self-exertion and will themselves determine its form. The *Vikram* has no sympathy for Dr. Besant's activities and strongly criticises Dr. Sapru's speech. The *Hamdam* says that if the Delhi Conference only passes mendicant resolutions it will not be beneficial to the country and the nation, but will, on the contrary, widen the gulf between the cooperators and the non-cooperators. The *Oudh Akhbar*, on the other hand, regards Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's observations regarding the working of the reforms and the demand for further constitutional advance as commendable. The *Nizam-i-Alam* deprecates frequent changes in political programmes and says that the people in general are tired of so many programmes proposed by the Moderates and the Extremists and that dominion self-government cannot be achieved through the means advocated by the sycophantic Moderates nor can complete *swaraj* be obtained through civil disobedience and anarchy advocated by Extremists. The *Pioneer* is of opinion that the Liberals at the Conference have rendered a distinct service in formulating, in clear and precise language, what may be regarded as the ultimate goal to which the reformed constitution was intended by its authors from the very outset to lead. The *Free India* strongly criticises the proceedings of the Conference and says: Dr. Annie Besant will do well to revise her political

dogmas in view of the political awakening among the people of India. Her antediluvian methods as well as ideals have lost much of their lustre now.

Indianisation of Army.

The scheme for the Indianisation of eight units of the Army is regarded as altogether inadequate by the Extremist papers. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* characterises the scheme as a modified diarchy and says that the Government of India has failed signally to satisfy the martial aspirations of Indians. It adds that the scheme will not even attract the notice of the non-co-operators who, on the other hand, may feel insulted by the patronising language of the announcement. The *Advocate* says that the cooperators asked for bread and they got a crumb and adds: The Bureaucracy is afraid to give any national military training, because that would pave the way of India to self-government. While fully admitting that the scheme initiates a departure fraught undoubtedly with far-reaching consequences the *Leader* regrets that Dr. Gour's amendment to the original resolution on the subject failed to receive the Assembly's support. The paper thinks that the scheme is conceived in a rather cautious spirit and that one cannot tell how long it will take to completely Indianise the eight units to be selected for the experiment and when it would be possible to pronounce an opinion as to its success or failure. The paper further urges that not only should Indians be admitted in much larger numbers to the commissioned ranks of the Army, but that they should be admitted freely to His Majesty's military, naval and air forces and the ancillary services.

Municipal and district boards elections.

Appeals in the Extremist press for the capture of municipal and district boards by non-cooperators are becoming more and more insistent. The *Lokmanya* exhorts the people to elect Congressmen at the next municipal and district board elections so as to lay the foundation of *swaraj* by the capture of these local bodies. A similar appeal is made by the *Aj*. The *Abhyudaya* says that by capturing the local bodies and working them in accordance with Congress principles, Indians can demonstrate their capacity for self-government before the world. The *Navayuga* urges that the Congress Committees should not put forward candidates other than non-co-operators unless they sign a pledge to obey the Congress mandates on questions of principle or to resign their membership. Under the heading the "Great United Provinces Scandal" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* reiterates the complaint that in several municipalities non-co-operators are not being allowed to be registered as voters. It characterises this as municipal despotism of the gravest type and thinks that both officials and non-officials in power are thoroughly demoralised. It adds that unless the Minister for Local Self-Government asserts himself he will expose himself to the reproach that he looked on helplessly while his department was making a dead letter of the promise made by the Governor at Allahabad. Several vernacular papers have also written to the same effect.

Release of political prisoners.

There is a general demand in the papers for the release of the remaining prisoners. It is urged that the Council resolution asked for the release of all prisoners convicted for political offences and not only of those arbitrarily classified by the authorities as political. The *Abhyudaya* says that if Sir William Marris really wants to respect the opinion of the Council he should at once order the release of the remaining political prisoners. The *Bharat Bandhu* expresses the hope that all the remaining political prisoners will be released so that the good impression created by the release of about 70 prisoners may not be marred. The *Kartavya* says that the announcement regarding the release of political prisoners followed by the release of a selected number was intended to deceive the people, but that the people have begun to understand the crooked policy of Government and cannot be taken in. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* complains that full effect was not given to the Governor's announcement as the majority of political

prisoners are still detained in jails. The *Medina* points out that only those prisoners have been set free who had already served the major portion of their terms and were considered to be a burden on the provincial exchequer. It remarks that those prisoners should also be released who are really political prisoners though not classed as such. The *Al Bashir* says that the Governor's announcement was a diplomatic move and created a false hope that all political prisoners would be released, whereas only prisoners of a certain class have been set free. Such a policy gives a severe blow to the credit of the Government and the public hesitates to repose confidence in its words and action. The *Al Khalil* writes to a similar effect. The *Azad* says that in view of the Council's resolution and the Governor's order it is altogether tyrannical to retain so many prisoners in jails and expresses the hope that His Excellency will reconsider their case.

The Lawrence statue affair.

The action of the Lahore Congress Committee in trying to have the Lawrence statue removed is being strongly supported by the Extremist press. The *Aj* says that the newly awakened national consciousness of Indians regards the inscriptions on the statue as highly insulting and assures the Punjabis of the country's whole-hearted support in their attempts to have the statue removed. It advises the Government to remove the statue of its own accord to the Government House. The *Swaraj* says: By removing the statue, which like a thorn pierces our vitals, we want to proclaim to the world and the British in particular that we Indians are no longer so foolish as to continue to be slaves. We wish to tell them that we do not want their rule whether through pen or sword and that they should now leave this country as early as possible and that if they want to live they should wash off their sins and live like us. The *Kartavya* eulogises the action of the Congress Committee with regard to the statue and exhorts the Punjabis to continue their campaign of *satyagraha* so as to make their name imperishable. The *Hamdam* utters a warning against threatened repression in the Punjab and says that it will only assist the Congress leaders in removing the present lull in their political activities.

Political propaganda.

In the course of a highly sentimental article the *Vikram* recalls the public services of Mr. Gandhi and takes the people to task for apathy in spite of his long term of imprisonment and appeals to them to try to secure his release. It adds "In order to save the country from national dishonour we ought to forsake our mutual differences and move forward unitedly in the path of progress and launch a vigorous attack on the Bureaucracy." The *Navayuga* points out that British India has become impoverished owing to the present system of administration and urges that if Indians want to save the country from ruin they should consider it their first and foremost duty to end the present system and work heart and soul for the establishment of *swaraj*. In the course of a highly emotional article the *Pratap* emphasises the seriousness of the struggle for *swaraj* and exhorts the people to make a firm resolve to go on making sacrifices cheerfully till the goddess of liberty is fully propitiated. The *Hindustani* calls attention to the dangers on the frontier, in the Near East and in the Punjab where great unrest prevails regarding the Akali trouble and the Lawrence statue affair and advises the Government to set aside its notions of prestige and to hold a Round Table Conference at the earliest possible date to find a solution of the existing political difficulties. Urging the establishment of national institutions in every nook and corner of the country *Free India* says: "The present educational system in India only offers such instruction as prepares the Indian youth for qualifying him as a clerk, a vakil or doctor, but does not do its real duty, that of making him a real, patriotic citizen."

The Waziristan campaign.

The *Al Burid* condemns the air raids on Waziristan and holds them to be an act of cruelty similar to that perpetrated by the Germans in dropping bombs over the peaceful

citizens of England and France. This paper and the *Hindustani* continue to insist on the abandonment of the Waziristan campaign on economic and political grounds.

Boycott of British goods.

Advocating the boycott of British goods the *Vikram* argues that spirituality does not stand in the way of the boycott of British goods inasmuch as the object of this measure is to remove injustices perpetrated by the Bureaucracy. In another article the paper gives a number of instances to show that Britain is holding India merely in the interest of British trade and that if that trade is completely stopped by the boycott of British goods Englishmen will no longer care to rule over India. The paper, therefore, exhorts the people to carry on the boycott propaganda regardless of all consequences.

Racial discrimination.

Commenting on the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly in connection with the Racial Distinctions Bill, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* writes: "Leaders and students realise that what has been given is the best under the circumstances. But the majority of those who have begun to take interest in public affairs are certainly disappointed when they are told that the racial distinctions are to remain after all and that the Kenya white, who takes his aim to shoot at our countrymen there, has, in this country, more privileges than they. One cannot explain away this scandal in spite of all the applause of the Assembly of the poetical outburst of Sir William Hailey on compromise." The *Leader* congratulates the Legislative Assembly on the passage of the Racial Distinctions Bill although it thinks that the compromise would not satisfy whole-hoggers on either side. "The door is open to future advances which ought to be all the easier because of the step now taken."

ZAFAR OMAR,

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 3rd March, 1923.

The Near East.

The *Leader* holds that it is not Great Britain but France that has stood in the way of a treaty being concluded at Lausanne by her insistence upon certain clauses being inserted in the draft treaty unacceptable to the Turks. The paper offers a friendly advice to the Khilafatists in India to revise their attitude of hostility towards England and cease to indulge in threats of civil disobedience, in the event of the Conference definitely proving a failure. The Muslim Press, however, continues to blame the British for the failure of the Conference. The *Al Khalil* refutes Lord Curzon's assertion that the Turks are responsible for the failure of the Conference and remarks that they are determined to make an appeal to the arbitrament of the sword. The *Mansur* apprehends a war in consequence of the recalcitrant attitude of the Allies in refusing to remove their warships from Smyrna and Smidt. In another article, the paper gathers from the utterances of the leaders of the Labour Party in Britain that she is ready to modify the terms of the treaty in favour of the Turks. The *Al Bureed* insinuates that the cunning moves of the Allies did not allow the Turks to solve the economic problems of their country, but on the contrary seem to goad them into war. The *Medina* warns the British against efforts to ruin Turkey and remarks that the Turk is no longer the sick man of the East and that the entire Muslim world is ready to extend a helping hand to him. The *Najat* says that the Turks are being dragged into war as the peace terms offered to them contain nothing which could protect and safeguard their rights and interests.

The Khilafat.

The news that an Indian Muhammadan is bringing a flag presented by the Sultan of Turkey has elated a section of the Muslim Press. The *Medina* welcomes the gift of the Khalifa and expresses the hope that it will be the forerunner of Islamic truth, greatness and unity. The *Nizam-i-Alam* advises the Musalmans to honour the flag with reverence and suggests Ajmere as the place where it should be kept. In welcoming the flag, the paper remarks that the war has proved a blessing in disguise to the Muslim world inasmuch as Muslims have become conscious of the fact that the Christian Powers have formed a compact to destroy them and that Muslim unity is the greatest safeguard against their sinister designs.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Vartman* calls attention to the ill-treatment of Indians in British colonies, especially Kenya, and of the Japanese in America, and urges that unless all Asiatic nations organise themselves for self-defence it will be difficult for them to live in this world. The *Oudh Akhbar* advises the Government of India and British statesmen to exert themselves to the utmost to secure justice for Indians in the Colonies as otherwise a very complicated situation will arise within the Empire. The *Hamdam* says that the opposition of the Colonials to Sir Benjamin Robertson's scheme shows that though they are conscious of the importance of Indians to their progress and prosperity, they despise and hate them.

The new party's programme.

The programme of the Congress-Khilafat-Swaraj Party recently announced has evoked little enthusiasm but a good deal of criticism. Even a section of the Extremist press is sceptic as to the success of the new party's policy. The *Leader* says that the new party's scheme of *swaraj* is not likely to catch on. It may be regarded as still-born. Unless its demands are such as can stand the test of reason and commonsense and are consistent with the claims of practical politics, the party will fail to carry the intelligentsia

with it. The paper does not attach any importance to the grandiose plan of participating in the formation of a federation of Asiatic countries. Indian politicians, says the paper, have enough work on hand in the country itself to find time to run after such chimeras. Although holding that the scheme is in consonance with the genius of the country the *Pratap* thinks that it has not taken sufficient account of present conditions and future possibilities. The *Vikram* thinks that the scheme is in conformity with ancient Aryan civilisation and system and well adapted to the changed conditions. Holding that the present Western system of administration may prove fatal to the political life of the country in course of time, the paper is glad that the scheme does not contain even a trace of that faulty system and says that if the principles of the scheme are worked even partially, India will become a heaven on earth. The *Najat* says that it is impossible to form an idea of the kind of *swaraj* sought to be obtained by means of this scheme. This is the time to sink differences and to put forward any scheme for *swaraj* over and above the question of Council entry is simply to accentuate the differences. Mr. Das would have been well advised in postponing the publication of his scheme till Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had exhausted his efforts at reconciliation. The *Al Bureed* holds that the scheme is replete with defects which will prove ruinous to the thirty crores of Indians of diverse creeds and interests. The principle of the rule by the majority will mean nothing short of Hindu *raj* unless equal rights and privileges are conferred on the minorities. The *Medina* thinks that the scheme contains nothing interesting to the masses. The *Nizam-i-Alam* says that it is childish to think that liberty will come through boycott and that Mr. Das's programme cannot be effective without certain modifications. The *Hindustani*, on the other hand, whole-heartedly welcomes the new scheme saying that it is not an outcome of a momentary impulse or a desire to bring about revolution by disturbances but is based on a firm and permanent foundation and is in keeping with the old traditions of the country as regards the village and town organisations. It will strengthen the cause of *swaraj* and will succeed in destroying the present bureaucratic system. The *Oudh Akhbar* deprecates the promulgation of impracticable schemes before all the stages of advancement provided by the Reforms have been passed through. It however holds that the scheme of Dr. Annie Besant and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru chalked out at the Delhi Conference is superior to any other scheme. The *Hamdam* disapproves of Mr. Das's attitude towards the reconciliation proposals of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to which both the Congress parties are favourably inclined. The *Mansur* expresses gratification at the compromise between the majority and minority parties of the Congress in the United Provinces and hopes that other provinces will follow the example. The *Agra Akhbar* regrets the downfall of the Congress and advises it to revert to its old principles and to regain its national character. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that the only significance of the programme is that it makes the approach between Nationalists and Liberals easy. Little by little Mr. Das and Nehru are travelling towards the ideal of what may be called responsive cooperation. The paper hopes that having taken such a decidedly advanced step some means would be found by which both the Nationalists and Liberals could unite and present a common front.

Indianisation of the Army.

The Indian Press is dissatisfied with the scheme for the Indianisation of the Army. The *Leader* says that the Army department will be very much disappointed if it thinks that during the time the eight infantry units of the Army are Indianised, there will be no more insistent cry for the Indianisation of the Army. What the country wants, remarks the paper, is a scheme, a programme, a policy for Indianising the army within a definite period, say twenty to twenty-five years at the most, and not an experiment which will result in fifteen years in Indianising only one-seventeenth of the Indian Army. The *Vikram* is not satisfied with the scheme,

for it thinks that the Army department requires a radical change and that the mere substitution of some Europeans by Indians cannot be of much benefit. The *Lakshman* says that such *bania*-like niggardliness cannot satisfy the Indians now. Strongly criticising the scheme, the *Aj* says that the Indian Army is not really Indian. It is not calculated to enhance the honour and glory of Indians, but to proclaim their helplessness. The paper thinks that at the rate proposed in the scheme it will take centuries to Indianise the Army. The *Hamdam*, while expressing some satisfaction at the announcement of the Commander-in-Chief in connection with the scheme, says that the complete Indianisation of the Army will be accomplished with difficulty even in half a century if it is to proceed on the lines indicated by him. The *Oudh Akhbar* welcomes the announcement saying that it is because of the Reforms that the voice of the representatives of the people is no more a cry in the wilderness. The *Nizam-i-Alam* remarks that the scheme is designed to remove Indian influence even from the Indian regiments and is insufficient for the achievement of the desired end which will take years to materialise.

Political propaganda.

Under the heading "What will happen if the cultivators strike?" the *Vartman* calls attention to the latent power of the cultivators due to their numbers and their being the food suppliers of the whole country and refers to the victory of the agriculturists in Ireland through strikes and non-cooperation with landlords. It says in conclusion that if the cultivators of India become organised and determined to secure their rights they can win them without riots and disturbances. The *kisans* can do everything. They can even win *swaraj*, but only if they are organised. The *kisans* should put their organisations in order and demand such help as they require from the Congress. The paper writes in a similar strain in another article headed "How long will the *kisans* be bled?" Emphasising the need for strengthening the Congress organisation the *Navayuga* suggests that the Congress committees should be revived in villages, *taluqas* and tahsils. These committees should start primary classes for both girls and boys in villages, should help the villagers during outbreaks of diseases and other troubles, should encourage physical development by arranging for wrestling matches and should also look after the fulfilment of the constructive programme of the Congress in regard to the manufacture of *khaddar* and the removal of untouchability. The *Lakshman* says that owing to the autocracy and mischievousness of the bureaucracy it has become the bounden duty of Indians to resort to civil disobedience, even if they are not prepared for it. It urges that the form of the civil disobedience and the date on which it should be started should be determined first and then appeals for volunteers and money should be made. The *Abhyudaya* takes the *Kshattriya Mahasabha* to task for not taking practical steps to give effect to its resolution agreeing to take into its fold 4½ lakhs of Musalman Rajputs and says if Hindus want to become great they should reconvert the Musalman Rajputs.

Racial Distinctions Bill.

The *Leader* warmly congratulates those responsible for the advance which the Racial Distinctions Bill registers over the present arrangements. The compromise like all compromises would not satisfy whole-hoggers on either side nor can it indeed be regarded as representing a final solution, but the door is open to future advances which ought to be all the easier because of the step now taken. The *Advocate* regards the Bill as a compromise which still perpetuates invidious racial distinctions and says that the Indian members should not have accepted such a compromise.

Municipal and district board elections.

The Nationalist papers continue to exhort voters to help the Congress in capturing municipal and district boards. The *Hamdam* and the *Oudh Akhbar* express gratification at the circular regarding the eligibility of released political prisoners for municipal elections and express the hope that a similar

circular will be issued regarding elections for district boards. The *Oudh Akhbar* puts in a plea for the election of other candidates also in addition to the Congress candidates to ensure proper administration of municipal boards. In the course of an open letter to the voters, the *Vartman* says that in the past municipal members have abused their membership to enrich themselves at the expense of the public and appeals to the people to return only such patriots as are burning for *swaraj*. It is confident that when Congressmen have assumed charge of the administration of cities and districts, the provinces and the whole country will come under their control.

Release of political prisoners.

The Press generally continues to express dissatisfaction with regard to the release of political prisoners. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regrets that the Government should not have had courage to carry out what, in words of courage and statesmanship, it was perhaps easy for the Governor of the province to assert. The Legislative Council has been practically cheated, as has been the country. Protesting against the detention of the majority of political prisoners in jail, in spite of the Governor's announcement, the *Pratap* says: By flouting a resolution solemnly and unanimously passed by the representatives of the people the stupid bureaucracy has demonstrated that it has lost its senses. Have the members of the Council become so dead as to tolerate the flouting of their resolutions in this manner? They will have to make up their mind that they will not pass the budget until their resolution has been given effect to completely.

The Budget.

Commenting on the Budget the Indian Press takes a gloomy view of the financial position. The *Leader* considers the situation in the United Provinces to be a grave one and in a leading article headed "A Bankruptcy Budget" the paper emphasises the necessity of additional taxation if financial equilibrium is to be restored and says that it would require great courage on the part of the members to vote in favour of additional taxation:— "The needs of the situation cannot be met by an uncompromising 'no' to taxation proposals. They should be examined on the merits." The *Hamdam* is dissatisfied with the proposed new taxation which will prove an extra burden on the people who have yet hardly recovered from the high prices of the last few years. Referring to the increased expenditure on jails, it invites the attention of Government to the wisdom of releasing all political prisoners on financial grounds if it cannot see its way to concede in this matter to the popular feeling.

The 3rd March, 1923.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Near East.

Comments on the Turkish affairs have been few and a more hopeful view of the settlement of the Near Eastern question prevails. The *Medina* is the only exception which says that the policy of Lord Curzon aims at the destruction of Turkey and that the time is approaching when the blood of *jihad* will run through the veins of every Musalman, who will be prepared to sacrifice himself for the safety of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The *Najat* does not believe that the withdrawal of the British warships from Smyrna is due to any friendly feelings towards the Turks. It also refers to secret treaties between the Bolsheviks, the Germans, Turks, Bulgarians and Roumanians, which it holds are calculated to injure British interests. It gives prominence to a speech of the Afghan Ambassador at Angora that in case of hostility between Britain and the Kemalists, the Afghan armies will march against India. The *Al Khalil* reads in the debate in the House of Commons and the Viceroy's speech in Bhopal, the British intention of leaving Mosul rather than bear the burden of another war. The *Medina* warns the British Premier against disregarding the wishes of the people of Britain as expressed by their representatives in the House of Commons on the question of Iraq.

The Royal Commission.

The Press continues to express disapproval of the Royal Commission on Public Services. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is gratified at the prospect of a strong attack in the Legislative Assembly during the budget discussion and says that the stern opposition of the country to the Royal Commission and the suspicions that it has aroused, must be strongly expressed, as therein alone lies the hope of the Peel-ites ever realising that the people of India are strong and would not stand systematic humiliation. If the Indian Legislature should fail to assert itself on such occasions, it would certainly have ceased to deserve any support or appreciation from the people. The *Pioneer* fears that Lord Peel's latest statement regarding the proposed Royal Commission will not bring much consolation to the members of the Imperial services in India.

The Imperial budget.

A good deal of interest has been aroused in the Press with regard to the Imperial budget. The Indian Press is alarmed at the deficit and many bitter attacks have been made on the military expenditure. Even the *Pioneer* considers the situation to be by no means free from complexity and says that the statement of the Finance Member will be read with mixed feelings by every one who has been following the course of Indian finances. The paper quotes the Hon'ble Member's reference to the risk that is being taken in regard to military expenditure and says that his words deserve the anxious consideration of every man who has a stake in the country. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* protests against the hand-to-mouth character of the budget, and suggests that the Waziris should be allowed to live in peace and the money spent on the Waziristan campaign should be saved. It does not believe that the retrenchment being carried out by the Government is a real one and asks the representatives of the people in the Assembly to set their face resolutely against any real retrenchment that entails hardship on those least fitted to bear it. The *Advocate* styles it as another bankruptcy budget and says that drastic retrenchment in military expenditure is necessary for the rehabilitation of the financial position of India. While praising the Finance Member's statement as a masterly exposition of the financial position of the Government of India, the

Leader says that India is being crushed under the weight of local, provincial and Imperial taxation and instead of relief being afforded fresh taxation is proposed, which is in the nature of the last straw on the camel's back. The *Hamdam* deplores the fact that for some years the revenue under certain items is being underestimated. It refers to the warning given by the Press last year that the increase in postal rates would result in a decrease of income and says that a similar deficit is likely to result in the next year. It advocates the reduction of military expenditure and the curtailment of the highly paid services and the appointment of more provincial service men in their place. The *Medina* says that the Finance Member had to employ rhetoric more than figures and facts in support of the budget and adds: Unjust and extraordinary items have not been commented upon. Pensions of European employees are just the same; expenditure on the European services has not been curtailed; they get the same pay and Dyer and O'Dwyer receive the same reward; the frontier expeditions remain where they were; the construction of the new Delhi goes on; the military forces are unaffected and the propaganda departments are untouched. If the lightning has struck anybody, it is the poor Indian servant and the poverty-ridden Indian tax-payer. It humorously remarks that the only way to lighten the burden of the Finance Member would be the repudiation of the Government loan or, better still, to find money from the aspiring Rai Bahadurs and Khan Bahadurs. The *Al Khalil* deplores the deficit and is dissatisfied with the amount of retrenchment effected in the Government of India departments. It attacks the exchange policy of Government and says that the Waziristan campaign is an unnecessary burden on the Indian exchequer. The *Oudh Akhbar* styles the retrenchment as only nominal and strongly opposes the new taxation, as it will not be conducive to the peace and tranquillity of the country. The *Aj* is dissatisfied with the budget and says that thirty crores are more than sufficient for military expenditure and suggests an economy of twenty crores in civil administration. Referring to Mr. Denys Bray's speech with regard to Government policy in Waziristan, the *Leader* says that it may be a very noble object to bring within the pale of civilisation a handful of frontier outlaws who intensely love their freedom, abhor control of any sort and have refused to exchange their freedom for law and order within their territory.

Duty on salt.

The chief feature of the comments on the Imperial budget is the unanimous disapproval of the salt tax. The *Leader* says that the imposition of the proposed tax will be a day-to-day reminder to the people of India of the utter indifference of the *sarkar* to his hard lot and will make the soil more receptive for mischievous doctrines. There is enough inflammable material already existing in the country; let not one more be added. The Government may be honestly convinced that the salt tax is the least objectionable economically and socially. But its conviction betrays its profound ignorance or lack of sympathy with the economic plight of the poor. The paper supports the attitude of the Legislative Assembly in opposing the duty on salt and after attacking the military expenditure says: With such almost criminal extravagance going on the frontier, it is idle to expect that the Assembly would be easily persuaded to agree to the proposal for the doubling of the duty on such an essential necessity of life as salt. The tax will affect the poorest of the poor. The raising of the price of salt will be immediately felt by the masses and will make the Government more hated. No more unpopular and indefensible tax than the raising of the duty on salt could have been proposed. The *Advocate* says that the salt tax will be extremely hard on the masses. The *Pioneer* is the only exception which supports the salt tax. It says that in India the salt tax is a sort of reserve of taxation on which the Government can draw in case of emergency and it warns the Legislative Assembly that if on sentimental grounds or under the influence of unscrupulous electioneering campaign the Assembly reject it and leave yet another

uncovered deficit, it will incur a grave responsibility for the detrimental effects of their decision upon the country's credit. The *Aj* remarks that the proposed increase in salt tax is inhuman, is inconsistent with the duty of the State and is a blot on civilisation. The money obtained by salt tax on poor Indians will be used in dropping bombs on unarmed Waziri women and children. Indians ought not to have any hand in this detestable, inhuman and barbarous manslaughter. The Legislative Assembly should refuse to sanction any increase in salt taxation and thus vindicate Indian civilisation. The *Anand* is afraid that the increase in the duty on salt will be a political blunder of the first magnitude and the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly will do well not to consent to it, but should urge the Government of India to give full effect to the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee to make good the deficit in the budget. The *Al Khalil* says that the enhancement of the duty on salt will hit the poor, the widow and the orphan. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the taxation will create discontent against the Government.

Report of the Inchcape Committee.

The Indian Press generally is not wholly satisfied with the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee. While agreeing with some of the recommendations of the Committee on minor points, the *Aj* is highly dissatisfied with them in regard to the military expenditure and other important items. The paper regrets that the Committee did not recommend a reduction of the pay of higher officers and thinks that retrenchment under these circumstances will mean hardship on subordinates on small pay and that the top-heaviness and paralysis of the lower limbs will be further aggravated by the Royal Commission seeking to pamper the higher officials and starve the already inadequately paid services. The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses gratification at the retrenchment effected in the military expenditure, but says that the recommendations of the Committee for retrenchment in Railway, Post Offices and Telegraphs will tell upon the poor Indians only as these departments are mostly manned by Indians. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that vast hopes had been aroused and the serious financial situation of the country demanded that the Inchcape axe would produce more substantial results. Except as an expert inquiry into the working of all departments and a reference book for future guidance, the report may not have any significance for the future. In another article, the paper says: The Inchcape axe reminds one of the mountain in labour and the production of the mouse. The *Leader* says that the Committee has done its work thoroughly, expeditiously and in a businesslike manner and is glad to find that the Committee has come to the conclusion that the balancing of the Indian budget can only be secured by a substantial reduction in the military expenditure. The Committee's strong strictures on the unbusinesslike management of Indian railways are well deserved. A halt should be called to further borrowing on railways until these are placed on a sound commercial basis. The *Hamdam* says that the people of India are grateful to Lord Inchcape and his colleagues for the proposals regarding the reduction of military expenditure which has been an intolerable burden on the people for a number of years. It hopes that the Government of India will carry out the recommendations of the Inchcape Committee and thereby remove the uneasiness felt by the people with regard to the financial position of the country.

Political propaganda.

During the week owing to the *Holi* festival, Hindi papers have devoted themselves mainly to humorous notes and articles with a strong political tinge. Leading articles while explaining the origin of the festival, insinuate that just as the demon king Hiranyakashipu was destroyed in consequence of the sufferings of Prahlad, so will the Bureaucracy be destroyed by the *satyagraha* of the people. The *Kartavya* in its special number exhorts the people to celebrate the festival by drenching themselves in the colour of non-cooperation, rubbing their faces with the powder of true patriotism and singing national songs. The *Lakshman* says that it is

improper for Hindus to celebrate the *Holi* festival so long as Mahatma Gandhi is in jail and that their only endeavour at the present moment should be to approach the goddess of liberty by putting an end to the party feeling in the country and setting Mahatma Gandhi free. In the course of an highly emotional article, the *Prem* suggests that it is not proper for Indians to celebrate the *Holi* in the present circumstances of the country and says: Atrocities have been perpetrated on the children of this country and women of respectable families and their faces have been spat upon. When the fire of this insult is blazing over the country what is the need of collecting and burning firewood at various places? What is the need of spraying coloured water by means of syringes when the blood of the 172 innocent brethren of Chauri Chaura is about to be spilled? Referring to the Congress parties, the *Navayuga* says that the new party should have joined the majority in its preparations for civil disobedience, since indifference in the matter will render it almost impossible to bring about a situation favourable to mass civil disobedience. The *Jain Kesari* pays a tribute to the Irish Republicans for their firm determination to emancipate their country at all costs and says that Indians should also be consumed by a burning passion for liberty before they can hope for emancipation. It adds: Such passion for liberty on the part of Indians will make the Bureaucracy perpetrate hundreds of Jallianwala Bagh tragedies. But the more the Indians come forward to sacrifice themselves in the struggle the nearer will they approach to the temple of liberty. The *Qaum* says: The strong desire for liberty in Ireland, India and Egypt is due to the working of Providence. The ruling nation perpetrates all sorts of repressions over the subject people. The Press broke the power of the priests in Europe and will again today put an end to the present unlawful attitude of the alien rulers. The *Medina* is opposed to the new political parties saying that they deal a blow to a united India and opines that *swaraj* should be defined before any scheme can be formulated. The *Najat* welcomes the efforts at compromise between the two Congress parties and says that it should be such as would give no cause for complaint to any one and would not allow differences of opinion to arise again.

The U. P. budget.

The *Aj* attributes the deficit in the Provincial budget to what it calls Sir Harcourt Butler's extravagance. The *Navayuga* regards the budget as a proof of the insolvency of the United Provinces Government.

ZAFAR OMAR,

The 3rd March, 1923. *Publicity Officer, United Provinces.*

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Near East.

THE publication of the Turkish counter proposals has revived interest in the Near East affairs. The *Najat* says that the question of peace or war depends upon the decision of the Allies, whether they will or will not adopt the principle of justice, equality and righteousness towards the Turks in further peace negotiations. The paper, however, continues to be apprehensive of the outbreak of a war and says that in view of the serious unrest prevailing in her various possessions Britain will be faced with very grave difficulties and will find it hard to maintain her existence. The *Haqiqat*, on the other hand, hopes that war will be averted as the majority of the Angora Government including Kemal Pasha is ready to accept the terms of the treaty presented to the Turks at Lausanne. It however points out that the signing of the treaty will not in itself solve the question of Khilafat so long as Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria are under non-Muslim control and possession, because this question does not rest with the Turks alone. The *Hamdam* has recently adopted a more optimistic attitude and in a series of articles it points out the advantages to both the Turks and the British of resuming friendly relations and says that the counter peace proposals offered by the Angora assembly contain nothing detrimental to the interests of Britain and expresses the hope that the representatives of the Angora and the British Governments will eventually find out means of safeguarding the economic interests of England in Mosul and giving back the province to Turkey. One Professor S. N. Chopra, writing in the *Chhatri*, makes out that the Lausanne treaty is very favourable to the Turks owing to British influence and that they have no justification to accuse Britain of maintaining a hostile attitude towards them. An anonymous correspondent in the *Agra Akhbar* urges that Britain's greatest duty at the present juncture is to influence France and Italy to change their attitude towards Turks so that peace may be concluded and tranquillity restored in the world. The *Qaum* asks what harm does Britain apprehend from the Turks to justify her taking a great part in their ruination? The *Pioneer*, holds the Turkish delegates to be responsible for the protracted negotiations at Lausanne and thinks that the only hope of a speedy conclusion of the business depends upon whether the Turks are prepared at last to discuss the questions at issue without quibbling and in a reasonable spirit. Referring to the summary of the official report of the proceedings of the Lausanne Conference, the *Leader* says that it shows beyond doubt that Lord Curzon strove his best for peace and could not make further concessions to Turkey because of the unwillingness of the French and Italian delegates. The paper hopes that when the discussions are resumed, the French and the Italians will see their way to show the same generosity and determination to achieve peace which has actuated the British Foreign Secretary.

Khilafat.

The *Al Bureed* accuses Britain of setting the Sherif of Mecca against Islam for her selfish ends and says that the deposed Sultan and the Sherif of Mecca can never establish their claims to Khilafat against the duly elected Khalifa. The *Nizam-i-Alam* does not approve of the suggestion to parade the Khilafat flag throughout India, as, in its opinion, this will lower the reverence of the Muslims for it. It suggests that the flag should be fixed at Ajmer, where Muhammadans should go to offer their religious allegiance to it and that it should be raised when a *jihad* is proclaimed. The paper adds: Muhammadans are not as yet so cowardly as to grudge even

their lives for their religion. Though under the force of circumstances they themselves cannot shoot their enemies yet the airships sent by them will throw bombs over those who burnt the sacred shroud of Ka'aba, and put the old men, women and children to the sword. Referring to the report of the commission appointed by the Khilafat Committee itself to audit its accounts the *Mashriq* deplores that the money raised from poor Muslims has been squandered on personal comforts and pleasures and that office discipline is sadly out of joint. The report is a shameful exposition of the doings of the Khilafat authorities.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Leader* strongly supports the idea of sending at once a small but influential deputation representing the non-official portion of the Indian Legislature to press upon the Colonial Office the importance of arriving early at a right solution of the Kenya question. The paper holds that India's allegiance to the Empire depends upon the practical recognition of India's equal status and freedom and that no effort would be spared in bringing home this truth to the responsible statesmen and their constituents.

The Imperial Budget.

The Imperial Budget continues to receive attention, the military expenditure and the salt-tax being the main objects of attack. The *Vartman* vehemently condemns the proposed increase in salt-tax and the estimated military expenditure and referring to the consecutive deficits in the budget for the past few years, says: The huge expenditures of the Bureaucracy have been continuously ruining India. Unmindful of the poverty of Indians the British Government is openly wasting crores of rupees. In these circumstances we have to ask, what right have Englishmen to rule over India? They have times after times proved their incapacity, yet with an army costing 70 crores of rupees per annum they are crushing Indians. We have been carefully noting that the budgets are slowly sucking the blood of India. The *Aj* also strongly criticises the proposed increase in the salt-tax aud the military estimates and says that in one way British Government can be called a military government. It says in conclusion: "May we still hope that even now people will take heed and endeavour to have the country administered in a way that would further its interests, lead to the progress of its inhabitants and enable them to lead independent lives?" The *Navayuga* says that the proposed enhancement of the salt-tax shows that the Government does not care for the well-being of the masses, but only wants funds for the high salaried officials. The imposition of tax on such necessaries of life is possible only under an alien Government and ought to reinforce the demand for *swaraj*. The *Pratap* strongly criticises the proposed enhancement of salt-tax and the expenditure incurred in connection with Waziristan and says: In spite of the people's opposition to the costly policy of suppressing the Waziris, the stupid Bureaucracy remains obstinate and in order to meet this sinful expenditure it wants to snatch the bread of the poor by doubling the salt-duty. It is possible only for an unnatural and unfeeling Bureaucracy to increase to a fatal point the already intolerable burden of the people and to destroy their health. The *Shakti* strongly protests against the enhancement of the salt-tax and asks whether the deficit in the budget could not be met by curtailing the military expenditure to that extent. Comparing the surplus in the British Budget with the deficit in the Indian Budget it says that the surplus in the former case is due to the fact that England is free and is not under an administration which is sucking the blood of the poor. The *Najat* is utterly dissatisfied with the Imperial Budget and condemns the ever-increasing military expenditure, the Waziristan campaign and the high salaries given to Englishmen in India who, it says, starve in their own country, but are brought out to India to lead a princely life. Even in the days of the so-called tyrannical Muhammadan rulers there was no tax on salt, and Mr. Gokhale pathetically pleaded against the imposition of this tax. But those who have no concern for India's welfare can never be impressed by such pleadings. The *Mashriq* considers the enhancement

of the salt-tax to be injudicious as the poor will be hard hit by it. It says that the tax on matches has proved burdensome to the poor and urges that the causes of the reduction in the revenue from the income-tax should be investigated.

The United Provinces Budget.

The Provincial Budget has received scant attention in the press. The *Pioneer* regards the proposed motor-tax as an instance of class taxation and points out that owners of motor-cars have already to pay several taxes in connection with their cars. "The motor-owner in the United Provinces, therefore, is labouring under a strong sense of injustice in making his protest and it may be hoped that he will not have protested in vain." The paper thinks that some of the results of the tax may involve a diminution of revenue in other directions. The *Mashriq* approves of the motor-tax, the enhancement of stamp duty and court-fees in the United Provinces.

Inchcape Committee.

The *Leader* makes long quotations from the report regarding military expenditure and says that they confirm the belief entertained by the public that a horrible amount of waste and extravagance exists in the Army. "The disclosures made point to the urgent need of effective control over military expenditure. Such a control should be established in India itself through an independent agency." The *Mansur* approves of the reduction recommended by the Inchcape Committee in the military expenditure and the inclination of the Government to change its policy regarding Waziristan. It however says that the Imperial civil and military services are too costly for India and need to be pruned. The *Vikram* is dissatisfied with the proposals of the Committee on the ground that they do not recommend a decrease in the pay of higher officers and a reduction in the number of the higher posts. It says in conclusion: The present system of administration is full of such evils that all the money of Indians is being drained away to foreign countries. Retrenchment affects only the low paid Indians. The *Pratap* thinks that a reduction of 9¼ crores in the huge expenditure cannot have any appreciable benefit. The *Aj* asks: How can people believe that retrenchments are being effected when instead of relieving the burden of taxation, the salt-tax is being actually doubled? The *Shakti* expresses disappointment at the recommendations of the Committee. In the opinion of the paper the Committee ought to have cut down the military expenditure on the Army to 30 crores and that there can be no substantial saving by applying the pruning knife to low paid subordinates and the Education department while appointing a Royal Commission to improve the prospects of Civilians.

Indianisation of services.

Referring to the statement of Mr. Burdon that it would take twenty-three years to Indianise eight units, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the country would receive with a shock the intelligence that Indianisation of the Army meant such a slow process. Referring to the demands in the Indian and Provincial Legislatures for the Indianisation of services the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It is the unwillingness of Government to do what had been promised and almost positive churlishness in treating the claims of the educated children of the soil that is responsible for discontent in more places than we are aware of. The *Navayuga* urges the Legislative Assembly not to vote the grant for the Royal Commission and to boycott it in retaliation for the insult offered to it by the Secretary of State in appointing the Commission. The *Zulqarnain* says that the scheme announced by the Commander-in-Chief on the 17th February for the Indianisation of the Army is an epoch-making event in the military history of the country and that it is the duty of every Indian to exert his best to make it a success. The paper justifies the modest scope of the scheme in view of the grave military situation on the frontier owing to Bolshevik régime in Russia, when it is inadmissible to increase the number of Indian officers all of a sudden.

Political propaganda.

Almost all the Extremist Hindi papers appeal to the people to celebrate the anniversary of the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi by acting upon his injunctions. The *Shakti* says: It is a matter for deep shame and regret that despite the lapse of one year since Mahatma Gandhi's incarceration, our blood has not been stirred and we have done nothing for spreading the use of *khaddar* and strengthening the Congress organisation. We should expiate for this sin by giving up foreign clothes and putting on *khaddar*. We should become members of the Congress and shake the very foundations of the unjust Government. The *Navayuga* urges the Congress Working Committee to lay the foundation of an Asiatic Federation within this year and to send its representatives to independent Asiatic States to bring India into closer touch with them as, in its opinion, the establishment of such a Federation will help in the emancipation of this country at an early date. Exhorting the people to prepare for *satyagraha* the *Vartman* says: The masses have realised full well that under the British Government India is becoming poorer day by day. Cultivators, labourers and citizens are being ruined. The only way of preventing their ruin is to organise and utilise the restlessness of the people and win *swaraj* as soon as possible. The *Qaum* dilates on the passion for liberty in all countries and exhorts Indians to follow Mahatma Gandhi, remove Hindu-Muslim tension in the Punjab, and try their best to carry out the Congress programme during the Gandhi week. If this is done the emancipation of India is assured, as no earthly power will be able to stand against the intense passion for liberty of thirty-three crores of human beings. The *Najat* says that it is one of the signs of the failure of British rule in India that the jails are full of respectable and fearless citizens and the repressive laws are in force. The other sign is the huge military expenditure which is greater than that of any other civilised country. The true fact is that Britain is providing means of livelihood in foreign countries to her destitute sons. The paper asks if this is the kind of rule of which Britain is proud. The *Hamdam* agrees with the new Congress party in its opinion regarding civil disobedience that the country will not be able to wield the dangerous weapon of civil disobedience at least for two years to come and says that the two months' period granted under the compromise is quite insufficient. The *Qaum* contends that the non-cooperation movement is not dead and that in its political aspect it is still directed against the enslavement of the whole country by the British Government under the pretence of peace, prosperity and civilisation. The *Najat* welcomes the Congress compromise and exhorts the people to complete the constructive programme, so that civil disobedience may be started at the earliest possible opportunity. The *Oudh Akhbar* urges the Nizam of Hyderabad to appoint a Sheikh-ul-Islam to guide Muhammadans in Native States on religious questions and says that it is possible that a similar appointment may be made in British India as well and the British Government may entrust the task of appointing this dignitary to the ruler of the Hyderabad State. The same paper protests against the observance of a general strike on the 18th March as decided upon by the Congress Committee, as it will not be beneficial to the public.

Municipal and District Board elections.

Exhorting the electors to vote for nominees of the Congress Committee only, the *Vikram* says: Through these bodies we can do a great deal to make our agitation a success as they can help us a great deal in fighting against the Bureaucracy. In the course of a leading article on the duties of electors, the *Pratap* exhorts the voters to elect only those men who are nominated by Congress Committees, and says: The Congress Committees are real well-wishers of the people. They are the representatives of the people and the people should therefore accept their advice. The nominees of Congress Committee will not go to municipalities through any selfish motives, but with the aim of establishing *swaraj* as early as possible. They will go to municipalities in the same spirit in which they went to jail.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The propaganda of the Arya Samaj for the re-conversion of certain classes of Muhammadans has perturbed the Muslim papers. The *Al Bureed* remarks that the Hindu-Muslim unity is simply a farce and that the Hindus while professing unity are trying at heart to uproot Islam. The *Al Bashir* condemns Swami Shraddhanand and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya for their efforts to reorganise the Hindu community and says that so long as men of this stamp exist India can never achieve freedom. For *swaraj* Muhammadans never rely on Hindu support, and if India ever achieves liberty it will be on account of the Muhammadans only. The *Hamdam* heartily supports the appeal made by the *Jamiat-i-Ulema* for funds to protect the Muslim Rajputs from relapse into Hinduism and exhorts the Muslims to realise their duty. Hindu papers are elated at the re-conversion movement. The *Leader* says that it is one of the most hopeful signs of the times that the Hindus have become alive to the need of admitting into their brotherhood those whom, under false conceptions of religious and social purity, they discarded long ago. The *Anand* says that Muhammadans have no justification for raising a cry over the re-conversion of nau-Muslims as a blow on Hindu-Muslim unity for such considerations never influenced them when they converted the Hindus to Islam. Referring to reports of growing estrangement of Hindu-Muslim relations in the Punjab, the *Leader* says that the fault does not lie so much with the Hindus as with those "who have made communalism their creed and have substituted pan-Islamism for patriotism . . . Instead of blaming the Hindus for entertaining anti-Muslim feelings, the Musalmans must practise careful introspection and consider how far their short-sighted policy of harping on communal string in season and out of season is responsible for the widening gulf and the growing distrust between the two communities."

Arrest of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi.

The arrest of Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, formerly editor of the *Pratap*, and reports of ill-treatment in the lock-up have evoked angry comments in the Hindi papers. The *Navayuga* says: As the Bureaucracy cannot tolerate patriots Mr. Ganesh Shankar has always been regarded as a thorn in its side and despite his patient sufferings for the last two years, he is still to be made a victim of repression. The *Vikram* eulogises the services of Mr. Vidyarthi and referring to the case instituted against him says: "The fact is that we are beaten, but are not allowed to weep; when we try to give vent to our anguish we are gagged. There is only one remedy for this helplessness and that is non-cooperation, the subversion of the bureaucratic régime and destruction of the rule of foreigners." The *Anand* thinks that the ill-treatment of Ganesh Shankar has been inspired by a vindictive spirit.

Bolshevism.

Under the heading "Why are Bolsheviks coming?" the *Vartman* eulogises the principles and policy of Bolsheviks and says that under Bolshevik régime the emoluments of professors and labourers are the same. Every one gets sufficient for his needs and those of his family. There is a charm in Bolshevism which opens the eyes of the people. For a long time Bolsheviks have been casting longing eyes on India. They do not want to rule over her but they have been moving about in order to uproot the British Government.

ZAFAR OMAR,

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 24th March, 1923.

The Near East.

WHILE the Hindi papers have little to say about the peace proposals presented by the Turks, the Muslim papers support the Turkish claims, and the more moderate among them are practically certain of peace being established in the Near East. The *Hamdam* hopes that its expectations in respect of a speedy peace are likely to be fulfilled. It commends Turkish counter-proposals to the British statesmen and urges a sympathetic consideration. The *Oudh Akhbar* publishes a communicated article emphasising the liberal and beneficial character of the peace terms handed to the Turks at Lausanne. Similarly the *Mashriq* urges that as the entire Muslim world is interested in the Turkish treaty, France and Italy should not stand in its way and Britain should bring her influence to bear upon her Allies. The *Medina* expresses the hope that in view of the defeat of her policy of deception, Britain will now move for peace. The *Al Bureed* criticises the British press attacks on the counter-proposals of the Angora Government, specially in respect of the Capitulation clauses, and says that the new Turks are not the people who can be made to sign a treaty on pain of death. Their hearts are now lit with the light of Islam and they have a divine hand to help them. The *Al Khalil* remarks that just as the Turks replied to the threats of Mr. Lloyd George by conquering Smyrna, in the same way they have now given an answer to the proud General Harrington by rejecting the Lausanne Treaty. The Turkish counter-proposals are modest and couched in conciliatory language, and as the Allies do not seem to be prepared for a war, the prospects of peace are good. Syed Muhammad Iliyas Rizvi, writing in Muslim papers, apprehends a war as a result of the Allied attitude towards Turkey as displayed in the Lausanne Treaty and says that the next war will not be a war between the Turks and the Allies but a war between Islam and Christianity, and between the East and West. He makes a stirring appeal to the Indian students to organise themselves under one national flag and to work for the freedom of their holy land and to join the Angora legion in overwhelming numbers. The *Qaum* says that in view of the present European situation a war is imminent, which will be ruinous to France and England. Providence can never allow big powers to continue to ruin humanity. Britain's position is most delicate as the whole Muslim world is against it. It has now become impossible to dominate over India, Mesopotamia, the Frontier territory, Ireland and Egypt. A change of policy is needed and a round table conference of the British Empire is absolutely necessary. India, Egypt, Ireland and Mesopotamia when made free will prove to be the best friends and supporters of the Empire. The *Al Bureed* says that all the efforts of General Allenby to suppress the liberty movement in Egypt have failed and that the Egyptians have convinced the British High Commissioner that they are prepared for any sacrifice in order to gain their liberty. The *Oudh Akhbar* deplores the growing estrangement between the Englishmen and Egyptians and says that the situation in Egypt can never fail to affect the Indian Muhammadans. It urges that with a view to maintaining peace and order in India, it is the duty of the Indian Government to exercise its influence and prevent the Egyptian affairs from going from bad to worse. The *Medina* holds that the British prestige has suffered irreparably in Mesopotamia where the Arabs are virtually in revolt against the British occupation and demand the withdrawal of its armies.

The time is gone by, it remarks, when under the cover of such humanitarian motives as the spreading of education and civilisation the hunger for territorial aggrandisement was satisfied.

Khilafat.

The publication of the suppressed report of the Khilafat Audit Committee has been ignored by the Extremist papers. The *Rozana Akhbar* of Bareilly, the *Mashriq* and *Zulqarnain* have attacked the Khilafat leaders for culpable mismanagement of funds collected from poor Musalmans. The *Nizam-i-Alam* deplores the misappropriation and squandering of the Khilafat funds and holds the office-bearers responsible for it, and insists that the administration of national funds should henceforth be placed on a sounder footing. The *Pioneer* says that the report provides an object lesson which should open the eyes of the Indian public. The *Leader* after summarising the report says:—The report unfolds an astounding tale of waste, extravagance, irresponsibility, chaos and confusion in every branch of the organisation. It shows how mercilessly the money realised from the poor in the name of religion has been spent by men who exhorted them to sacrifice their all for the sake of religion. If there had not been so much credulity and ignorance in the land, those responsible for such a reckless administration of Khilafat funds would have been severely called to account by Muslim public opinion. In the opinion of the *Indian Daily Telegraph* it is natural that just at the present time when appeals for funds are made on behalf of the Congress and the Khilafat, sensational stories of waste and bad accounting should be published in party newspapers. It insinuates that occasionally the auditors' reports of Civil Service accounts show an equally scandalous irregularity. The *Medina* welcomes the report that the deposed Sultan has recognised his successor as a duly elected Khalifa and says that the old Sultan is wise enough not to trust British promises.

The Frontier tribes.

The *Al Khalil* and *Medina* reproduce an article from the *Ittihad-i-Mashriqi* (Jelalabad) accusing Britain of sinister motives in her frontier policy and forecasting that the result of continued tyranny on the frontier tribes will alienate Afghanistan from Britain as the Afghans cannot long remain silent spectators of the barbarous cruelties perpetrated on their brethren.

Reconversion of Muslim Rajputs.

The Muslim press is greatly exercised over the re-conversion of nau-Muslims in the Agra district and elsewhere, while the Hindi papers maintain that the Muslim Rajputs are only Muhammadans in name and are eager to return to the fold of Hinduism and that the Muslims are not justified in resenting the re-conversion as a blow to Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Hamdam* remarks that of all the attacks on the Hindu-Muslim unity, those of re-conversion are the most serious as they deal a fatal blow to the national movement. The entire responsibility will be on the shoulders of the Aryas who did not take any part in the non-cooperation movement, but are now striking at the root of its happiest results. The *Medina* complains that the Hindus are using every means to harm the Musalmans and exhorts the latter to rise and counteract their activities. The *Al Bashir* and other Muslim papers support an appeal by the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* for funds required to checkmate the Aryas. The *Zulqarnain* says that the Hindus have befooled the Muhammadans under the cover of the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity and exhorts the Muhammadans to shake off their lethargy and save their brethren from becoming renegades. The *Mashriq* in a leading article says that the Hindu-Muslim unity is a farce and accuses the Hindus of sinister motives of crushing the Musalmans in every way. The *Arya Varta* publishes an article by Mr. Jwala Prasad, vakil of Cawnpore, who urges that Muhammadans have not decreased any of their communal activities because of the Hindu-Muslim unity and there is, therefore, no reason why the Hindus should not do the same. He says that *swaraj* can neither be obtained, nor maintained if acheived, till the Hindus unite and strengthen themselves.

The *Najat* says that when the Hindus do not decry against the proselytising activities of the Muhammadans and do not complain that Hindu-Muslim unity will suffer thereby, the Muhammadans are not justified in resenting the activities of the Hindus in reclaiming their lost brethren. It asks what sacrifices the Muhammadans, whether individually or collectively, have undergone to maintain union with the Hindus. The *Abhyudaya* says that it is the duty of the Hindu nation to take back into its fold not only the 4½ lakhs Rajput Muslims, but also other Muslims like them in the country. The *Leader* supports the action of the leaders and the re-conversion movement, and says that it should be clear to the meanest intelligence that there is absolutely no justification for any section of Musalmans for raising the cry of religion in danger and for holding out dire threats to the Arya Samajists and the Hindus generally. The Malkana Rajputs had never taken kindly to Islam and they are too eager to go back to the Hindu fold. The Musalmans must reconcile themselves to the position and should not needlessly arouse religious passions by distorting facts and abusing Hindu leaders. Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be promoted by mendacious propaganda. The *Free India* says that Hinduism, if it is representative of all that is noble in Vedic civilisation, can only be saved from gradual death if care is taken to increase its followers as well as to prevent decrease in them. But bitterness should not be allowed to wreck Hindu-Muslim unity which is the basic principle of Indian National activities. Whatever harms this, harms Indian progress. It assures the Muslims that Swamiji's activities are not at all inimical and there are no reasonable grounds to regard them as such.

Political propaganda.

Exhortations to people to celebrate the "National week" in a befitting manner and to observe *hartal* on March 18th have been the most prominent feature of Hindi papers this week. The *Vikram* takes the people to task for their passiveness in spite of the imprisonment of Mr. Gandhi and says: Would it be possible in any other country for the people to remain peaceful when their most beloved leader was thrust into jail? Was there not a mighty revolution in Egypt after the imprisonment of Zaghlul Pasha? We ought to learn from Ireland the lesson of sacrificing ourselves at the altar of freedom. Could a person like Mahatma Gandhi be imprisoned in America, Germany or Japan? If he were, there would have been an upheaval in the country and rivers of blood would have flown. You are entitled to call yourselves the followers of Mahatma Gandhi only when you live and die for *swaraj*. The *Aj* says: If we love Mahatma Gandhi and our country, if we are pained at the condition of the country, if we are ashamed that a person like Mahatmaji is in jail, above all, if we want to demonstrate our unity, we ought to observe *hartal* on the 18th March. In another article, the paper exhorts the people to act upon the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and says "No one can keep such a large country under subjection unless the people themselves want to remain content with slavery." The *Lakshman* says that it was on the 18th March that the Bureaucracy gave proof of its demoniacal nature by imprisoning Mahatma Gandhi. It appeals to the people to make a firm resolve henceforward to do their level best to establish *swaraj* and to do some work every day for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and pray to God to grant them strength to fight the battle of liberty with the weapons of non-violent non-cooperation against the Bureaucracy "whose black deeds can rank with the blackest deeds of tyrants." The *Abhyudaya* takes the people to task for their apathy in connection with Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment and expects them to make a resolve on the 18th March to do something every day to liberate the people, to make their neighbours strong in body and mind and to compel them to boycott foreign goods. The *Navayuga* says that as cultivators are the very backbone of the Indian nation, Kisan Sabhas should be organised in every province of the country to help the Congress in the propagation of its views

among the cultivators and to safeguard their class interests as distinct from national interests. The *Vartman* prays to Lord Krishna to reappear in the world now that unrighteousness and maladministration are prevailing in the country and life has become impossible without Him. The paper compares Mr. Gandhi with Lord Krishna. The *Medina* is dissatisfied with the alleged anglicization of the Arabs by the British and remarks that history provides evidence that the Western nations and specially the English are notorious for setting up their ways and standards of living in subdued countries. The *Qaum* says that the very desire for freedom in India, which was slumbering under abject slavery for the last two centuries, clearly indicated a bright future for her. All the energy of the people should be directed to the attainment of political freedom without which there can be no social or religious freedom. The *Hamdam* disagrees with the *Hindu* of Madras in the opinion that the truce between the minority and majority parties of the Congress is an armed one and that the conflict will soon be resumed after the prescribed period of two months and says that the majority has begun to realise the truth that the country is not and cannot be prepared for the dangerous movement of civil disobedience by artificial means. So far as the United Provinces are concerned the pro-Council party is gaining in strength. The *Arya Varta* refutes the *Al Bashir's* contention that *swaraj* will be achieved through the Muhammadans and remarks that the Muhammadans are mistaken in looking up to the Turks or the Afghans for *swaraj*. Neither Afghanistan nor any other power will be able to do anything. The Hindu community here is so strong that no power in the world will be able to stand against it. When once it is rightly and completely organised, not only *swaraj* but every kind of blessing and power will spontaneously come to it. The *Qaum* suggests the spreading of a network of Congress organisations in every nook and corner of the country to educate public opinion and fulfil the constructive programme, in order to prepare the masses ultimately for civil disobedience. The *Nizam-i-Alam* suggests the creation of a permanent fund by establishing organisations in every village to collect one pice per head per month and using its proceeds for furthering national ends. The *Mashriq* remarks that Maulana Azad Subhani's scheme of independence cannot be realised, seeing that it has not secured the support of even the so-called nationalists.

Public Services Commission.

The *Aj* vehemently protests against the restoration by the Viceroy of the demand for the expenses of the Public Services Commission and regards it as an example of the hollowness of the power of the Legislative Assembly and of Government's disregard of the sufferings, poverty and discontent of the people. In the opinion of the paper, nowhere in the world are officials so highly paid as the Civilians in India are. The *Najat* strongly criticises the appointment of the Royal Commission and remarks that the British officials in India get far larger salaries than allowed in England. India is being exploited for the benefit of the Englishmen. The ever-growing national debt has been incurred not for India but for England. The *Pioneer* regrets the reduction of the demand for the expenses of the Public Services Commission and says that by its vote the Assembly forces the Government to restore the grant and also issues another gratuitous and undignified challenge to the British Parliament by virtually pretending to deny to that body its rights under the Constitution.

Budget.

The proposed increase in the salt-tax continues to be severely attacked. The *Najat* says that the hard-earned wealth of the Indians is spent in providing every comfort to the English, while the children of the soil are utterly neglected. The enhancement of salt-tax is most oppressive to the poor Indians. The *Hindustani* suspects that the Government by introducing the question of taxing salt has diverted the attention of the press from other taxes, which are equally heavy. The paper suggests that the

military expenditure should be reduced to thirty crores. The *Pioneer* approves of the action taken by the Viceroy in order to secure a balanced budget, as the question of vast importance to India at the present moment is the rehabilitation of her credit in the world's market. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* hopes that the Government have been well advised in taking a step which their Indian cooperators hesitated to take. Lord Reading has displayed the same spirit which generally we have been accustomed to associate with Lord Peel and Whitehall. The *Leader* regrets that the members of the Assembly had made themselves the instruments of imposing on the country an intolerable burden of taxation so that money might be found to meet a bloated military expenditure, to finance a ruinous frontier policy and to maintain an extravagant system of Government. They did so for two years perhaps trembling in their heart of hearts that if they took up an uncompromising attitude with regard to further taxation, they would be described as lacking in a sense of responsibility, would be imperilling the Reforms and giving a handle to their enemies. The paper doubts the wisdom of imposing the salt-tax in spite of the protests of the members of the Assembly and says: After all the budget may be balanced at too great a price. It would be an extreme act of short-sightedness to do so by flouting the opinion of the Assembly supported as it is by almost the entire country.

Swadeshi and boycott.

Emphasising the need of pushing *swadeshi* agitation for promoting the real interests of the country, the *Vikram* contends that indigenous industries cannot be developed without the boycott of foreign goods and gives instances from the history of the industrial development of European countries in support of the contention.

Political prisoners.

The *Oudh Akhbar* supports the plea for the release of the rest of the political prisoners in the United Provinces to produce a better political atmosphere there.

The *Hamdam* and *Hindustani* complain of harsh treatment of Mr. Hasrat Mohani in jail and ask the Bombay Government not to excite public unrest and hatred by such action. They allege that the Maulana is not allowed even to compose poems and to read newspapers and is not supplied with light at night to offer his prayers.

ZAFAR OMAR,

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Near East.

The Vernacular press applauds the moderation of the Turkish counter-proposals and is sanguine of a satisfactory settlement of the Near Eastern question. The *Rohilkhund Gazette* hopes that Lord Curzon will take advantage of the present situation and in deference to Muslim sentiments will allow the Turks a chance to put their house in order. The *Oudh Akhbar* also expects the Allies to practise moderation and to solve the intricate problems of the Near East in a conciliatory spirit. The *Medina*, which has so far been writing in a despondent vein, is now sanguine that the Turkish proposals will be accepted and that Britain will be the first among the Allies to conclude peace with Turkey, as the Allied Powers are now divided among themselves. The *Al Khalil* says that peace will soon be concluded between Turkey and Britain as the latter is not prepared to start a fresh war. The *Najat* remarks that Great Britain is now in a helpless position, but she still wants to overawe the Turks by adopting an aggressive attitude. The *Aligarh Gazette* says that the breakup of the Lausanne Conference was not due to British but Italian and French demands, and advocates a separate treaty between England and Turkey as it will be advantageous to both parties. It will enable the Turks to work out the salvation of their country unhampered, while Britain will be able to restore her lost prestige in Muslim countries. The *Hamdam* invites attention to Sir Aga Khan's speech in Madras and says that the pro-Turkish sympathies now manifest in England should be maintained and strengthened, and urges the Government of India to continue strongly to represent the sentiments of Indian Musalmans to the Home Government. The *Abhyudaya* says that in order to save the world from a calamity, the Allies should accept the Turkish counter-proposals. The *Al Bashir* condemns the revival of repression in Egypt and says that the events in Ireland during the last century should teach the British Government that a people's craving for liberty remains unaffected by repression.

Reconversion of Muslim Rajputs.

The Muslim press continues to be greatly agitated over the reconversion of Muslim Rajputs. The *Rahnuma* condemns Swami Shraddhanand's activities and exhorts Muhammadans to counteract his proseletising efforts. The *Mansur* notes with satisfaction that Muhammadans have become alive to the need for self-protection and urges them to unite under one banner. The *Arya Varta* while advising the Musalmans to take a deeper view of the question if they really desire Hindu-Muslim unity, resents the counteraction of the Muslims in the Agra and Etawah districts and remarks that it will be a proof of the cowardice and weakness of the 22 crores Hindus if the 6 crores of Muslims snatch away the Rajputs with equanimity from their fold. The *Medina* says that no Muslim can regard this open oppression of conversions indulged in by the Hindus. The *Najat* opines that the conversion activities have nothing to do with Hindu-Muslim unity which does not

mean the obliteration of religious distinctions. Both Hindu and Muslim theologians who are taking part in these activities should carry on their task free from personal attacks and take precautions against the cunning of our enemies so that the unhappy incidents of Multan may not be repeated and our efforts for freedom may not be wasted. The *Al Bashir* remarks that as a nationalist leader in politics Swami Shraddhanand ought not to have taken up missionary work simultaneously and adds that the Government need not fear anything as long as nationalist leaders like Swami Shraddhanand and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya exist in the country. Until the question of the conversion of the Muslim Rajputs is satisfactorily settled, there can be no true spirit of unity in India. In the opinion of the *Helal* the attitude of the Hindu press in respect of conversion of Muslim Rajputs is a menace to Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Hamdam* urges that propagandists, notably Sufis, should move about among Muslim Rajputs to inspire them with their spiritual influence so as to prevent their reconversion to Hinduism. The *Hindustani* suggests a conference of Hindu-Muslim leaders for the removal of the tension of feeling between the two communities. The *Lakshman* says that Muhammadans have no justification for resenting conversion activities and threatening rupture in the Hindu-Muslim unity. The frowns of the Muhammadans cannot make the Hindus retrace their steps and prevent them from reclaiming their lost brethren. The *Abhyudaya* strongly supports the appeal of Swami Shraddhanand for men and money for the conversion movement and takes the success achieved by him so far as a sign of the resuscitation of the Hindu nation. The paper adds that if the Hindus do not promptly help in the movement, they will have to shed tears of blood over their foolishness.

Mr. C. R. Das and Labour.

The presidential address of Mr. C. R. Das at the Trade Union Congress at Lahore has been severely criticised by the *Leader* which does not believe that an improvement in the condition of the masses must precede the advent of *swaraj*. If the masses are to wait for *swaraj* till they have got a sufficiency of food and clothes, then they will have to wait till the Greek Kalends. According to the paper, the whole speech is based on novel theories which strike one as not only unsound but also based on unreal assumptions. The *Pioneer* takes exception to Mr. C. R. Das's having ignored the beneficient work done by the cooperative societies which have enormously improved the lot of the cultivator. It believes that non-cooperation thrives only on discontent and grievances, real or imaginary, and it is always far easier to talk about amelioration of the cultivators' lot than to take practical steps to that end. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that he need not have conjured up the apparition of the middle classes ever obstructing labour. What is needed is organisation and education. Mr. Das with his experience of the Assam coolie strike must know that unorganised labour is, when awake, a monster which will ruin any country.

The salt-tax.

The salt-tax continues to be severely attacked. The *Hindustani* resents that the Viceroy has certified the enhancement of the salt-tax in spite of the opposition of the Legislative Assembly and the public. The enhancement will adversely affect not only the poor and middle classes but the animals also. The Assembly may remove its disgrace by joining hands with the non-co-operators. The paper advises the Government to double the tax on articles imported from England instead of taxing salt. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets the certification of the enhancement of the salt-tax and remarks that prospects of peace in India are not encouraging, as Government by enhancing the price of post-card and salt have paved the way to agitation. Government should reconsider the question and in order to make up the budget deficit should touch the iron safes of the rich instead of the pockets of the poor. The *Rahnuma* says that the Finance Member should make good the deficit by curtailing the expenditure in some other direction and should not burden the poor

people who are already heavily taxed. The *Anand* says that the persistence of the Government in spite of the strong opposition of the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly will lead the public to suppose that Government is bent on reverting to autocracy owing to the waning of the non-cooperation movement. The increase in the salt-tax will create indignation and dissatisfaction among the masses against Government. The *Vartman* says that the persistence of the Government to double the salt-tax in spite of the opposition of the Legislative Assembly is a slap on the face of the Moderates. The paper warns the Viceroy of the evil consequences of doubling the salt-tax and says: Salt is the only support of the poor. The increase in salt-tax will mean the murder of crores of the poor. For want of salt hundreds of cows and bullocks will die, as a result of which the fire of discontent among the people will increase. The *Aj* hopes that after insisting on raising the salt-tax in spite of the opposition of the Legislative Assembly the Government will not call itself the protector of the weak. The paper concludes by saying that three lakhs of rupees out of the income from the increased salt-tax will go to the Royal Commission on Public Services. In a leading article "Bankruptcy of Statesmanship," the *Leader* warns the Govenment against disregarding the wishes of the Legislative Assembly in respect of the salt-tax. To financial bankruptcy it should not add bankruptcy of statesmanship. It should not put down the opposition of the Assembly as due to any cussedness on its part or merely to a desire on the part of its members to stand well in the estimates of the people with an eye to the result of the forthcoming elections. There are weighty political, economic and even sentimental reasons behind their opposition which deserve to be respected. In another article, the paper condemns the action of the Council of State in having passed the Finance Bill and says that it has betrayed the interests of the people. It concludes its article by saying that the Government would be wise not to persist in her obstinacy for it will lose the goodwill of the people which is worth much more than a few crores of rupees. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the political significance of the salt-tax is too real to be explained away by any irresponsible reference to elections. It is doubtful whether the Liberals will have an inspiring platform even on salt-tax. But it will place an effective weapon in the hands of the non-cooperators. The paper advises the Liberal members of the Legislature to resign as a protest and says that they would greatly enhance their chance of being returned at the next election.

Political propaganda.

Under the heading "May there be Jallianwala Baghs in every corner of India," the *Vikram* states that the Jallianwala Bagh is the memorial of the foundation and consolidation of the Indian nationality and if the people understood and try to have Jallianwala Baghs in every nook and corner of the country, a fire will blaze in India which neither the efforts of the Bureaucracy nor its tears of repentance will be able to extinguish. India can only be emancipated when Indian youths after giving up their sloth, their delusion and the evil habit of circumspection, come to the field and compel the Government to perpetrate Jallianwala Baghs in every nook and corner of India. Under the heading "Will there be *swarajya*" the *Vartman* exhorts "the waverers and dissemblers" to retire from the agitation for *swaraj* and to make room for those who are prepared to sacrifice their lives. Those who are mad after liberty and the enemies of slavery are about to rise up. The young men will drench the country with their innocent blood. They will only rest when *swaraj* has been obtained. In the course of a letter to the *Abhyudaya*, Raja Mahendra Pratap refers to the cordial reception he has had in Japan. He says his religion is love and he wants to unite Hindus, Buddhists, Christians and Musalmans. For the sake of righteousness, the interests of the people and love, it is

essential to reform the British Government in India. So long as that Government sends good men to jail, so long as the officials buy over weak men, real religion cannot flourish in India and other countries. Those who cooperate with the British Government are neither good Hindus, nor Musalmans nor Christians, nor Buddhists, nor Sikhs. The *Vikram* says that under the foreign Government the condition of India has become miserable in the extreme. Indian women are insulted everywhere. Life has become hard. The idle Bureaucracy has no care for the poverty of the people. The *Qaum* deplores the neglect of Congress work in the Delhi Province and urges vigorous steps to enlist volunteers and members. The paper asserts that the high officials are more upset by the *khaddar* movement than by the question of civil disobedience, because the former affects the livelihood of the British capitalists and labourers, who will rather support Indian emancipation than lose Indian markets. The *Nizam-i-Alam* remarks that liberty is not a thing to be got by begging as the Moderates do, nor can it be obtained in a true sense by resort to violence and bloodshed. It depends on the peaceful, moral, material, physical and spiritual development of the country. The *Oudh Akhbar* attributes the present lull in the political situation in India not to any defeat of the non-cooperation movement but to a fall in the price of grain and remarks that the present lull may prove lasting and permanent if the Home Government and the British public mete out just and honourable treatment to Indians and if both the official and non-official Europeans of the country adopt a reasonable attitude towards Indians. The *Medina* exhorts the public to honour Mahatma Gandhi by carrying out his programme. The *Anand Pracharak* publishes a long article strongly condemning the non-co-operation movement for its dire effects on the country and making out that the present peaceful atmosphere in the country is not due to the doctrine of non-violence preached by Mahatma Gandhi but is the out-come of altogether different causes. The *Shia College News* says that if the Khilafatists are disrespectful towards *tazias*, they may not tolerate the existence of the Shias under *swaraj*.

Political prisoners.

The Hindi press continues to protest against the conviction of Mr. Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi. The *Vikram* says: For the last nine months it has been the policy of the Government to send to jail every one whom it finds to be influential. The ideals which inspired Vidyarthi to make the speech are lofty and therefore the people ought to repeat his words from every platform. The time for the destruction of the irresponsible Bureaucracy is very near. The *Vartman* points out that the conviction of Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi was based on an inaccurate report and says that such sacrifice as has been made by Vidyarthi will inspire the people to try their best to end the present system of administration. In the course of an highly emotional article, the *Pratap* recalls the various services and sacrifices of Mr. Vidyarthi and says: "Mother! Our offering at thy feet this time is unique and invaluable. It is the offering of our all." Writing in the same paper Swami Satyadev says that at present no man who tells the truth can escape from the atrocities of the Bureaucracy. By sending Mr. Vidyarthi to jail the Bureaucracy has put a nail on its coffin. The *Lakshman* protests against the ill-treatment meted out to Ganesh Shanker Vidyarthi in jail and regards it as a proof of the autocracy of the Bureaucracy and of the need for its destruction. The *Leader* commends Vidyarthi's case to His Excellency the Governor and says that the Government would be showing its sense of humanity if it issues orders that the prisoner be accorded special terms in jail as he is in a delicate state of health.

Reforms.

The controversy over the salt-tax has led a section of the Indian press to cast grave doubts as to the progress of Reforms. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* in a leading article headed "The end of the Reforms," says that autocracy is not yet dead but is very much alive. The Reforms are being reduced to a

mockery and it is difficult to keep up the delusion of Reforms. It applauds the action of the Assembly in having voted against the salt-tax and remarks that the country expects every one who has self-respect and regard for national honour and dignity to dissociate himself from a Government that has behaved with such gross irresponsibility to the people. The *Leader* thinks that the days of happy cooperation between the Government and the Assembly are come to an end. Government's obstinacy rather than the non-cooperators is wrecking the Reforms. If taxes can be imposed by Government without the sanction of the latter's representatives, it is clear that they have no real freedom except what they receive by sufferance. In another article the paper condemns the certification of measures rejected by the Assembly and says that the spirit permeating the Government which was behind the passing of the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of popular opposition, is still alive and active. If the Government had understood its interests properly, it would have avoided the exercise of its reserve powers for the sake of covering the comparatively trifling deficit and thus emphasizing its real autocratic character. It has been reaping what it has sown in the past and it has scattered the seed for a fresh harvest of trouble in the future. After insinuating that the Government wants to extract as much money as possible from the people to maintain an oppressively costly system of administration, the paper urges the people to eschew all luxuries, practise strict economy and by using *swadeshi* articles to the largest possible extent, show to the Government that without their goodwill it is not possible to balance the budget.

Municipal elections.

The municipal elections in the United Provinces have received considerable attention and the Extremist press is jubilant over the results. Even the *Leader* admits that the Congress party has secured a strong hold on the urban areas, and that it would be extremely difficult for the Moderate candidates to contest successfully against the pro-Council party the urban seats in the local Council. The old order has changed in a dramatic manner giving place to new. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the result of the elections has certain morals which the defeated Liberals and their ramifications, the Aman Sabhas, might well take to heart. The *Vikram* is jubilant at the election to the Cawnpore Municipal Board of 91 per cent. of the nationalists nominated by the Congress Committee. It expects that the education imparted in municipal schools will inspire the boys with the spirit of liberty and self-sacrifice, that municipal employees will be compelled to wear *khaddar* and the felt caps of the sanitary inspectors will give place to Gandhi caps. Quoting facts and figures from the resolution on the latest report on the working of the district boards in the United Provinces, the *Aj* calls upon the people to note the miserable condition of the Boards and exhorts them to return only the nominees of Congress Committee and thus help in the attainment of *swaraj*.

ZAFAR OMAR,

The 31st March, 1923. *Publicity Officer, United Provinces.*

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NOTICE.

As the Publicity Office closes in Lucknow on April 12th and reopens at Naini Tal on the 18th, Press Note for the week ending 14th April will not be issued.

The 7th April, 1923.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer.

For the week ending the 7th April, 1923.

The Near East.

The press generally seems to be satisfied at the prospect of a pacific solution of the Near Eastern question. According to the *Pioneer*, the note presented to the Angora Government by the Allied Powers is indicative of their readiness to make all possible concessions in their efforts to reach a satisfactory agreement. The *Leader* also thinks that the Allied reply shows that another earnest effort will be made to settle the Turkish question along lines acceptable to the Turks. The paper expects that the next conference at Lausanne is likely to succeed. The Turks must thank their stars that the situation in Europe has placed them in a position to drive a hard bargain. The *Oudh Akhbar* holds that the present position of Turkey is very satisfactory and the European tension has afforded the Turks a golden opportunity of emancipating themselves. Reviewing the present political situation in Europe, the *Medina* remarks that the Gladstonian spirit still exists in England and that Turkey is justified in rejecting the political concessions demanded by the Allies as they want to annihilate her.

Reconversion of Muslim Rajputs.

The controversy over the reconversion movement is growing in strength and almost all the Indian papers are participating in it. The *Leader* holds that there is nothing in the movement that should be taken objection to by the Musalmans or should upset their equanimity. In another article headed the "Organisation of Hindus," the paper advocates the organisation of Hindus, not with a view to encroach upon the legitimate rights of Musalmans, but to protect their rights from being encroached upon by others. They must as a community inspire respect before they can have unity on reasonable and equal terms with the Muslims. Their first duty in their own interest, in the interest of the country and also in that of Hindu-Muslim unity, is that they should organise, organise, organise. They ought not to paralyse themselves by fondly believing that they would preserve the Hindu-Muslim unity, which is largely non-existent, if only they abstained from asserting their rights which may be encroached upon by the excessive communal demands of the Muhammadans, or by simply turning the blind eye, in a spirit of supreme forgetfulness and forgiveness, on excesses committed by members of the Muslim community on Hindu men, women and children. Such sickly sentimentality must be abandoned, and as in every democratic country, every Hindu must insist upon equality of treatment with the Muslims and fight against the preferential treatment of any community. "Fair field and no favour" should be their motto. Thus and thus alone can they vindicate their self-respect not as Hindus merely but as Indians also. The *Anand* says that there is no justification for the Muhammadans to resent the reclamation of Muslim Rajputs as it neither deals a blow to the Muhammadan religion nor to the Hindu-Muslim unity. The utmost that the maulvis can do is to preach their doctrines among the Muslim-Rajputs if they like, but they cannot stop the conversion activities. Their threats of violence against Swami Shraddhanand and their incitements to disorder are altogether reprehensible. The *Arya Mitra* condemns the threat of a maulvi of Amritsar that in case of refusal by the Hindus to return the reclaimed Muslim-Rajputs to the Muhammadans, the latter will use more beef every day and slaughter cows in the largest number possible.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 7th April, 1923.

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If this represents the general feeling of Muhammadans, Hindus should have nothing to do with Hindu-Muslim unity. Muhammadans who forcibly converted Hindus in great numbers in Malabar can have no justification for complaint if the Muslim-Rajputs return to Hinduism of their own accord. The *Aligarh Gazette* holds that the league between Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Aryas in converting Muslims indicates that this move on the part of Hindus is a political one and not a religious one. Under the circumstances, the Musalmans are no longer to be blamed for breaking the Hindu-Muslim unity if they take counter-steps in their self-defence. The *Al Bashir* regards the Arya Samaj activities as something wholesome for the Musalmans. They have served as a stimulant in awakening the Musalmans from a deep slumber. The Musalmans have now begun to realise their duty and will not only save themselves from becoming renegades but they will also try to convert the Hindus as well. The *Mansur* exhorts the Musalmans to help whole-heartedly the counter-propaganda taken up by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema. It is a religious duty and every Musalman whether official or non-official should render help The *Medina* advises the leaders to assemble together and investigate the causes of strife at Sidhpur. So long as Hindu-Muslim tension continues, India cannot achieve freedom. The *Hamdam* condemns the activities of the Hindus regarding the conversion and holds it injurious to national unity. It advises the leaders of both communities to come to mutual understanding. The *Rozana Akhbar* in a contributed article remarks that this move on the part of the Hindus is a political one and that their aim is either to banish the Musalmans from the country or to efface Islam from India by converting them. The *Medina* in a contributed article exhorts the Musalmans to renounce all worldly comforts and ease and work for their religion.

The salt-tax and certification by the Viceroy.

The Indian press continues to condemn the enhancement of the salt-tax, and its certification by the Viceroy. The *Leader* criticising the Viceroy's attitude says that it makes one thing clear that he regards those provisions as meant for normal and regular use in the working of the Reforms scheme as a whole and not as abnormal or extraordinary. Such a situation is intolerable and the only way to end it is to obtain such changes in the existing constitution as will give Indians the necessary sense of security. In another article, the paper says that the duty on salt is one which affects every man, woman and child in the country and even the beasts in their care. It supports the suggestion made by Sir Montagu Webb of sending a petition to Parliament by all those who voted against the tax. Such a petition is bound to be a powerful stimulant to Parliament's interest in the matter and ought to be despatched with the smallest possible delay. The *Free India* says that the Lord Chief Justice of England has justified his claim to being the head of an irresponsible bureaucracy. The Reforms have proved to be but a shadow, having no substance in them. The Viceroy may use all kinds of fallacious arguments to justify his action, but needless to say that he stands condemned before the people of India. The paper hopes that the certification is bound to serve as an eye-opener to all those who are enamoured of the present constitution. Cooperation with the bureaucracy has been tried and failed. Non-cooperation is the only remedy left. The *Anand* remarks that the Viceroy has given away the Reforms by certifying the enhancement of the tax. The spirit of autocracy is still rampant in the country and even a liberal-minded man like Lord Reading seems to have fallen a victim to it. Political agitators have been provided with one more handle to exploit the discontent of the people. Even the Moderates have now come to believe that the Councils can do no real good to the country unless complete *swaraj* is established. The paper exhorts all the political parties to sink their differences and to unite to remove the present autocratic bureaucracy and substitute in its place a responsible government. The *Bharat Bandhu* welcomes the repeated exercise of his special powers by the Viceroy as it will fully convince the

people that the Government wants money only and does not care for their well-being or for the protests of their representatives. The paper wonders whether Government is desirous of driving the Liberals also into the camp of non-cooperators. The *Aj* remarks that the Viceroy acted in a most autocratic manner in certifying the salt-tax. The certification has indeed exposed the hollowness of the Reforms and has added to the difficulties of their supporters. It is curious that although His Excellency exercises such despotic powers it is asserted that India is to receive the next instalment of Reforms in due course and her status is going to be raised to that of equality with other British Dominions in the near future. The *Vartman* says that if the certification of the salt-tax does not bring home to the people the hollowness of the Reforms and if it does not remove their love for parliamentary agitation the future of the country is very dark. It has been proved that the present system of administration, whatever it may be to the rich, is fatal to the poor. The good of the poor and of the country lies in the early destruction of this extravagant and satanic system of government. By the enhancement of the salt-tax the bureaucracy is destroying the peace of the poor and is courting its own death at their hands. The *Lakshman* thinks that such autocratic proceedings on the part of Government should be welcomed, by non-cooperators as tending to show it in its true colours and remarks that if the non-official members of the Legislative Assembly have any sense of self-respect and love of constitution, they have no other alternative but to resign in a body. In another article the paper says that the country will always be indebted to Lord Reading as his action has afforded to the people an opportunity for an organised agitation such as was presented by the Rowlatt Act four years back. If the Liberals have any sense of self-respect they will never put up with this insult. May God make this blunder of the bureaucracy pave the way for its own certain destruction and for our glorious freedom. The *Azad* disapproves the certification of the salt-tax and remarks that it will prove dangerous to the Reforms. There should be no taxation without the consent of the representatives of the country. If the Viceroy exercises his special powers in such minor matters, then it is clear that the Government is indulging in undue obstinacy and autocracy. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Viceroy certified the enhancement of the salt-tax in spite of its being twice rejected by the Assembly. This interference on his part will prove helpful to the national cause and by giving rise to a wave of indignation and disappointment in the country will give a strong impetus to the *swaraj* movement. The *Qaum* protests against the enhancement of salt-tax and observes that the Reforms are a mere sham. It asks the Indians to open their eyes and see the hollowness of the Indian Legislature.

The Reforms.

The *Leader* disapproves of the formation of a communal party in the Assembly and styles it as a retrograde step, which will weaken that body in its contests with the Government. The paper fears that the party will lend itself to the execution of a policy of "divide and rule" if the Government should choose to adopt it. The *Al Khalil* remarks that since the advent of the Reforms, the Government is becoming insolvent day by day and taxes are increasing. In spite of the Assembly's protest, the Viceroy's certification of the demand for the expenses of the Royal Commission and Railway stores clearly proves the futility of the Reforms. The *Qaum* says that the exercise by the Viceroy of his special powers of certification so light-heartedly proves the hollowness of the Reforms. Let the Indians open their eyes and see through this camouflage of parliamentary institutions.

Political propaganda.

The *Pioneer* regards the jeering on the part of non-cooperators at those members of the Indian Legislature who opposed the increase of the salt-tax, as an attempt to make the constitutionalists throw in their lot with the revolutionary party which makes no secret of their desire to overthrow British rule.

If the revolutionaries did succeed in overthrowing the existing régime in India, the future of this country would not be decided by tongue or pen, and with the facts staring them in the face it is astonishing that politicians of any party should join in an insensate agitation to bring about the downfall of the Government. Comparing the expenditure on a battalion of British and Indian soldiers, the *Aj* remarks that the astounding difference between the two is due to the fact that the Britishers have a white skin and they are rulers, while the Indians represent a subject race. This racial distinction is heart-rending. "How can we retaliate for this—through cooperation or non-cooperation.?" The *Bande Matram*, a new paper started at Fatehpur, commenting on the strike on the Gandhi Day says that the imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi is such a gross sin that it can never be sufficiently atoned for and that the British Government cannot avoid being called a Satanic Government, unless it set him free and establish *swaraj* in India. The strike of the 18th March was a proclamation on the part of the Indians that they will never rest content without destroying the bureaucracy. This date marks the beginning of the destruction of the bureaucracy and the day of the release of Mahatma Gandhi will be the auspicious day in the inauguration of *swaraj*. The *Qaum* in a series of articles exhorts the Indians to unite for the emancipation of India and to sink their communal differences. No Reforms, whether political, economic or religious, can ever be effected without sacrificing life and property. The struggle for the freedom of India is a religious duty. Every Indian should try to make non-cooperation a success as *swaraj* cannot be obtained without it. It applauds the services of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders in the cause of freedom and regrets that the Indians are now busy with other movements and have kept the *swaraj* movement in the background. The *Najat* congratulates the Jubbulpore leaders in restraining people from resorting to violence on the Gandhi Day and hopes that the enthusiasm of the Jubbulpore people will not be a temporary one and that other places will also start work on perfectly peaceful lines. It exhorts the Punjab and U. P. people not to sit idle but to reply to the open challenges given by Government. The *Qaum* regrets that no *hartal* was observed at Lahore on the Gandhi Day and remarks that the Congress Committees are doing nothing and that no political movement can succeed as long as they exist. It appeals to the Congress Committees of the Meerut district to perfect their organisation before the 30th April as therein lies the emancipation of India and the success of the political movement. The *Al Khalil* remarks that the British public is not favourably inclined towards India and under such circumstances it is idle to expect that India will ever be able to stand on its own legs. Those who helped the Government in suppressing the non-cooperation movement now feel that it was this movement alone to which the Government yielded. The English people never like the idea of "India for Indians." The *Najat* is gratified that the Trade Union Congress held its sessions under the presidentship of Mr. C. R. Dass and hopes that it will chalk out its programme and carry out the Congress resolutions regarding the organisation of the labour.

Civil Disobedience.

The *Lakshman* points out whether the Indians cooperate within the Councils or fight outside them, they cannot crush the head of the existing alien Government without recourse to *satyagraha*. It urges the Congressmen to take full advantage of the new wave of enthusiasm aroused by the municipal elections in the United Provinces, and exhorts the people to enrol themselves as Congress volunteers and contribute liberally towards the Tilak Swaraj Fund.

ZAFAR OMAR,

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the fortnight ending the 21st April, 1923.

The Near East.

A noteworthy feature of comments in Muslim papers is the absence of bitterness against Britain in respect of Turkish affairs and the growing faith in an early establishment of friendly relations between Turkey and England. The *Zulqarnain* is sanguine of an early restoration of Anglo-Turkish friendship to the gratification of Indian Musalmans. The *Mashriq* also hopes that friendly relations will soon be established between Britain and Turkey. It accuses Mr. Gandhi of misleading the Musalmans of India into adopting a hostile attitude towards Britain. The *Hamdam* is gratified that Lord Curzon will not represent Britain in the forthcoming Peace Conference as he was responsible for the breakdown of the first one. It regards the absence of Lord Curzon as a most hopeful sign of peace being established.

Indians in Colonies.

Events in East Africa are being closely watched. The *Leader* remarks that so long as the Kenya question is not settled in accordance with the just principles embodied in the Imperial Conference Resolution of 1921, doubts will remain as to whether Britain has made her choice that she is going to stand by that principle or against it. There is no compromise possible when the issue is so clear-cut and far-reaching in its effect and implications. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* deplores the situation in Tanganyika and says: Close upon the Kenya revelations, this cry of distress from Tanganyika with the harrowing details of deliberate opposition and oppression makes the blood boil. But what can India do except weep and tear the hair and send protests to the Secretary of State for respectful submission to the Secretary for the Colonies. Justice is not yet in sight. Might alone is right and unless India has self-government and an army which will rattle the sword and make a Ruhr of the oppressors of our countrymen, nothing can happen. Commenting on the Kenya deputation, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Not only the Indians but all the East is watching the developments with interest. In India the decision against Kenya Indians will have the effect of shattering all faith in British promises. Even the Liberals will not afterwards dare support the Government. That would once for all end all cant about Imperial status and citizenship and open the eyes of Indians to the helot position that they occupy in the Empire. The *Hamdam* is sceptical as to the result of Mr. Sastri's deputation to England, but it urges the Government of India to represent in the strongest possible manner to the Home Government that the question of Kenya Indians is of vital importance and touches India's national dignity and must be solved in an honourable and satisfactory manner.

Re-conversion of Muslim Rajputs.

The controversy over the re-conversion movement continues to rage unabated. The *Rajput* remarks that the attitude of the Maulvis with regard to the question of reclamation of nau-Muslim Rajputs is altogether unjustifiable and the Hindus cannot thereby be deterred in their re-conversion activities. It adds that the Hindus will continue to welcome Hindu-Muslim unity, but they will not yield to every unjust demand of the Muhammadans for its sake. The *Garhwali* maintains that everybody should have perfect liberty to change his religion and that the Muhammadans should not be incensed at the re-conversion of Muslim Rajputs if they at all care for the Hindu-Muslim unity. A correspondent writing in the *Vikram* warns Congress workers against participation in the reclamation activities otherwise the sympathies of the Musalmans will be alienated and the Hindu-Muslim unity which is indispensable for the attainment of *swaraj* will be dissolved to the irreparable loss of the country. The *Lakshman* remarks that the strained relations between Hindus and Muhammadans in the Punjab are not really due to the Shuddhi movement but to the short-sighted policy of the latter to secure excessive communal representation in local bodies, Government service and the Legislative Council. If the Punjab Muhammadans

persist in this attitude they will deal a blow to the *swaraj* movement. The paper appeals to both the communities to sink their differences and to re-unite if they do not want to remain slaves to a third party. The *Anand* protests against the intervention of political leaders in the Hindu-Muhammadan differences over the question of the re-conversion of Muslim Rajputs, and says that they have no business to meddle in a religious matter, specially when they never before did anything to stop the conversions of Hindus to Islam and Christianity. The *Kartavya* justifies the re-conversion of Muslim Rajputs and says that the Muhammadans need not be perturbed over it. It however urges that a joint session of the Muslim League and of the Hindu Maha Sabha should be held under the auspices of the Congress to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the knotty problem. The *Arya Mitra* holds that the Shuddhi movement cannot affect the political unity between Hindus and Muhammadans and that if the latter are intolerant enough to exercise undue pressure in the name of religion, the Hindus on their part should not be afraid of taking every legitimate step to strengthen their communal and religious obligations. Swami Bhaskartirtha, writing in the *Vartman*, protests against the mandate of the Provincial Congress Committee forbidding participation of Congress workers in the reclamation activities and says that he will have no Hindu-Muslim unity if in order to maintain it the Hindus are required to give up their religious obligations. The *Vartman* remarks that the decision of the All-India Khilafat Committee to spend fifty thousand rupees in counter-propaganda against the re-conversion activities is tantamount to massacring the Hindus with their own swords. It exhorts the Hindus to push on the reclamation activities and to be prepared to sacrifice everything for their country and their religion undaunted by the unjust threats of the Musalmans. The *Mashriq* deplores that the Muslim leaders were duped by Mr. Gandhi and began to worship him in utter disregard of religious injunctions. It condemns the Muslim leaders who do not counteract the Arya Samaj activities for fear of destroying the Hindu-Muslim unity and appeals to the Nizam of Hyderabad to send a mission of *ulemas* to the parts threatened by the Aryas. The *Medina* condemns the re-conversion movement as a calamity for Muhammadans and exhorts them to offer a united front to the new danger. The *Hilal* of Moradabad asks the Khilafat Committee to utilize its funds in organizing missionary work. The *Qaum* of Meerut, which is edited by a Hindu nationalist, appeals to the leaders of both the communities to realize the fact that India's present rulers have been acting on the principle of 'divide-and-rule.' The *Al Bashir* apprehends that a severe blow will be dealt to the *swaraj* movement by the proselytising activities of the Hindus. The *Al Bureed* remarks that if the counter-activities of the Musalmans are interfered with for fear of a breach in the Hindu-Muslim unity, then the dissolution of such a unity is our religious duty. The *Arya Varta* protests against the circular issued by the Congress Committee, urging Congress-men not to take any part in the conversion movement and advises the Committee to remain neutral in the matter.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Amritsar riots and other events in the Punjab have alarmed the press and the growing estrangement between the Hindus and Muhammadans is ascribed to various causes. The *Leader* is of opinion that the persistence of Musalmans in communal representation is the root-cause of the trouble. It does not believe that unity can be secured by the offer of bribes or by pandering to communal selfishness and that any useful purpose can be served by taking an exaggerated view of these communal differences. According to the *Indian Daily Telegraph* the Hindu-Muslim union, so far as the Punjab is concerned, is dead and the situation is beyond control. In another article the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that never was the prospect of peaceful progress more clouded than now. Once the Hindus and the Musalmans agree to violently differ both on religious and political ground, the prospect of an early *swaraj* can be definitely rolled away. The *Azad* advises the Hindus to organize themselves for their communal interests and not to lose their identity for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Medina*, which has been a great advocate of Hindu-Muslim unity, significantly remarks that the gulf between the two communities is getting unbridgeable. It sorrowfully admits that the unity so long maintained was not based on patriotism or sincerity but was only a makeshift arrangement, deriving sustenance mainly from the hatred of a third party. The Khilafat question and the Punjab wrongs were the foundations on which the structure of this unity was raised. The Khilafat question has been solved and the Punjab blood has dried up and so the unity falls to the ground. The *Al Khalil* deplores that on account

of the ever-increasing estrangement between the two communities, all hopes of India's future progress are dashed to the ground and the future of India appears to be dark and gloomy and regrets that the unity is being destroyed at Amritsar where it was consecrated in the blood of the two communities. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that Hindu and Muslim papers are fanning the flames of disunion in the Punjab. It advises the Punjab Musalmans not to take advantage of their majority in that province as it would render the position of their brethren who are in a minority in other provinces very precarious. The *Lakshman* deplores the Hindu-Muhammadan riots in Amritsar and says that they have given an opportunity to the bureaucracy to strengthen its hold on the country. The *Anand* points out to the Muhammadans that they should not expect the Hindus to yield to them in every matter and remarks that harmony between the two communities in the Punjab can be restored only if both of them give up their unjustifiable practices and follow the path of reason and goodwill. The *Aj* deplores the Amritsar riots and says that nothing can prove a greater stumbling-block to the political advancement of the country. It asks the Muslim leaders to attach greater importance to national unity than to communal questions. The *Pioneer* remarks that the revolution and agitation which is endeavouring to strengthen itself by a false union of creeds and races against the established order of things is not responsible for the disunion but it must be held to have accentuated it by reason of the tragic futility of its aims. It emphasizes that the prevalence of communal animosity is deplored by the Government and the Englishmen who believe in the political future of India. The basis of unity must be found in a clear recognition of the practical difficulties presented by the conflict of races and creeds. Thus only it will be possible for tolerance to assert itself.

The salt tax.

The certification of the salt tax continues to be severely attacked and is being used as a handle for intensive agitation. The *Prem* says that the enhancement of the salt tax means that the bureaucracy wants to suck every drop of blood of the people. Indians may suffer any hardships but they must pay the salt tax for the planting of the British flag in Waziristan. The only way now left open to the Moderates to reply to the autocracy of Government is to resign their seats in the Legislature and join the non-cooperators. The *Vartman* takes the Moderates to task for not resigning in a body their seats in the Legislative Assembly as a protest and remarks that every individual in the country should beware of the Moderates and realize that at the nick of time they will always side with the bureaucracy and prove traitors to the country. The *Aj* commenting upon Lord Inchcape's support of the salt tax remarks that the Indian nation is being sucked and weakened in an indirect manner to meet the extravagant expenditure on the enormous army in India and yet men like Lord Inchcape support it as a piece of statesmanship. The *Lakshman* says that the Viceroy in enhancing the salt tax has not only exposed the hollowness of the Reforms but has also taught a lesson to the Moderates not to overestimate their power. The *Kartavya* condemns as altogether autocratic the action of the Viceroy in utter disregard of public opinion. In face of the special powers of the Viceroy all talk of the grant of *swaraj* to India and of the equality of treatment to be accorded to her within the British Empire is futile. So long as India does not become free she will continue to be oppressed. Nardeva Shastri writing in the *Vartman* says that if the All-India Congress Committee has any life in it, it should seize the opportunity afforded by the salt tax to launch out civil disobedience. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that the repeated exercise of his special powers by the Viceroy during the last three or four months is intended to bring home to the non-cooperators the futility of their desire to capture the Councils. The *Surya* holds that the enhancement of the salt tax will swell the numbers of the non-cooperators and asks the House of Commons to reject the proposed enhancement and thus set right the Viceroy's abuse of his power of certification. The *Bande Matram*, a new Hindi weekly of Fatehpur, says that the obstinacy and autocracy of the Viceroy in enhancing the salt tax has afforded a golden opportunity for starting civil disobedience and the people should not fail to seize it. The *Hilal* resents the certification of the salt tax and asks if the non-official members will still remain cooperators. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* hopes that the members of the Assembly will not put up with the insult offered to them by the Viceroy and asks the non-cooperators to start civil disobedience. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the Viceroy did not make judicious use of his powers and that on the eve of the next election the Government has

discouraged its supporters and well-wishers. The *Medina* observes that the repeated use of his special powers by the Viceroy proves that in India instead of a constitutional Government there is a despotism of the type of Nadir Shah and Changez Khan. The *Najat* remarks that the salt tax is a special feature of the British *raj* and hopes that the nation by completing the constructive programme will soon prepare itself for civil disobedience. The *Al Bureed* is of opinion that Government has brought the Reforms into contempt and by flouting the opinion of the Legislative Assembly it has foolishly cut the ground under its own feet. The *Medina* advises the Moderates to open their eyes, spurn at the Reforms and siding with the people in their struggle for *swaraj* do all in their power to emancipate India. The *Zulqarnain* remarks that the Viceroy by misusing his special powers has alienated the sympathies of all classes of Indians and has goaded them into the non-cooperation camp. His action has infused a new life into the non-cooperation movement and the Congress activities. As a protest against the frequent use of his power of certification by the Viceroy, the *Azad* advises the boycott of those articles which are a source of income to Government. The *Qaum* maintains that the Viceroy has misused his special powers. There should be no tax on salt just as there is no tax on air and water. We should take advantage of the present opportunity to strengthen our political activities and should try to emancipate India. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* remarks that the prophecy of the Extremists that under the Reforms all the power will rest in the hands of the Governors and the Viceroy has proved true to the letter. The non-cooperators are justified in calling the Reforms a sham and child's play. The exception to this universal condemnation is the *Rohilkhund Gazette* which observes that in view of the unsatisfactory budget there is little room for suspecting the good faith of the Viceroy, but the Government would do well in devising some other means of economy instead of enhancing the salt tax and the *Mukhbir-i-Alam* which justifies the salt tax on the ground that the burden of the State should be equally borne by all people and says that the Indians being in a prosperous condition can hardly feel the extra expense of a few annas on salt.

The Khilafat funds.

According to the *Al Bashir*, the controversy over the Khilafat funds has been started with some sinister motive. The mere fact that the Anglo-Indian press and the *Leader*, which has always been inimical to the Musalmans, are the loudest in bewailing the loss of Khilafat funds, is enough to make the Musalmans suspicious of the whole affair. It advises the Musalmans to remain staunch in their support of the movement as its failure will mean their national extinction. In another article, the paper holds that the money spent by the Khilafatists on propaganda work was not wasted. It is gratified that the efforts to bring the Khilafat Committee into discredit have met with no success. The *Hamdam* refutes the charge of misappropriation and remarks that the accounts have been properly and satisfactorily kept. The report of the Audit Committee published by the *Aligarh Gazette* is not a genuine one and was never submitted to the Khilafat Committee. The *Medina* writes in a similar strain and accuses the *Aligarh Gazette* of having published an incorrect report. The *Al Khalil* on the other hand observes that the delay in refuting the allegations raises a strong presumption against the Khilafatists and advises them to admit their mistakes. The *Mashriq* remarks that the refutation published by the Khilafat Committee can satisfy only those persons to whom the Khilafat funds provide a means of livelihood. The *Zulqarnain* holds that the accounts are free from embezzlement. It was only the lack of timely auditing and publication that had created suspicion. The *Hind* of Aligarh justifies the Khilafat accounts and asks the Musalmans not to be suspicious of the movement. The *Lakshman* says that the Secretaries of the Khilafat Committee have published such a clear and satisfactory account of the Khilafat funds that the opponents cannot now raise the slightest objection and must set about discovering other means to discredit the Khilafat movement.

The Muslim League.

Comments on the failure of the Lucknow meeting of the Muslim League are somewhat mixed. The *Hamdam* deplores the dissolution of the League for want of a quorum and regrets that the influential section of the Musalmans does not take sufficient interest in the affairs of the League. It suggests the total dissolution of the League in order to divert the time and money spent upon it to some other useful channel. It takes the cooperators to task for allowing the League to drift helplessly. They should have captured it instead of leaving it to its fate.

The *Oudh Akhbar* thinks that the continuance of the League will be of little use to the Musalmans in view of the activities of the Khilafat and Congress movements. Its resuscitation will accentuate communal feelings. The *Al Khalil* ascribes the failure of the League to the differences that have arisen between the cooperators and the Khilafatists. The *Medina* remarks that it is now impossible for the Moderates and the Extremists to assemble at one common platform. The *Zulqarnain* disapproves of the presidential address and says that *swaraj* will be of no use if it is urged that Musalmans should merge themselves into another community. The *Najat* writes in a similar strain and says that communal representation is necessary and desirable for the attainment of *swaraj*. It accuses the Muslim leaders of indifference and urges an early revival of the League as it is essential for the political uplift of the Indian Musalmans. The *Aj* disapproves of the revival of the Muslim League and says that it is an index of the renewal of communal differences. It is absolutely necessary for the emancipation of the country that there should be one and only one common political organization in it. The *Lakshman* remarks that the failure of the Muslim League shows that the Muhammadans no longer feel the need of this communal organization and that they have now come to attach due importance to national concerns.

Municipal elections.

The success of the non-cooperators in municipal elections has led the *Prem* to remark that the result must have convinced the Government that the Congress-men have a strong hold on the people. It urges the Congress-men now returned to power to render substantial help in the inauguration of *satyagraha*. The *Al Bashir* remarks that the result of the elections shows that the non-cooperation movement is not only not dead but commands the respect and sympathy of the masses. The *Azad* disapproves the methods adopted by certain non-cooperators to secure votes and suggests that the first meeting of the Board should always be presided over by the District Magistrate.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Near East.

Affairs nearer home appear to be absorbing the attention of Indian papers and there have been few comments on questions relating to the Near East. The *Mashriq* is gratified at the prospect of an early restoration of friendship between Turkey and Britain and advises the Musalmans of India to take stock of their position in their own country where they can be compared to the people of Ulster in Ireland. They should not trust the Hindus and their salvation lies in remaining friendly to the Government. The *Naiyar-i-Azam* adopts an equally optimistic tone and remarks that the Musalmans should now turn their attention to education which they have sorely neglected during the period of agitation over Turkish affairs. The *Najat* is still doubtful of the success of the peace negotiations which it styles as a clever diplomatic move on the part of Lord Curzon. The *Naved* sees no prospect of a permanent peace until the Turkish demands are fully satisfied. The *Oudh Akhbar* apprehends that the Chester concessions may prove dangerous to the success of the peace negotiations owing to the French dissatisfaction over the bargain. The *Hamdam* approves the grant of concessions to America and observes that the Turks have through this bargain obtained the support of a great Power which has no designs in the Near East. The *Leader* congratulates the Egyptians on having secured national freedom after a great deal of effort and suffering and remarks that India's claim has been strengthened by the statesmanlike concessions in Egypt and it largely depends upon the efforts put forward by her people how soon or late her freedom in internal affairs is recognized by Britain.

Indians in Colonies.

The Indian Press is unanimous in deploring the position of Indians in British Colonies. The *Leader* gives prominence to the manifesto of an organization of European and African traders aiming at killing Indian trade and shutting out the opportunities of employment open to Indians in that Colony. It hopes that the Indian community in Kenya will be able to face the ordeal courageously and resist this latest crusade as successfully as it has resisted its forerunners. Though the struggle is becoming bitter day by day their cause is just and they need not despair. The *Aj* condemns the British Dominions for their ill-treatment of the Indians and suggests that the most effective way of securing the redress of their grievances is to adopt retaliatory measures in India. In its opinion Mr. Sastri's method of applauding the British Empire and calling ourselves its devotees in order to achieve our objective is fatal to the interests of the country. The *Garhwali* urges the British Government to exercise its influence on the white colonists to secure full protection of the rights of Indians in the Colonies as otherwise unrest and discontent will ever continue to prevail in India. The *Vartman* remarks that the white residents of Tanganyika appear to have resolved that if the Indians live there at all they should live as slaves, but the latter will never tolerate such a position. It urges the Indian residents there to remain firm in their *satyagraha* struggle which is sure to be crowned with success. The *Pratap* says that the new Licensing Ordinance in Tanganyika is intended to destroy the Indian trade in that colony. It is all due to our impotence and emasculation. We despair of being able to render them any help when we are quite helpless in our own country.

The conversion movement.

The conversion movement continues to absorb attention. While the *Leader* approves of the attitude of Swami Shraddhanand declared in a recent speech, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* condemns his challenge to Muslim organizations and remarks that the present is dreadful, the future is dark and both have to be faced. What was

hitherto a purely social movement has turned out to be an apple of discord. It fears that the Swami's fighting speech will lead the *ulemas* and the Central Khilafat Committee to give equally fighting answers. "The Hindus and the Muslims are systematically pulling against one another. Any one who now talks of Hindu-Muslim unity must be insane. Here is a deliberate proclamation of war and the only prospect of peace is in the rifle of the British infantry." The *Lakshman* urges the slackening of the re-conversion activities on political grounds and adds that if this be impossible the Hindus while protecting their rights should do nothing which might alienate the Muhammadans and thereby make the attainment of *swaraj* impossible. The *Swadesh* remarks that the Shuddhi movement of Swami Shraddhanand will neither benefit the Hindus nor the country, but only the bureaucracy which is always ready to make the most of such opportunities. The advocates of this movement should first purge themselves of slavery to foreigners before thinking of re-claiming their fallen brethren. The *Gyan Shakti* says that the Hindus cannot yield to the Muhammadan demand in the name of the Congress and Hindu-Muslim unity to abandon their own brethren. After the Moplah atrocities which the Hindus put up with quietly Muhammadans should be ashamed of themselves in demanding sacrifices on the part of Hindus on every occasion. The *Anand* remarks that the Hindus will confess their own weakness and degradation if they give up the reclamation activities. No Hindu-Muslim unity based on the weakness and degradation of the Hindus can be lasting and it is most satisfactory that Hindu leaders have earnestly set themselves about to strengthen their community. The *Abhyudaya* alleges that the Begum of Bhopal has threatened the wholesale conversion of her Hindu subjects to Islam unless the reclamation activities among Muslim Rajputs are stopped and remarks that the Begum Sahiba wants to emulate the example of Aurangzeb, but before she does so she should bear in mind the consequences of Aurangzeb's atrocities. The Muslim press is equally emphatic in resenting the conversion movement. The *Medina* remarks that if the Musalmans wish to exist as a living nation, they must realize their duty in face of the present danger, otherwise India is not the place for them to live in. The *Al Bashir* attacks the *Leader* for its participation in the reclamation activities while posing as a non-religious organ. If according to the *Leader* the Malkana Rajputs were never Musalmans, it is futile to carry on the present agitation. The *Naved* remarks that the Musalmans should effectively combat the Arya Samaj activities in the field of religion, and in the field of politics they should try to join the Hindus in effecting the emancipation of the country. The *Medina* is not in favour of the Central Khilafat Committee taking any part in this controversy as it will only result in placing the Congress in the opposite camp. The Khilafat Committee has its own functions and as long as the British Government exists the existence of the Khilafat Committee is necessary. The *Naved* agrees with the *Medina* in this view.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The growing estrangement between the two communities is viewed with grave concern. The *Leader* remarks that if the state of affairs is really as depicted by the leaders in the Punjab, then the future is gloomy indeed. It credits Mr. Dass with having bravely faced facts, but the hatred of the bureaucracy still clouds his judgment and prevents him from seeing the truth, for he ascribed the communal differences not to the Shuddhi movement nor to the claims of particular proportion of seats in the Councils and local bodies, nor the loaves and fishes of office, but to the bureaucracy. The fault lies not with the bureaucracy but with the people. Where there is perfect mutual confidence and real identity of aims, a third party cannot succeed in sowing the seeds of discord. The *Pratap* remarks that it is a pity that Hindu-Muslim unity was murdered in the very city of Amritsar where it had attained maturity four years ago. The *Kartavya* says that if the Hindus and Muhammadans cannot live in peace and amity, then they should bid farewell to all dreams of *swaraj* and liberty. Muhammadans have been misled to believe that with the solution of the Khilafat question they have nothing to do with the Hindus. But they ought to know that so long as they live in subjection they can neither be happy nor render any help to Islam. It is the foremost duty of Hindus and Musalmans alike to unite and paralyze the third power which holds them in subjection. Heroism consists not in mutual

dissensions but in wiping out the bureaucracy. The *Abhyudaya* deplores that even the Jallianwala Bagh has not taught the Hindus and Muhammadans that they can prosper only through complete unity. By their quarrels they have caused irretrievable injury to the cause of India. The *Garhwali* says that the Hindu-Muslim riot at Amritsar makes one despair of the political future of the country. The *Bharat Jiwan* holds that it is because of the lack of nationalistic feeling among the Muhammadans that the communal feeling is predominant among them and makes them quarrel with the Hindus on communal questions in utter disregard of national interests. If the Hindus and Muhammadans will not make up their differences the country will have to face very serious consequences. The *Anand* urges the propagation of nationalistic ideas among all communities for the establishment of true unity among them. The *Lakshman* suggests that in order to divert the attention of Hindus and Muhammadans in the Punjab from mutual strifes the civil disobedience movement should be started as suggested by Mr. Mahadeva Desai of Broach. The *Medina* deplores the Hindu-Muslim strifes and suggests that if the Indians cannot live without indulging in fighting, it would be better for them to select some common enemy so that along with the satisfaction of their craving for fighting the real object may also be gained. The *Qaum* observes that the Government by taking advantage of the imprisoned leaders is destroying the unity and securing for this task the services of the unpatriotic and selfish persons. The *Najat* holds that the bureaucracy took advantage of the split in the Congress camp and excited these strifes and discord. The *Al Bureed* is of the opinion that the Hindus are themselves breaking the unity for fear of the growing strength of the Musalmans. They do not want to emancipate India because they are afraid that if *swaraj* is obtained the Musalmans will enslave them. The Hindus adopted non-cooperation relying on the strength of the Musalmans. The *Hamdam* remarks that India is still fated to remain a slave to the bureaucracy and fears that events in the Punjab will injuriously affect other provinces as well and will delay the emancipation of India. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* deplores that on account of these strifes the attainment of *swaraj* has been delayed for centuries and that the enemies have been placed in a position to say that India is not fit for *swaraj*.

The Khilafat deputation.

The proposed deputation to the Hedjaz during the forthcoming *haj* has attracted some attention. The *Hamdam* understands that the deputation will confine its efforts simply to the welfare of the Arabs and try to bring about friendly relations between them and the Turks. The object is a laudable one and the solution of the Khilafat and the Jazirat-ul-Arab problems is likely to be greatly helped. The *Nizam-i-Alam* observes that it would be futile if the deputation reaches Hedjaz after Amir Feisul and the Sharif of Mecca have concluded humiliating agreements regarding the Arab lands. The deputation should reach there before the Conference at Lausanne is concluded. The *Hilal* of Moradabad asks the Government to release Maulanas Muhammad Ali and Husain Ahmad to join the deputation and says that by taking such a wise step the Government will win the hearts of Muhammadans. The *Zulqarnain* says that the most important question which the deputation will have to tackle is the freedom of the Jazirat-ul-Arab from non-Muslim influence and the removal of the mandates of non-Muslim powers from territories released from the Turkish Empire. The *Hamdam* also urges the influential cooperators to move the Bombay Government to release the two Maulanas before the departure of the deputation. The *Qaum* is despaired of Shah Husain ever freeing the Arabs. He will, observes the paper, throw the sacred soil of Arabia into the clutches of a new slavery.

The salt tax.

Agitation over the salt tax continues unabated. The *Bharat Jiwan* thinks that the enhancement of the salt tax is proving a blessing in disguise inasmuch as it is drawing the cooperators and non-cooperators closer together in their opposition to Government. The *Aj* infers from the suggestion of Mr. T. Rangachariar regarding the desirability of the adoption of obstructionist tactics in the Legislative Council Assembly as a protest against the certification of the salt tax, that the eyes of the Liberals have been opened with regard to the failure of cooperation. The *Garhwali* maintains that

the Viceroy has committed a very serious blunder in alienating the Moderates who had done so much to work out the Reforms despite the stout opposition of the non-cooperators. The *Jain Kesari* remarks that Lord Reading has committed a more serious blunder in enhancing the salt tax than Lord Chelmsford did in passing the Rowlatt Act. The *Anand* urges all political parties to unite and start an all-India agitation against the measure. The *Bharat Varsha* remarks that the Viceroy's statement on the salt tax is not convincing inasmuch as the expenditure has not been sufficiently curtailed and the high-salaried European officials have not been touched at all and asks why the expenditure of public money on churches and missionaries was not stopped. According to the *Pioneer*, there is no real substance in the allegation that the increased salt duty will cause suffering to the masses. The present agitation is due to the annoyance caused to a number of politicians by their failure to defeat the Government in its determination to balance the budget by means of a perfectly legitimate measure. In another article, the paper asks the Indian politicians whether it is not time that serious attention was devoted by Indian public men to preventible evils that inflict economic losses on the people in comparison with which the salt tax is a negligible quantity. It commends the destruction of rats to their activities in order to obviate the dangers of plague. The *Hamdam* advises all the members of the Legislative Assembly to resign in a body as a protest against the action of the Viceroy. The *Hilal* is gratified that the lovers of the Reforms are experiencing fresh troubles and asks them to open their eyes and leave the habit of begging. The *Hamdam* complains that the recent rise in the retail price of salt is out of proportion to the enhancement of the salt tax. It advises the adoption of measures for preventing the abnormal rise of prices and remarks that the resentment prevailing against the enhancement of the salt tax can be partially removed by the adoption of legislative measures.

Civil Disobedience.

The *Shakti* exhorts the inhabitants of the Almora district to contribute their quota of funds and volunteers towards the Congress preparations for civil disobedience without which they will never be able to get out of their present subjection. They should know that they will never fear jail or death and that they will unflinchingly face the guns and rifles of the bureaucracy. If this is done the bureaucracy will prepare to leave the country as early as possible, The *Pratap* exhorts the Central Provinces Congress-men to accept the challenge thrown by the bureaucracy in incarcerating Mr. Sunder Lal, and resort to civil disobedience for the vindication of the honour of the national flag. The *Naved* of Bulandshahr advocates civil disobedience and remarks that the country should prepare itself for the final struggle. After preparations have been made a day should be fixed for a general strike including the cessation of work by Government servants.

The Kisan movement.

The *Kartavya* points out that the *swaraj* movement has not so far been successful because of the indifference and unorganized condition of the cultivators. It urges Congress workers to establish Kisan Sabhas throughout the province in order to create an awakening among the cultivators to unite them and prepare them to stand up for their rights against the foreigners.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* notes with satisfaction that Bolshevism is spreading very rapidly both in Asia and Europe. It is noteworthy that unlike the Imperialists the Bolsheviks are nowhere sowing the seeds of discontent and anarchy. They are steadily demonstrating to the world their usefulness and the superiority and the progressiveness of their rule as compared with that of the Imperialists. The *Vikram* publishes an open letter to the capitalists by a correspondent who points out that the capitalists live on the labour of the poor and that if the latter were to refuse to work the capitalists with all their wealth will have to starve. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that in view of the calm and contentment prevailing in India it cannot be believed that any group of persons is trying to spread Bolshevism. The present liberty movement in India cannot be labelled as Bolshevik and no foreign movement contrary to the Indian temperament can flourish in India.

Political propaganda.

The *Anand* emphasizes the need of political propaganda being carried on in England to counteract the effects of the hostile propaganda of Anglo-Indians and their sympathizers there to strengthen the hands of the Labour members in vindicating the cause of *swaraj* in India and to serve as a check on the high-handedness and autocracy of the bureaucracy in India. The *Vikram* condemning the prohibition by the Jubbulpore authorities of the planting of the national flag at the local Town Hall remarks: The whole world combined together will quail before the Indian *satyagrahis* when in order to protect the honour of the national flag they will march forward band after band to the altar of sacrifice with their lives in their hands. Let us make the agitation against the interference with the national flag an all-India agitation and regard the situation caused by it as a God-sent opportunity for launching out *satyagraha*. The *Prem* publishes a poem complaining that the English have deprived the Indians of their industries and thus reduced them to beggary and inquires how long the former will continue to rob the latter of their wealth by such deceitful and immoral practices. The *Vikram* exhorts the Indian youths to abandon their indolence and selfishness and to march forward to the battlefield to destroy one by one all the links in the chain of their slavery. They should burn all their weakness in the fire of penance. They should learn the lesson of action and subvert the body which is ruining them. The *Prem* publishes a poem concluding with the lines: We were wrong in entertaining the hope that the foreigners would do us good. Had we paid no heed to their prayer for trade concessions, had we allowed no space for the poisonous weed (the English) we would not have suffered this and these wicked hypocrites would not have oppressed us then. Raghupati Sahai writing in the *Swadesh* tries to make out that despite repression the Government has failed to score a victory against the Congress which is still carrying on its work steadily though unostentatiously. Repression and oppression will themselves weaken the unrighteous Government and bring about its discomfiture to give the municipalities the form of real democratic institutions and make them truly national. They should make them the pioneers of national awakening. They should fly the national flag over their buildings and present addresses to national leaders.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 5th May, 1923.

The Near East.

INTEREST in Near Eastern politics has been on the wane. The *Hamdam* is one of the few papers which are following events intelligently. It regards the Chester Concessions as an indication of the fact that the Turks are now fully aware of European diplomacy which has always been brought into play to snatch away territories from the Turkish Empire. The *Naved* advises the Indian Musalmans to invest their capital in Turkey and to secure for themselves concessions which Turkey is obliged to give to other nations, in spite of their always being a source of embarrassment to her. The *Oudh Akhbar* fears that the participation of a delegate from Russia may again disturb the peace negotiations. The *Hamdam* severely criticizes the statement of the ex-Sultan Wahid-ud-din and holds him, along with Lord Curzon, responsible for the tyrannies perpetrated by the Greeks in Asia Minor. The *Aj* does not believe that there has been any change worth the name in the attitude of the Allies with regard to Turkey and says that unless a satisfactory settlement of the question of German reparations is arrived at between England and France, they will endeavour to bring about the destruction of Turkey.

Egyptian constitution.

Free India does not believe that Egypt has received its independence and remarks that in spite of the present declaration of the sovereignty of Egypt, the protectorate of the British over the country does not end. The present constitution is not the expressed will of the nation; the hand of the foreigner is still perceptible in it and so long as that remains, no constitution however good can be called truly national. The *Vikram* says that so long as a British army remains in Egypt the country cannot be called free, but if the Egyptians can sink their internal dissensions and unite together then there will be such an agitation that will oblige the British to quit the land. The *Medina* welcomes the acceptance of the new constitution by the Egyptians, but regrets that the British Protectorate is still to continue for ten years. It hopes that the very first act of the Egyptians' Parliament will be to press for the release of Nationalist leaders. The *Hamdam* holds that Lord Allenby was responsible for the reign of terror and bloodshed prevailing in Egypt and observes that the Egyptian nation has not yet achieved its goal.

Indians in Colonies.

The Indian press continues to express its strong resentment at the treatment of Indians in British Colonies. The *Leader* severely criticizes the Natal Ordinance regarding the Rural Dealers' Licence and says that it virtually puts Indian traders in the territories concerned at the mercy of a board of five, which will be wholly composed of Europeans and deprive Indians of the few trading rights that they possessed hitherto. Referring to the Kenya question, the *Leader* says that the Indians' claims are so essentially just and reasonable that if justice and reason alone are to guide British statesmen in the issue, the Indian delegation will find little difficulty in successfully demolishing the European planters' case. The *Vikram* condemns the indifference of the Government of India in the matter of improving the utterly miserable life of Indian residents in Zanzibar and other Colonies and remarks that as representations to Government on the subject have so far proved a cry in the wilderness, the domiciled Indians should resort to *satyagraha* for the attainment and protection of their rights. The *Aj* suggests that the League of Nations should take up the Tanganyika problem and solve it to the satisfaction of Indians, specially as they pay a large sum of money every year towards its expenses. The *Qaum* advises the Kenya Indians to oppose the satanic power by adopting *satyagraha* and warns Government that a selfish and tyrannical rule cannot last long. The *Hamdam* observes that if nothing is done by the Government of India the Indians will be compelled to adopt more powerful and effective means to combat this open highhandedness on the part of the Colonial Government with the result that the situation will become more critical. Throughout the British possessions the Indian emigrants are nowhere treated like human beings. Under such circumstances can any Englishman expect an Indian to

support the British connection with India despite such indignities and disgraces? The *Hindustani* suggests that if equal rights are grudged to Indians in Kenya we should cut off all our connections with the English Government. The *Hilal* says that as long as Indians are not free from the chains of slavery they will be nowhere respected in the world. It is owing to our weakness and disunion that a nation six thousand miles away has been able to rule over us. The *Al Burid* regards the present situation in Zanzibar as provoking to the Indian people and urges upon the Government of India to get the tyrannies perpetrated over the Indians in Tanganyika stopped by making strong representations to the Colonial Office.

The conversion movement.

The controversy over the conversion movement is gathering strength. The *Abhyudaya* says that it is extremely unfair to impart a political colour to the re-conversion work and to urge its suspension on the ground that it tends to dissolve the Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Aj* asserts that the utilization of the Khilafat funds on the counter-propaganda against the reclamation of the Malkana Rajputs is nothing short of treachery against the non-Muslim contributors to that fund. The *Vartman* holds that the reclamation activities cannot lead to the dissolution of the Hindu-Muslim unity and says that while pushing on the re-conversion work and protesting against the unjust and fanatical attitude of the Muslims in the matter, the Hindus should not overlook the greater question of national unity with which the problem of their life and death is indissolubly bound up. Swami Sachchidanand writing in the *Rajput* resents the interference of the Khilafat and Congress leaders in these conversions of Muslim Rajputs and urges that if they want the Shuddhi movement to be stopped they should see that all the Hindus converted to Islam since the establishment of the Hindu-Muslim unity are restored to the Hindu community and that the Maulvis take no measures to convert Malkana Rajputs to Islam or spread Islamic teachings among them. The *Anand* remarks that it is because of a bloated notion of their political importance that Muhammadans oppose the re-conversion activities, otherwise there was no need for raising a hue and cry over the question. It behoves the Muhammadan leaders to act with foresight in the matter or else the political progress so far achieved will be undone. The *Haqiqat* disapproves the idea of the Muslim States openly taking part in such activities and bitterly deplores that some Hindu States are patronizing the movement. The *Mukhbar-i-Alam* regrets that no Muslim State has yet given any help in this connection and observes that Hindu-Muslim unity is an impossibility. The *Haqiqat* in another article observes that re-conversion activities of the Aryas are to a great extent responsibile for alienating Hindu-Muslim sympathies in the Punjab and aggravating our present difficulties. The strifes in the Punjab are indicative of the good luck of the bureaucracy, which will not fail to take advantage of them. The *Arya Varta* regrets the lack of a strong organization among the Hindus in the absence of which there can be no real alliance with a more alive and virile community like the Musalmans. The *Mashriq* protests against the decision of the Khilafat Committee not to give any monetary help to this movement for fear of breaking the Hindu-Muslim unity and complains that the funds have not been utilized to the best advantage.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Hindu-Muslim unity continues to absorb attention and the failure of the Congress and the Khilafat leaders to effect a reconciliation in the Punjab has led certain papers to lay the blame at the doors of the leaders themselves. In order to suppress the growing estrangement between the two communities, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* advises the Hindus of the Punjab voluntarily to abdicate Government service and take for a time to the commercial and industrial lines. *Free India* ascribes the present tension to the leaders of both communities who pose to be their protectors but who invariably stand as blocks in the path of progress. The *Pioneer* finds in the Punjab an object-lesson on the folly of those who persist in shutting their eyes to facts and proclaiming a unity of nationhood which has never existed save on the surface. It styles the leaders' statement on the situation as a confession of failure and concludes by regretting the manifestation of disunion, which, unless it can be checked, and that speedily, cannot fail to set back the clock of progress and to retard indefinitely the advance of India towards the goal of full responsible government. The *Vikram* ascribes the failure of the Indian leaders to arrive at a settlement in regard to the Hindu-Muslim differences in the Punjab to the uncompromising attitude of the

Muslim representatives and remarks that unless this mentality of the Musalmans changes there is an apprehension of the gulf between the two communities growing still wider. The *Vartman* suggests that the foundation of Hindu-Muslim unity should be based on such principles that the Hindus and Musalmans may not injure each other and the national interests despite any incitement and provocation. The *Anand* holds that the responsibility for racial hatred in the Punjab mostly lies on the shoulders of the Muhammadans who far from doing anything to show their goodwill towards the Hindus, have resented all their efforts to strengthen their community and have always displayed a pan-Islamic spirit in utter disregard of national interests. The *Arya Mitra* maintains that the Muhammadans are apparently of the opinion that the Hindu-Muslim unity is possible only if the Hindus accept a subordinate position to them and forego their religious obligations in favour of those of the Muhammadans. If the Muhammadans do not want to remain on friendly terms with the Hindus, they are quite welcome to enjoy their isolated position, but they should not ignore the principle of 'live and let live.' The *Gorakshak* opines that there can be no unity between the protectors of cows and their enemies unless a definite agreement is arrived at between them over the question of cow-protection. The *Medina* takes to task the Punjab press for fanning the flame of communal strifes and regrets that the national leaders failed to bring about a reconciliation between the two communities. The *Al Bashir* deplores that these strifes have pushed *swaraj* fifty years back and remarks that the present situation has discredited India in the eyes of the whole world and proved that India is not yet fit for *swaraj*. The *Qaum* regrets that Indians have not yet imbibed the national spirit and have not merged their communal interests in the welfare of the whole nation. The *Najat* resents the behaviour of the Muslim representatives in the leaders' conference held in the Punjab and calls it an insult to the nation to reject the decision of Deshbandhu Das and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The decision of a national leader is far more important and binding than the decision of a judge of a British court. The *Aligarh Gazette* has little faith in Hindu-Muslim unity and remarks that the Hindus received the news of the Turkish victory with a heavy heart and are jealous of the Musalmans sympathizing with their co-religionists outside India. The gulf of difference between the two communities will go on widening.

Khilafat affairs.

Speculation is rife as to the course of action the proposed Khilafat deputation to Hedjaz is to adopt. The *Hamdam* says that in order to fulfil its delicate mission the deputation should take up the neutral position to avoid any suspicion of partiality with the Turks. The Indians should not advocate the Turkish cause which can be best pleaded by the Turks themselves. The *Mashriq* thinks the deputation is unnecessary and untimely as all the questions which have been agitating the Musalmans have been settled according to their wishes. The Arabs and the Turks are themselves more alive to the need of pan-Islamism and do not require any lead from the Indians. The *Naved* and the *Zulqarnain* absolve the Khilafat Committee of misappropriation of funds and justify the expenditure incurred by it, but the *Mashriq* is dissatisfied with the manner in which the Khilafat Committee has tried to refute the charges of misappropriation and mismanagement and says that the defence it has put up verifies rather than contradicts the original report.

The salt-tax.

The agitation over the salt-tax shows little sign of abating. The *Leader* reminds the Government of India of the consequences of passing the Rowlatt Act in the teeth of popular opposition and says that the lesson has been soon forgotten. It regards the resignation of certain members of the Assembly as indication of a strong revulsion of feeling among the cooperators. The comparatively superficial calm hides a strong current underneath. If the British Parliament endorses the action of the Viceroy, as well it may, it will lead to a further shaking of faith in the Reforms. The *Vartman* remarks that by the certification of the salt-tax Lord Reading not only crushed the pride of the moderates but also demonstrated to the people the absolute futility of entry into the Councils on the part of non-cooperators. The *Azad* remarks that the certification has alienated the sympathies even of the few cooperators who had faith in the Reforms. It urges the people not to sit silent and tolerate this act of highhandedness. The *Nair-i-Azam* says that the time has now come when all the parties in India should combine together and present a united front to the bureaucracy. The *Anand Pracharak* is the only paper which supports the action of the Viceroy and observes that it is only the salt-tax which is capable of being enhanced. In view of the high rates of wages enjoyed by the labouring classes, the salt-tax will not be severely felt by the poor.

Civil Disobedience.

References to Civil Disobedience continue to be made in extremist papers. The *Vikram* approves of the decision of the Central Provinces Congress Committee to resort to *satyagraha* for the vindication of the honour of the national flag and urges that as the national flag question is an all-India one, non-cooperators from all parts of the country should participate in it. "We anxiously look forward to the day when the bureaucracy will be defeated and the national flag will be seen waving gloriously and triumphantly in the firmament." The *Vartman* blames Mr. Das and Moti Lal Nehru for their inability to complete the preparations for Civil Disobedience and urges that even now all the non-cooperation leaders should devote themselves to the fulfilment of the Congress programme in order to prepare for Civil Disobedience. The *Lakshman* exhorts the Congress-men not to be discouraged by the strained relations between Hindus and Muhammadans in the Punjab and the Shuddhi controversy in their efforts to complete the preparation for Civil Disobedience. The *Satyavadi* points out that the Civil Disobedience movement has proved disastrous to the country. If the people have the good of the country at heart they should have nothing to do with Civil Disobedience and should adopt constitutional means for the attainment of *swaraj*. Civil Disobedience by breeding a spirit of lawlessness among the people only spreads disorder and anarchy in the country.

Political prisoners.

The release of the Sikh prisoners convicted in connection with the Gura-ka-Bagh affair has been received with satisfaction. The *Leader* characterizes it as an act of broad-minded statesmanship which is bound to improve the relations of the Government with the Sikh religious reformers. It also hopes that the generous gesture of the Punjab Government will incidentally have a salutary effect on the activities of revolutionary murderers styling themselves as 'Babar Akalis.' The *Hamdam* congratulates the Punjab Government for releasing the Akali prisoners, but does not think that this action alone will succeed in regaining the loyalty of the Sikhs which the Government alienated in connection with the Gura-ka-Bagh affair. It urges the release of all political prisoners. Quoting from a South African paper which foreshadows the release of all political prisoners in India and Egypt, on the conclusion of the Turkish peace, the *Hamdam* observes that a general amnesty to political prisoners will have a profound and sobering effect on the political situation in India and it urges that Mr. Gandhi should also be released along with others.

Political propaganda.

The notable feature of the week's comments in some of the extremist papers is the attack on Congress leaders. The *Naved* deplores the lull in non-cooperation activities and the division in the Congress camp for which it blames the prominent leaders of the *Swarajya* party as they failed to push forward the constructive programme and started meddling in side issues like the Hindu-Muslim strifes in the Punjab. Similarly the *Vartman* holds Messrs. Das and Nehru responsible for the lack of enthusiasm among the people in respect of Congress work. They formed a new party and created divisions in the ranks of the non-cooperators. The *Vikram* exhorts the people to shake off lethargy, to organize themselves in one close body and to be prepared to die in the struggle for freedom. The *Vartman* says that the country cannot forget even for a moment the indispensable need for *swaraj* and is prepared to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives for it. It is only looking for a propitious occasion to launch the campaign. The *Lakshman* exhorts the Indian youths to show signs of the warmth of their blood and propitiate the goddess of liberty with the sacrifice of their lives. 'Raja' Mahendra Pratap writing in the *Prem* urges the National Congress and the Khilafat Committee to take advantage of the anti-English feeling which has been growing in Japan for the last two years and which is the outcome of English deceit and falsehood and realize the dream of the Asiatic Federation. Swami Bhaskar Tirtha writing in the *Vartman* exhorts the Indians to exercise soul force and undergo penance and sufferings which are indispensable for the emancipation of India. The *Najat* observes that while in Britain efforts are being made to lighten the burden from the shoulders of the tax-payers in India fresh taxes are imposed every day. It is due to the fact that England is a free country but India is ruled by an imperialistic nation which does not pay the least attention to the welfare of the country. The *Naved* requests the Amir of Kabul to utilize his journey to Angora in uniting the Islamic countries so that they may be able to withstand the concentrated pressure from European Powers.

Ministers' resignation.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, which has been the foremost in speculating about the Ministers' resignation, says that the resignation is due to their failure to save one of their friends. It supports the action of His Excellency the Governor in accepting the resignation and regrets that Mr. Chintamani did not scruple to use his high position to terrorise the Governor. The *Leader* praises the action of the Ministers who have followed the only course which self-respect and the best interests of the country required them to do. It welcomes them back to the public life of the province where their party looks upon them to put fresh vigour and life into it. With regard to the Governor's attitude the paper thinks it is too bookish. "It reeks of the Secretariat way of dealing with files and not with men. A Governor accustomed to deal with men would have probably adopted a different course. He would not have ridden his theories to death." The *Shakti* of Almora asks whether it indicates the falling of scales from the eyes of Mr. Chintamani or whether this stratagem has been practised to secure re-election to the next Council. The *Vartman* observes that the best time for Mr. Chintamani to resign was when Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was arrested. He would have then covered himself with glory but he did not do so. Was it for the sake of money? asks the paper. The *Aj* styles Mr. Chintamani's independence in resigning his office as commendable. It foreshadows the appointment of Raja Parmanand and the Nawab of Chhatari as the new Ministers. The *Oudh Akhbar* has no doubt that the return of Mr. Chintamani to the opposition side will give a new life to the proceedings of the Council and his knowledge of the inner working of the Government will be used with great effect.

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The Near East.

THE Muslim press is elated at the firmness which the Turks are showing in their recent activities. The *Najat* holds that the Turks are now strong enough to negotiate with the European Powers on a footing of equality. If peace is not concluded speedily the allied interests will severely suffer. In another article the paper accuses the European Powers of having formed a conspiracy against the Turks and regrets that Great Britain has by joining it lost its credit in the East. The *Naved* urges a stiffening of efforts in India which have already strengthened the position of the Turks at the Lausanne Conference. Referring to the news that Turkey has seized foreign banks and has resorted to extreme measures in dealing with the Allies, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the news will be received throughout India with intense excitement and it sincerely hopes that once more the Hindus and Musalmans would be bound by a common bond of love and suffering, for the fate of a struggling nation has an appealing force. It predicts that a war in which Turkey is engaged will have the immediate effect of concentrating in India of efforts for united action. The *Vartman* says that the Turks have so much strengthened their position through diplomacy and military prowess as to make France and England dance at their bidding. The *Garhwali* advises France and England to determine their international policy in conformity with the requirements of world peace and the interests of humanity at large otherwise the world will be involved in another disastrous conflagration.

Indians in Colonies.

The press continues to support the claims of Indians in Colonies. The *Leader*, referring to the next Imperial Conference, suggests that Mr. Shastri, who has special knowledge of this question, should again be selected to represent India. The paper wants exactly the same representation for Indians in mandatory territories as are enjoyed by the nationals of other Powers. "We cannot ask for more; we shall not be content with less." The *Bharat Jiwan* urges Indians to cease to have any relations with the Kenya whites, if their brethren in that colony are not treated on a footing of equality with them as citizens of the British Empire. The *Lakshman* deplores the utter inability and helplessness of Indians to protect their countrymen against the fresh disabilities imposed on them in Natal in connection with trade licences and says that injustice and oppression will surely intervene to save the Indians. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the European settlers are too selfish to realize the interests of their nation and Empire. No deputations or efforts on the part of Mr. Shastri and Mr. Andrews will be of any avail unless the Indians can get themselves respected in their own country. The *Hamdam* is not sanguine that the grievances of the Indians in British Colonies can ever be removed according to the desires of the Indians and remarks that money has simply been wasted on the Dominion tour of Mr. Shastri. Referring to the crisis in South Africa, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* is of opinion that in the strength of India to retaliate lies the only hope. The disease is economic more than political, and they will not dare oust us if we have power behind our representations. That power, however, India does not possess.

The conversion movement.

The *shuddhi* movement and affairs in the Punjab continue to provide material for spirited articles in papers. The *Rozana Akhbar* remarks that the *shuddhi* movement has eclipsed the *swaraj*, the *Khilafat* and the non-cooperation movements. The much-advertised Hindu-Muslim unity has been unreal throughout and confined only to the speeches of the leaders. The *Al Bureed* says that the persistence of the Aryas in their mischievous activities will result in a fitting reply from the Musalmans. The activities of the Aryas, instead of advancing the cause of *swaraj*, are strengthening the chains of India's slavery. The *Aligarh Gazette* regrets that the Hindu-Muslim unity is standing in the way of the propagation of Islam and remarks that the Muslim leaders are selling their religion for the sake of a spurious patriotism. The *Mashriq* observes that the

alliance of the Musalmans with non-Muslims is not ordained by God and says that it is a Divine chastisement to the Musalmans that the very infidel whom they chose as their leader and allowed to deliver speeches from the sacred pulpit of the great mosque at Delhi, is now exposing the hollowness of the Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Nizam-i-Alam* accuses the Hindu leaders and the press of exciting the Hindu public against Musalmans. The *Hamdam* condemns the Hindu press for adopting a policy of calumniating the Muhammadans and of magnifying even the slightest grievances and says that the Punjab specially suffers from this malady, and until the press changes its policy the relations between the two communities will see little improvement. The *Qaum* in a series of articles persists in its view that a third party, the bureaucracy, is taking advantage of the differences between the two communities and is fanning the flame of disunion between them. It advises all Indian patriots to keep themselves aloof from the *shuddhi* movement; if they do not do so, they will be responsible for the murder of Indian liberty. These differences have disorganized the nation, weakened our power and strengthened the hands of the bureaucracy. The supporters of Government and the workers of Aman Sabhas are responsible for bringing about this state of affairs. Those who are taking part in the *shuddhi* movement are surely enemies of the country. The *Vartman* denounces the efforts that are being made to stop the re-conversion work by attributing to it the dissolution of Hindu-Muslim unity and supports the continuance of reclamation activities, remarking that the present time is the most opportune for it. The *Anand* remarks that the Hindus cannot accept a subordinate position to the Muhammadans and that they will never prefer to exchange the Muhammadan for the British yoke, for fear of being beaten and robbed. The *Gyan Shakti* dwells on the need of the organization of Hindus and reminds the Muhammadans that Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be maintained if they are ever ready to trample upon the dictates of justice in their dealings with the Hindus. The *Pioneer* is surprised that in spite of the tension between Hindus and Muhammadans in the Punjab, the extreme wing of the Congress is actually contemplating the possibility of starting a *satyagraha* campaign in the near future, though it should be obvious to any intelligent person that any attempt to start such a campaign in the Punjab under present conditions would be fraught with the gravest consequences. The *Hamdam* views with great misgiving the emergence of Babu Bipan Chandra Pal from obscurity. His contributions to the press on the Hindu-Muslim question in which he denounces pan-Islamism are full of mischief and likely to make the Hindus and Muhammadans of Bengal fight as in the Punjab.

Civil Disobedience.

The *Vikram* contends that the necessary atmosphere for Civil Disobedience has not yet been created and suggests that before launching out the *satyagraha* campaign the people must be made to fulfil the *khaddar* condition and to realize that at the time of Civil Disobedience they will have to remain peaceful and non-violent even under ruthless and terrible repression. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that under the present circumstances the launching of the Civil Disobedience movement will be disastrous to the nation and will strengthen the hands of the bureaucracy. It will be equally unwise to enter the Councils with the avowed intention of opposing every Government measure. Such measures as the enhancement of the salt-tax should by all means be opposed, but we should support the Government when the best interests of the country demand it.

Bolshevism.

The *Medina* remarks that the Musalmans in Central Asia who hitherto trusted the Bolsheviks are now offering resistance to them. Being cut off from the outside world they are unable to secure any help. If Great Britain adopts the statesmanlike policy of helping them, India will be secure from the Bolshevik menace. The *Parivartan* asks the rich to take heed and refrain from crushing the poor, otherwise the latter will continue to resist their oppression and to bring it home to them that all people have an equal right to property.

The Congress split.

The split in the Congress majority party and the manifesto of Messrs. Das and Nehru has been the subject of general interest. According to the *Indian Daily Telegraph* the division in the Congress camp may be taken as complete and we are face to face with a split which foretells the death of the Congress. It regrets that the Congress should have been smashed. If the *Swaraj* party will resolve to work instead of to wreck the Councils and join the Liberals there is yet hope of a political future before us. The *Leader* says that the only feasible course appears to be to return to the old

methods of political action condemned by Mr. Gandhi as not in accordance with his lofty principle of *satyagraha* and to fight the forces of reaction with the available constitutional weapons, taking care that in using them judgment and foresight are not abandoned and patience is combined with determination, and discipline with enthusiasm. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that as the country must have by now realized the futility of the Congress programme it will do well to capture the Councils and fight the bureaucracy from within its own citadel. The *Lakshman* says that the majority party of the Congress should no longer insist on the boycott of Councils and should arrive at an understanding with the *Swaraj* party, otherwise it will court its own destruction and that the Congress should adopt the programme of the *Swaraj* party as its own programme. The *Vartman* is incensed at the circular letter issued by Pandit Moti Lal Nehru advocating entry into Councils and remarks that the *Swaraj* party has been formed to annihilate the non-cooperation movement. It exhorts the members of the Provincial Congress Committee to force the supporters of the *Swaraj* party to secede from it and work independently, and appeals to the people to abide by the mandate of the Congress and carry out the Congress programme in its entirety. The *Aj* is in favour of Council entry provided its supporters can sink internal dissensions and can unite the various forces in the country for national service. The *Vikram* suggests that as it is impossible to fuse the two Congress parties into one, both the parties should carry on their own programmes without interfering with each other. The *Hamdam* hopes that the programme of the *Swaraj* party of capturing the Councils will find favour with the majority of the people in the country. The Council elections will furnish a new field of activity for the people. The proposal for resorting to individual Civil Disobedience at this stage has no chance of success. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets the rift in the Congress and remarks that in the presence of such strained relations between the educated Congress-men it is not strange at all if the Hindu and Muslim masses in the Punjab are breaking each other's heads. The *Zulqarnain* opines that the Congress can regain its popularity if it gives up revolutionary ideas and prepares the country for political activities on sound, constitutional lines.

Ministers' resignation.

Opinion is divided as to the conduct of the Ministers in resigning their offices. While the organ of the Liberals continues to support the Ministers, the *Pioneer* says that the differences between the Governor and the Ministers which led to the resignations of the latter will certainly not enhance the reputation of the Minister of Education. According to the *Leader* the resignation of the Ministers is the result of the first serious mistake committed by Sir William Marris in working diarchy in these provinces. It asserts that by bungling obstinacy Sir William Marris has raised an issue which strikes at the root of the policy of tranquillity of which His Excellency was in favour. In another article headed "The Out-going Ministers" the *Leader* says that the resignations cannot but weaken the position of Government and denote lack of statesmanship in the head of the Government. It heartily welcomes the Ministers back in public life and says that in the existing circumstances, financial and political, it is doubtful if any Minister can do much inside the Government. Sir William Marris has rendered a public service, however unwittingly, in restoring freedom to the Ministers. The *Advocate* says that the correspondence relating to the Ministers' resignation ought to be an eye-opener to all who have any faith in the sham Reforms and congratulates the Ministers for taking this step to vindicate their self-respect as Indian Ministers pitchforked into an alliance with an irresponsible bureaucracy. The *Aj* holds that Mr. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narayan did the right thing in resigning their offices. The Governor's partiality towards European officials and his disregard of the Indian Ministers are evident from every letter of his. The *Abhyudaya* opines that Sir William will not now be able to find for appointment as successors to Mr. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narayan men of their capabilities. The *Partap* remarks that the present resignations of the Ministers who continued in their offices despite the insults and humiliation repeatedly offered to the nation are of no particular value to it. The *Lakshman* is unable to express sympathy with the ex-Ministers because in its opinion they had no adequate cause for tendering their resignations. It is however a different matter if the Ministers resigned because of shame at their inability to save Pandit Iqbal Narayan Gurtu from humiliation. The *Anand* justifies the resignations and says that their acceptance shows that the existing diarchy system of administration is worthless and should be got rid of as early as possible. The *Vikram* regards the resignations as indicative of the failure of the Reforms. The Governor showed unjust partiality towards a European official.

This action cannot but be regarded as gross injustice to Mr. Chintamani and the Liberal party. The best retort to this high-handedness will be for the present councillors to refuse to accept the vacated Ministerial offices. The *Shakti* wonders whether Mr. Chintamani's resignation indicates the falling of scales from his eyes or whether this stratagem has been practised to secure re-election in the forthcoming Council elections. The *Vartman* thinks that the official proceedings resulting in the resignations have antagonized a large section of the Moderates against the policy of the Government. According to the *Al Bashir* the cause of Mr. Chintamani's resignation was the humiliating apology of Mr. Gurtu. Whatever expectations he had from Sir William Marris were not realized and he resigned his post as he had no hope of retaining his position as a Minister in the new Council. The *Al Bureed* remarks that both the Ministers should now repent of their mistake in supporting the Reforms and doubts if Mr. Chintamani, being a staunch and bigotted Hindu, will like to identify himself with the Extremist party after his resignation, as it will be galling to him to work in co operation with the Musalmans. The *Oudh Akhbar* justifies the acceptance of the resignation by the Governor and regrets that Mr. Chintamani insisted on too strict an application of the rules and has little doubt that the defeat of the Liberal party will cause the greatest satisfaction and joy to other parties in the country. The *Zulqarnain* says that the Ministers wanted to force the Government into an admission of the importance and power of the Liberal party, but Sir William Marris proved himself a man of firmness and determination. He would have compromised the Government had he acted otherwise. The *Hamdam* expects that Mr. Chintamani will devote his spare time to supporting the cause of Hindi and the Hindu organization, will exhort the educated and wealthy Hindus to help the *shuddhi* movement and thus will prove himself a right hand man of Pandit Malaviya. The *Azad* remarks that Mr. Chintamani acted in accordance with the best constitutional traditions. The resignations have proved the inadequacy of the Reforms and in the United Provinces diarchy has utterly failed. The *Naved* points out that there was a lack of confidence in his Minister on the part of the Governor and under such circumstances the Minister had no other alternative but to resign.

The Chauri Chaura judgment.

With the exception of certain Extremist journals the judgment in the Chauri Chaura case has been generally well received. The *Leader* says that the sentences as modified in appeal by the High Court cannot be objected to by any reasonably minded person, when the seriousness of the crime is taken into consideration and congratulates the Honourable Judges on tempering justice with mercy and on the admirables pirit of fairness and judicial detachment with which they have tried to deal with the cases of the appellants. The *Advocate* says: "Though the enormity of the sentences passed by the Sessions Judge has been considerably toned down by the High Court judgment, it seems to us that the sentences are vindictive." The *Vartman* remarks that the judgment is a peculiar sample of justice. There is no doubt that the decision of the High Court has reduced the brutal severity of the original sentences, but justice has not touched the revised decision even by the fringe. It is a travesty of truth to assert that the Chauri Chaura convicts are at all responsible for the tragedy. It is the British bureaucracy in India which is responsible for the murder of 23 persons at Chauri Chaura and for which it should be adequately punished. Its crime will be doubled by the murder of the 19 innocent persons who have now been sentenced to death. The *Vikram* says: The severity of the sentences passed on the Chauri Chaura convicts would have grieved us but for the fact that we never have had any faith in the justice of the underlings of the bureaucracy. We shall proclaim from house tops that the Chauri Chaura convicts are innocent and that is why we count them among martyrs. The *Aj* thinks that the judgment of the High Court will undoubtedly shake the faith of the people in British justice. Such decisions which are possible only under martial law demonstrate the necessity of boycotting British law courts. The *Lakshman* remarks that the High Court judgment is a striking commentary on the ability of the Sessions Judge who should not now show his face to the world, and if he does not possess the sense of shame and humanity to such a degree, the higher authorities should get rid of him. The man who can trifle with the lives of so many men is not fit to retain the office of a judge for a single moment.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 19th May, 1923.

The Near East.

A NOTE of lack of confidence in the Allies marks the Muslim press comments on the Lausanne Conference. The *Najat* warns the Indian public not to rely on the news regarding the progress of peace negotiations at Lausanne because the agencies supplying foreign news to India are prejudiced in favour of their own national interests. Similarly the *Medina* alleges that the reports of Reuter's agency regarding the proceedings of the Lausanne Conference are inspired by the Allies and calculated to spread misunderstanding. The Allies are trying to dupe the Turks through their deceitful diplomacy. The Turkish demands are admitted only theoretically, but in practice the questions are referred to "experts" who are saturated with prejudice. The *Aligarh Gazette* pleads for an Anglo-Turkish understanding, remarking that it is more important than alliance with any European Power. The *Naved* is sceptical of the success of the second Lausanne Conference, as France, at the secret instigation of England, is still trying to throw impediments in its way in order to attain their ends deceitfully. Referring to the "Chester Concessions" the *Rohilkhand Gazette* opines that the Allies will no doubt feel mortified if a Turko-American alliance is established, but it will ensure liberty to the Asiatic nations. Lord Curzon will also feel his lonely position and will not dare to oppose Ismet Pasha as the former is not unaware of the feelings of Indian Muhammadans. The *Pioneer* ascribes the long-drawn-out negotiations to the tortuous methods of Turkish diplomacy and fears that the Turkish diplomatists are carrying their policy of procrastination too far, and that incidents of the kind which led to the violation of foreign bankers can only aggravate the tension between the Angora Government and the Powers affected. The *Leader* fears that the bogey of vested interests will, as usual, be raised to discredit the attempt of Turkey to come into her own, and hopes that Turkey will show as much regard for her obligations as is consistent with her national interests and as do not place her in a position of economic subjection to the foreigners. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is equally pessimistic and says: One feels as if one were at the edge of a yawning precipice as he surveys the European situation over the Ruhr, the Russian seas and Franco-Turkish frontier.

The Egyptian Constitution.

The *Al Bureed* expresses disagreement with Lord Curzon's view that as the result of the new constitution Egyptians will soon become staunch friends of the British Crown. The *Lakshman* wonders that if Egypt has really been granted independence why should not Zaghlul Pasha and his colleagues be allowed to return to their home, why should not martial law be withdrawn and why should arrests continue to be made for complicity in secret conspiracies.

Indians in the Colonies.

Resentment over the agitation to exclude Indians from the Colonies continues to be expressed with the usual bitterness and the majority of Indian papers ascribe it to the helplessness of Indians in their own country. The *Leader* angrily remarks that not the least of the hypocritical arguments advanced by the European settlers to *camouflage* their unrighteous game in Kenya is the cry of "Religion in danger." That they should have been compelled to appeal in the name of religion to invoke the sympathy of the churches and missionary societies for the wholly insensate anti-Indian crusade now in full swing in Kenya reveals the extent to which the virus of racial intolerance and commercial sordidness has penetrated these settlers. By dragging in Christianity into their campaign the white settlers have been besmirching its fair name. They do not, however, care so much for the real nature of Christianity as for the all-pervading power of Mammon, to propitiate whom they would not even hesitate to trade upon Christianity. It congratulates the Indian Bishops on their outspoken statement, and says that they have effectively exposed the game of the white settlers in Kenya. In another article headed "White Frenzy in Africa" the paper exclaims that the

whole of white Africa is in the throes of anti-Asiatic frenzy. Whether one turns to Kenya, or the former German colonies, or the Union of South Africa, the same cry of "Down with the Indian" is heard from all sides. Indians domiciled in Africa are face to face with a simultaneous attack from the respective Governments of all the Colonies which has the appearance of a well-settled plan. It warns the Colonial Office not to encourage any interference on the part of the South African Colonies. Rev. C. F. Andrews contributes an article to the *Leader* in which he describes the history of the struggle and holds that the Europeans are absolutely determined to have their way and that the emigration restrictions are meant to exclude the Indians from the Colonies. For if no Indians are allowed to land, then in the course of time the Indians who are already treated with indignity and humiliation will wish to return to India. In any case they will die out in a few generations, and the Europeans will at last obtain their unrighteous will. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* has no faith in those Indians who sing the glory of Imperial India and who believe that amidst this agitation against Indians justice and fairplay and Imperial sense would come to play. It ridicules the efforts of Mr. Shastri and says: "No Indian can read the extract that we publish elsewhere from the *Outlook* about the Kenya highlands and yet doubt the motives behind this white agitation. The whining of Aga Khan and Shastri must give place to something more purposeful. Has India, we ask, any tangible resource against the greed of the Kenya white? England is rapidly rallying to the whites. Unless we have some definite threat to offer, the Kenya white will not yield the wealth for which he yearns." The *Pioneer*, on the other hand, remarks that logic and theory notwithstanding, the settlement must be based on practical lines. It advises both parties to come to a compromise. Indians are not a fighting people and cannot hold the Kenya Colony were the British settlers to withdraw. "It would be impolitic and illogical, therefore, to insist on interpreting the doctrine of equality in such a way as to give the preponderance of political power to the section of the population which could not fulfil the maxim 'Let him rule who can hold' . . . . In their own country Indians have not yet full self-government. Even those who clamour for an 'immediate advance' to that stage do not suggest a franchise very much broader in basis than that at present existing. So it would be inconsistent that the British settlers in Kenya should be compelled to accord to a class of Indians, without reservation, rights which those Indians would not possess in India itself." The *Aj* views with alarm the growing deterioration in the condition of the Indian residents in the British Colonies, particularly those in South Africa. It emphasizes the seriousness of the situation and holds out the threat that aggressive methods will have to be resorted to to improve the condition of the Indian residents. The *Anand* opines that continued ill-treatment of Indian residents will strengthen the hands of the party advocating severance of the British connection. It warns the Government that if it wants to retain India within the British Empire, it should treat the Indian residents in all British Crown Colonies on a footing of equality with the whites and compel the self-governing Dominions also to adopt a similar policy.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The Muslim press continues to blame the Hindus for creating the present situation which is described as detrimental to the progress of nationalism in India. The *Naved* holds that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other prominent Hindu leaders ought not to have excited the Hindus to hate the Muhammadans whose leaders did not commit such a folly. Swami Shraddhanand has started the *shuddhi* movement with the deliberate intention of creating Hindu-Muslim disunion and racial hatred. The *Nizam-i-Alam* holds that some of the Hindu leaders secretly hate the Muhammadans and are desirous of their migration from India. But such desires can never be fulfilled because the Muslims have settled in this country as conquerors and no power can drive them out of it. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* deplores the Hindu-Muslim strifes in the Punjab and the failure of the attempts of the leaders to bring about a settlement and says that time has not yet come for the English to depart from the country. The *Qaum* is emphatic in its condemnation of the communal spirit which prevented *rapprochement* between Hindus and Muhammadans in the Punjab despite the efforts of political leaders. One Professor Nand Lal Bhatnagar exhorts Hindus to go on with their reorganization activities in disregard of the accusations that they are responsible for the Hindu-Muslim strifes in the Punjab, as in his opinion these accusations are utterly baseless. The Hindi papers are alarmed at the growing volume of Muslim resentment over the *shuddhi* question and the *Anand* entreats Government to exercise its power to prevent the dreadful consequences of the strained relations

between Hindus and Muhammadans in the Punjab and to take adequate measures for the protection of Hindus who are generally law-abiding.

Civil Disobedience.

The *Najat* contends that the nationalists in honouring the national flag never mean any disrespect to the Union Jack. In its opinion the nationalists in Nagpur are justified in having recourse to the lawful and peaceful weapon of civil disobedience in protecting their rights when the local officials abuse the law to suppress them. Despite the split in the non-cooperation camp and the *Swaraj* party's manifestoes eschewing direct action, a number of extremist papers declare themselves in favour of civil disobedience. The *Lakshman* deplores the attempts that are being made in certain quarters to throw the civil disobedience question in the background and urges the votaries of civil disobedience not to despair but to launch out their campaign against all odds after the example of their Central Provinces brethren in the firm belief that their sufferings cannot but bring the country nearer to *swaraj*. The *Aj* exhorts the Nagpur *satyagrahis* to fight out to the end undaunted by repression. It warns them to scrupulously refrain from using arms and perpetrating violence and assures them that the bureaucracy will have to yield before the *satyagraha* of a whole nation. The *Shakti* urges the Kumaunese to have recourse to *satyagraha* over the question of "forests," remarking that it is the supreme duty of the Kumaunese to throw themselves heart and soul into the *satyagraha* campaign and not to rest until they have completely destroyed the satanic Government. The *Lakshman* welcomes the proposal of Mr. Gopalchari to start mass civil disobedience and expresses its strong disapproval of the proposal to restrict to individual disobedience in view of its mildness and inefficacy and says: It will not do to violate section 144, C. P. C., or defeat the Government over similar trifling matters. Our blow should be a stunning one. We should adopt that form of *satyagraha* which should either destroy us or the bureaucracy. Exhorting the people to participate in the Nagpur *satyagraha* campaign the *Vartman* writes: Sons of India! Come forward and by virtue of your sacrifices intensify the fire kindled by Tapaswi Sunder Lal so that its leaping flames may illuminate the whole country and inspire even the dissemblers to emulate your patriotic example.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* remarks that Bolshevism has cast its roots deep into Europe and its future is replete with bright hopes. It extends all over Turkey, Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan and the Bolsheviks have now fixed their gaze on India. They are eagerly desirous of sowing the seeds of socialistic revolution in this country. The paper expresses the belief that the influence of the Bolsheviks in Asia will prove very helpful to them in dissolving the power of England. In another article the paper says that although the Imperialists are still in power in England and Kaiserism and Tsardom still exist there in their most abominable form but the soldiers of the Labour party have entered into the fortress of the Imperialists and the day is not distant when it will be pulled down and the brick and mortar constituting it will be thrown into the Thames. The *Zulqarnain* refers to the recent arrest of a Bolshevik agent at Cawnpore and urges that it is the duty of the police to trace out the centre of the Bolshevik propaganda in India and the place where the Bolshevik agents are busy with their work. The *Naved* remarks that the Bolsheviks may be tyrants of the worst kind, but the nations which have been groaning long under the slavery of Imperialistic powers like the English, the French and the Italians, will naturally welcome the Bolsheviks who promise them liberty.

Congress split.

Political propaganda in the week has mainly taken the form of comments on the affairs of the Congress parties. The *Medina* and the *Najat* emphatically declare that the *Swaraj* party cannot maintain its existence owing to general public opinion being strongly opposed to entry into the councils. The former urges that civil disobedience, whether individual or mass, should at once be started, the *Swaraj* party being sure to give in if the Congress programme succeeds. If there are communal strifes in the Punjab, it may be left out, but other provinces should certainly begin civil disobedience. The paper also urges the two Congress parties to arrive at a joint decision and to adopt a joint scheme for the renewal of the national struggle. The *Naved* deplores that the future of the country has been endangered by the failure of the two Congress parties to arrive at any satisfactory settlement. In its opinion the councils cannot help non-cooperators in view of the special powers of the Governors to override any decision

of the majority. It urges for the reorganization of the national forces for the fulfilment of the non-cooperation programme. In the meantime people should be allowed to cooperate with Government to the extent necessary for the removal of their financial difficulties. The *Vikram* views the Congress programme with disapproval because of the inability of the people to launch out the *satyagraha* campaign with the least chance of success and opines that the programme formulated by Messrs. Das and Nehru is in the existing circumstances the only thing which, if acted upon, will enable the people to fight desperately with the bureaucracy and harass it. In another article the paper observes: Our object in capturing the councils is to compel the bureaucracy to fight with us in the open field and to deprive it of the shelter of "law" from behind which it makes attacks. This done, we shall be able to expose and demonstrate clearly to the world the hollowness of the so-called love of justice of the British and the mockery of their legal procedure. The paper suggests that in order to ensure success in the forthcoming elections the people will have to carry on a vigorous electioneering propaganda both in the urban and the rural areas. The *Abhyudaya* is enamoured of the programme of the *Swaraj* party because of its suitability and practicability and is sanguine that under the strategy of such eminent and shrewd politicians as Mr. Das and Pandit Moti Lal the country is bound to attain victory. It points out the necessity of raising a fund for propaganda work and appeals to the people to contribute handsomely towards it. The *Lakshman* is emphatic in its opposition of council entry and says that the merciless way in which Messrs. Das and Nehru are trampling upon the will of the majority does not augur well for the future of the country. It accuses them of despising the will of the majority and thereby trespassing the bounds of discipline. In another article the paper refers in condemnatory terms to the decision of Mr. C. R. Das in prohibiting the members of the *Swaraj* party to join the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and says that his action means nothing less than virtual secession of the *Swaraj* party from the Congress. The *Aj* opposes entry into the councils on the ground that contesting the elections will mean the acceptance of the Reforms and that *Swaraj* cannot be attained through them. It says that the sole object of capturing the councils is to wreck them and the need of capturing the councils disappears now that the bureaucracy has itself started the work of wrecking them and the patriots among the Liberals have begun to boycott them. It urges the *Swaraj* party to abandon its programme and work jointly with the majority party. In view of the similarity between the policies of the Liberal and the *Swaraj* parties the *Anand* asks the latter to join issue with the former.

Ministers' resignation.

The *Aj* applauds the Ministers for resigning their office but says that they would have been recipients of greater honour if they had resigned on the occasion of the arrest of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Babu Bhagwan Das. It exhorts the members of the Provincial Legislative Council to refuse to accept the vacated offices. In another article the paper ridicules the Government for its inability to secure fresh Ministers from among the Liberals, remarking caustically that if the Governor were to act himself as his Minister the work would be carried on very smoothly and without any differences of opinion. The Liberal papers continue to justify the ministerial resignations. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* thinks that the Ministers have enhanced their public reputation by resigning. The acceptance of the resignations, says the paper, is an ordinary and regrettable example of the value attached by European officials to worthy Indians. The *Azad* hopes that these resignations will stimulate the sense of constitutional responsibility among Indians and will prove a basis for splendid traditions in future. The *Qaum* pities the *Leader* for labouring hitherto under the illusion that Sir William Marris attaches any value to the Ministers and is thankful that its eyes have now been opened. The *Mashriq*, on the other hand, praises the strength and moral courage exhibited by Sir William Marris in this connection and holds that the resignations have been tendered on grounds of political expediency in view of the approaching elections. In the opinion of the *Hilal*, the acceptance of the resignations, instead of rectifying the mistake of ignoring an Indian as against a European, has added insult to injury. The *Hamdam* expresses satisfaction at the creditable administration of the ex-Ministers but does not approve the resignation of the Education Minister over a private matter of an individual. The favourable political situation in the country with the consequent sense of security led His Excellency Sir William Marris to give more than necessary weight to the personal honour of a senior Government official. The Indians and the Moderates should take a lesson from

this incident; and the masses setting aside their differences and strifes should devote themselves to the attainment of *swaraj*.

The New Ministry.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* approves the appointment of Raja Parmanand and Nawab Ahmad Sa'id Khan as Ministers as representing the majority party in the present Council and says: The energy and the undoubted patriotism of the Nawab, combined to the mellow wisdom, judicial temperament and yearning for public service of the Raja, must, we are sure, vouchsafe for this Ministry even a longer career than this short period in the expiring Council. The *Hamdam* reproaches the Liberals for declining to accept office in spite of their claim to national service and says that the Governor has acted wisely in choosing his Ministers. It refers to Raja Parmanand's favourable views towards Muslim interests in the last session of the Council and says that his appointment will be viewed with satisfaction in Muslim circles. If he is placed in charge of Education and Industries the loss sustained by Muslim interests in the last two years is likely to be partially retrieved. The *Leader* is dissatisfied with the *personnel* of the new Ministry and says that the character of the Ministry is in keeping with the reactionary tendencies inside the Government. "His Excellency Sir William Marris has now got a Government after his heart. With two Rajas and one Nawab as members of the Government, it would not be his fault if it does not inspire awe." In another article headed "The New Ministers" the *Leader* incidentally brings in the name of the Hon'ble Raja of Mahmudabad and Kunwar Jagdish Prasad and says: The United Provinces will henceforth be under an uncle-nephew Government, the second Minister being also an apt pupil of the latter. It will be combined bureaucracy and landlordism all over. These appointments following upon the too ready and willing acceptance of the late Ministers' resignation, brought about entirely by his amazing handling of the situation, do more to lay bare the nature of Sir William Marris' régime than anything else could have done. The paper concludes its attack by warning all Indian reformers and asking them, irrespective of parties, to organize themselves and oppose with determined strength the forces of retrogression and reactionaryism that now rule rampant in the United Provinces. "The menace by which the people are confronted is nothing less than the old autocratic single Lieutenant-Governor-*cum*-Secretariat régime revived with triple force." In its Saturday issue the *Leader* refers to what it calls His Excellency's first blunder in the treatment of Mr. Chintamani, which brought about the ministerial resignations and styles the choice of the new Ministers as his second blunder, which would never have been made by a Governor with liberal leanings. The *Pioneer*, however, disagrees with the *Leader* and says that it is reasonable to suppose that the new Ministers will command the confidence of a majority of the Indian members of the Legislative Council where the landlords at present occupy a predominant position. With regard to the *Leader's* persistent reference to the Governor's willing acceptance of the Ministers' resignation, the paper asks: Can it be that the resignations were merely intended to force the Governor's hands, and that the real grievance of the Liberals is that the Governor should have dared to call their bluff?

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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European situation.

THE exchange of notes between Britain and Russia has alarmed the Indian press. According to the *Najat* the present political situation in Europe foreshadows another war which will scorch the East and the West as in the Great War. The *Hamdam* advises the British Government to leave the Bolsheviks alone until there is a change of Government in Russia or the Labour party in England comes to power. The *Al Bureed* holds that the unfriendly attitude of the Allies in prohibiting Russia from attending the Lausanne Conference has led to the present situation and it is only natural for the Bolsheviks to assume a hostile attitude towards the Allies. The *Al Khalil* styles the Russian note as a crushing reply. It refers to the Russian menace on the frontier of India and says that things are leading to a crisis. The *Oudh Akhbar*, on the other hand, maintains that there is little likelihood of war between Russia and Britain as the Labour and Liberal parties are opposed to war. The *Anand* advises the British Government to give up interfering with the internal affairs of Russia so as to induce her to abandon her anti-British propaganda in the East.

Turkish affairs.

There have been few comments on Turkish affairs. The *Jain Kesari* holds that the Lausanne Conference is nothing but another polished name for the usurpation of Turkish territory by the Allies. "The European wolves are surrounding the Turkish sheep with a view to devour it." It is to be hoped that the Allies will be completely thwarted in their designs of usurpation by the tactful shepherd Kemal Pasha. The *Pioneer*, writing on the Middle East situation, says that the policy of Turkey in future is more likely to be in the direction of forming a Turkish-Persian and, possibly, an Afghan alliance than in cementing the already uncertain friendship with Russia.

Indians in the Colonies.

In a leading article headed "A grave crisis," the *Leader* says: Never was the British Empire confronted with a graver domestic problem than the one which the racial arrogance and intolerance of the white settlers of Kenya has forced on the Imperial Government today. After describing the fairness of the Indian case the paper remarks: "The Kenya Europeans are gravely mistaken if they think they can terrorize or intimidate the Kenya Indians into submission to humiliating conditions by having recourse to direct action. Little do they realize the tremendous injury they are inflicting on the Empire by their violent attitude towards Indians. But we hope the British Government fully realizes the intensity and depth of feeling which the question has roused among all sections of Indians. The Kenya question has become the very touchstone of British sincerity and *bona fides* in this country. The British people are on their supreme trial. Let it not be said that the British were weighed and found wanting in the crucial hour of their trial. Commenting on General Smuts' declaration as to his conception of the Empire, the same paper sarcastically remarks that most British statesmen when they wax eloquent over the future of the Empire appear to have in mind the white part of it only. The "great dependency," except for purposes of market-hunting, seldom finds a proper place in their conception of a British commonwealth. The *Qaum* remarks that the white settlers of the Colonies are so selfish that they do not hesitate to trample down the rights of others for the sake of their own interest and that Mr. Shastri will not be successful in his mission because the British Government attaches more value to General Smuts than to an Indian statesman. The *Hamdam* points out that the Indians have no desire to pick up a quarrel with the white settlers, but if the latter have decided to turn the Indians out by force, they will be compelled to make preparations for safeguarding their interests. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that it is useless to ask for any justice when the English press and the public clearly say that they

are governing India with the sword. It is idle to expect the proud Englishmen to listen to India's feeble pleadings.

The Premier's resignation.

Only a few daily papers have so far commented on the Premier's resignation. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the change in Premiership has little effect on Indian affairs. All that matters is the satisfaction that Lord Curzon has not been appointed. The *Hamdam* says: Although Mr. Baldwin, being a member of the Imperialist party, is pledged to overlook the interests of submerged nations, his appointment in preference to Lord Curzon will be viewed by Indian Musalmans with some satisfaction. The *Pioneer* pays a tribute to Mr. Bonar Law and says that he steered the Ship of State with skill and without disaster through rough and uncharted seas. He was an honest and capable man who did his best, and not altogether without success, to cope with difficulties which would have taxed the resources and genius of a Chatham or a Pitt. The *Leader* sympathizes with Lord Curzon and ascribes his failure to secure the Premiership to his superior manners, but it doubts if Mr. Baldwin will be able to harmonize the factions in the Conservative Party and to bring a greater accession of strength to Government. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that India would not shed a tear for the necessary passing over of Lord Curzon. Mr. Baldwin may be a political upstart, but the comment of the *Daily Herald* will rouse a sympathetic echo in India as the new Ministry promises some more fight in a Parliament where Labour has been making things lively of late.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Zulqarnain* deplores the rift in the Hindu-Muslim relations which are more strained today than they were before the advent of the non-cooperation movement whose dismal failure in achieving its ideals, the attainment of *swaraj* and redress of the *Khilafat* wrongs, has created communal bitterness. The *Haqiqat* asserts that most of the Punjab papers have received secret help from Government to destroy the Hindu-Muslim unity. The people of the Punjab should hunt out such traitors and punish them because as long as they exist there can be neither unity nor *swaraj*. The *Naved* accuses the Hindus of being the aggressors and requests that a conference of Hindu and Muslim representatives should be held to define the respective rights and privileges of both the communities. The *Qaum* deplores the Hindu-Muslim disturbances and points out that the best remedy to prevent them is that the Hindus should organize volunteer corps for defensive purposes. The *Mashriq* holds that the Hindus of the Punjab have hatched up a conspiracy to eliminate the Musalmans from the Punjab and requests the Punjab Government to realize that without a certain amount of force being applied the Hindus of the Punjab cannot be made to stop their mischievous activities. If no such steps are taken the present strifes may assume the shape of a horrible war because there is a limit to Muslim patience. The Hindus under the teachings of Pandit Malaviya will try with Mr. Chintamani's collaboration to drive out Islam like Buddhism from India. The *Qaum* regrets that the responsible leaders of the Hindus have thrown the entire responsibility of these disturbances on the *shuddhi* and the reorganization movements. The Congress is a great association of both the communities on paper only. As a matter of fact the Hindus have got stronger and greater claims on the Congress, and if it persists in its present attitude of ignoring the rights of the Hindus, then there is every danger of its losing their sympathies.

Re-conversion of Muslim Rajputs.

The *Hamdam* regrets that Maulana Azad Subhani in his endeavour to bring about the emancipation of India has made the cause of religion subservient to that of the country and has completely ignored the fact that he is a Muslim divine. His decision that the Malkana Rajputs should be left to themselves has greatly disappointed his co-religionists. These activities of the *Aryas* will soon divide the country into two camps. National interests will be thrown in the background and the alien Government will get an opportunity to tighten its grip. The *Al Bureed* deplores the indifference of the Muslim princes and exhorts them to take a lesson from the Hindu princes and save their religion from being trampled down. The *Aligarh Gazette* resents the sanction of Rs. 10,000 by the Khilafat committee for the relief of the oppressed Malabar Hindus. When Mr. Das, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Mrs. Naidu have unanimously admitted that great hardships have been imposed upon the Malkana Rajputs there is no reason why aid should not be withheld from the Malabar Hindus. Dr. Mahmud has, by his action, considerably raised the expectations of Swami Shraddhanand.

Civil disobedience.

The *Shakti* urges the Kumaunese to start civil disobedience in the forests. They should enlist as volunteers and cut wood in the reserved forests. They should stop all cooperation with the Forest department and thus bring it to a standstill. If they are sentenced to imprisonment for this, they should cheerfully go to jail and bare their breasts if they are shot at. If they vigorously prosecute the non-violent *satyagraha* (civil disobedience) campaign they will find that the Government will soon come to an end. Referring to the national flag agitation at Nagpur the *Aj* welcomes the participation of Indian women in the Civil disobedience movement and the sacrifices undergone by them in the national cause as a good augury for the future of the country. It remarks that the Nagpur authorities ought to realize that no civilized people can put up with any insult to their national flag.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* thinks that Bolshevik emissaries are at work in all the big cities of India where there are mills and that Mr. M. N. Roy appears to have despatched them along with the revolutionary scheme which he sent for the consideration of the Congress. They must have had a hand in the formidable strikes of Bombay and Calcutta. Mr. Roy's organization is more secret and arduous than that of Shyamji Krishna Verma and its object is to create a revolution by instigating the labourers and the *kisans*. The Multan, Rawalpindi and Amritsar riots demonstrate that the land of the Punjab is ripe for Bolshevism. In such a dangerous situation, says the paper, any method employed by the Government of India to threaten and intimidate the people will strengthen the roots of Bolshevism in this country. The *Medina* says that if the intoxicated bureaucracy persists in its present attitude every child in India will soon become a Bolshevik, to the terror of the Anglo-Indians. If personal property is nationalized and equally distributed, humanity is respected and rights of others are not trampled down, Bolshevism will die out of itself. The *Oudh Akhbar* is at a loss to understand why the Government even on being in possession of such strong proofs of the mischief created by Bolsheviks, does not try to win the hearts of the people. If the Indians both within the country and abroad enjoy every comfort and satisfaction it would be impossible for the Bolshevik agents to succeed in their anti-British activities in India. The *Hamdam* advises the British Government not to fail to take defensive measures against the Bolshevik propaganda and remarks that other Powers have hitherto been adopting just the same policy against the Bolsheviks.

The Congress split.

The party strife in the Congress continues to be the main topic of discussion in papers. The *Advocate* is hopeful that the decision of the All-India Congress Committee which is meeting at Bombay will give a correct lead to the country and it has no doubt that the number of people supporting the *Swaraj* party is increasing every day, but concludes its article in the following words:—"We are not enamoured of the Councils, nor any Congressman believes in the Councils as a portal to *swaraj*. The only hope to *swaraj* lies in non-cooperation and *satyagraha*. But so long as the Councils exist to thwart the national movement, it is our plain duty to try to capture the Councils with a view to break their mischief-making power." *Free India* which considers the split in the Congress as unfortunate, observes that no amount of argumentation or changing of tactics can help us to achieve freedom unless the nation as a body is prepared to suffer. Law of sacrifice is the law of life, of freedom. The Hindi nationalist papers which had hitherto opposed the *Swaraj* party now strike a different note and the *Lakshman* advises the All-India Congress Committee to adopt a resolution in favour of the postponement of the boycott of Councils so as to avoid any permanent breach between the two Congress parties. The *Aj* makes a similar recommendation to allow the members of the *Swaraj* party to enter the Councils saying that it will be a great calamity if the two wings of the Congress fritter away their energies in mutual opposition. It however urges the *Swaraj* party to clearly state what policy it would adopt after capturing the Councils and whether its members would accept offices under Government. The *Pratap* is also for allowing a chance to the *Swaraj* party, specially in view of the failure of the no-change party to achieve its goal. A well-organized and well-conducted battle within the Councils will cause irretrievable injury to the bureaucracy and immense good to the country and besides will keep alive the national agitation in the present condition of the country. The *Vikram* exhorts the members of the *Swaraj* party to lose no time in launching out the electioneering campaign in a disciplined and organized manner, as otherwise counter influences may succeed in thwarting

them. The *Qaum* agrees to the decision arrived at in the Punjab that those who are against Council entry, while abstaining themselves from Council elections, should postpone their propaganda regarding boycott of the Councils and hopes that in spite of the many difficulties lying in the way the reconciliation party of the Congress will succeed in effecting a compromise. The *Hindustani* deplores that the pro-Council party ignores the present political situation created by the certification of the enhancement of salt tax. The Viceroy has warned the non-cooperators that the attempt to wreck the Councils will never succeed. The *Al Bureed* remarks that neither of the two parties is likely to succeed. The achievement of *swaraj* is not only difficult but impossible till the country carries on its struggle under a joint programme. Unless the communal storms raging in the Punjab do not subside there is not the slightest chance of achieving any success. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the split in the Congress camp has appreciably weakened the power of the nationalists, but at the same time the Government by its autocratic policy has alienated the sympathies of its well-wishers and created a reactionary spirit in the people.

Political propaganda.

One Brij Behari Mehrotra writing in the *Vikram* exhorts Congressmen to carry their propaganda to the villages so as to enlist the active support of their inhabitants in the cause of *swaraj* which can be attained only through it. The *Lakshman* publishes a message of "Raja" Mahendra Pratap from Japan in which, while making professions of peacefulness in general, he urges that the oppressive Government which is hanging like a mill-stone round the neck of India must be removed at all costs to free the Indians to forward the cause of peace in the world. Those who care too much for money and honour should better retire into *zenana* and put on female garments, but should not mislead the brave persons who have been born in the country to emancipate it. He exhorts the latter to march forward unitedly and sacrifice their lives in the battlefield, whenever an opportunity arises. The *Vartman* is exasperated at Mr. Lloyd George's recent claim for the British nation as custodian of the liberty and civilization of the world and remarks that it is nothing but consummate hypocrisy on the part of the ex-Prime Minister of Britain to express such sentiments. The peoples of Asia, Europe and Africa have had bitter experience of the kindnesses of the British Empire and hence they are bent on destroying that Empire. "Legalised loot" and "civilized massacres" are the "registered" elements of British rule and they have followed in its wake wherever it has established itself. The British statesmen always endeavour to set other nations against one another in order to extend the satanic Empire. The proposed establishment of a naval base at Singapore and the murder of the Bolshevik representative at Lausanne are fresh events which throw sufficient light on the detestable aims of the British Empire.

Liberal Party.

While the *Leader* has been praising the ideals of liberalism in connection with the Provincial Conference held at Karad and holding that the relation which the Liberal Party in England bears to the Labour Party is the same which the Liberal Party in India bears to the advanced wing of Indian politicians, advises its members to organize themselves and follow the traditions of the old Congress. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* has been strongly attacking the Liberals in connection with the resignations of the United Provinces Ministers and other matters. The paper is satisfied that Mr. Chintamani has said enough in his recent speech at Allahabad that neither the non-cooperators nor the country lost much by their attitude of seclusion from Councils. It hopes that the *Swaraj* party and Liberal party will coalesce, and that the courageous and the almost nationalist attitude which the Liberals have recently adopted, will last even longer than the polling day. The *Pioneer* commenting on the Liberal Conference advises the constitutional politician, if he desires to grow into a statesman, to shake off the habits and outlook of the agitators which appears to be the principal difficulty confronting the Liberals to-day.

The United Provinces Ministers.

According to *Free India* the correspondence between the Governor and the Ministers clearly exposes the hollowness of the Reforms and proves that no independent person has any business to be inside the Government and for the matter of that inside the Councils. The *Aj* remarks that Pandit Gokaran Nath and Rai Sahib Sita Ram's refusal to accept the insulted office of the Minister must have brought home to Sir William Marris that it is impossible even for the votaries of Reforms and constitutional agitation to tolerate repeated insults. Commenting upon the new

Ministers the *Vikram* opines that the Ministerial offices are merely nominal and the decisions of the Executive Council will now entirely depend upon the sweet will of the Governor. The *Aj* also disapproves of the new appointments, saying that the acceptance of office by the present Ministers shows that India has not yet learnt the lesson of self-respect, otherwise the bureaucracy would have had a very bad time of it and the Reforms would have been completely exposed. The *Abhyudaya* holds that the new appointments are a good indication of the reactionary policy of the Governor. The *Al Khalil* finds no cause for congratulating the ex-Ministers upon their resignation as they did not resign because the interest of the country was at stake but because they felt their personal pride was wounded on account of their being ignored by the Governor. The *Hamdam* remarks that the Liberals by refusing the Ministership wanted to force the Government to call the ex-Ministers back. The public has by now learnt enough to differentiate between its real well-wishers and impostors and whether the resignations were tendered on personal ground or on a question of principle. The *Haqiqat* holds that the Governor openly insulted the Ministers. No self-respecting Minister could, under such circumstances, cowardly continue to cooperate with the Government. It is to be regretted that Sir William Marris during the first year of his régime has alienated the sympathies of a party which has been so loyal. The *Azad* observes that the Governor is now realizing his mistake and remarks that the new Ministers will never be able to wield that influence over the public which the ex-Ministers did. Replying to the refutation of the *Azad* of its allegations the *Hamdam* justifies itself in asserting that Mr. Chintamani will now devote himself to helping the reorganization movement of the Hindus as during his régime he had made it a point to ignore the rights and claims of the Musalmans. The *Mansur* observes that Raja Parmanand is an experienced administrator and hopes that he will be free from prejudice in discharging his new duties. The Hon'ble Nawab of Chhitari has already given enough proof of his enlightenment and large-heartedness. The new Ministry will at least be free from the blot of neglect of the rights of a certain community unlike the régime of Mr. Chintamani. The *Zulqarnain* has every hope that the new Ministers will prove true representatives of the country and will not revive the Hindu-Muslim controversy, and by their largeheartedness and independence of mind will infuse a true spirit of communal amity in the Councils.

Chauri Chaura judgment.

The *Jain Kesari* remarks that although the decision of the Allahabad High Court in the Chauri Chaura judgment indicates bankruptcy of British justice, it is much milder than the inhuman decision of the Sessions Judge who should hang down his head in shame before the civilized world for attaching so little value to human lives. The *Swadesh* regards even the revised sentences as vindictive and as intended to create an impression upon the people. Such sentences are the inevitable consequences of slavery, but Government should note that they cannot deter the people in their struggle for *swaraj*.

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The Near East.

OPTIMISM is again the keynote of comments on the question of peace in the Near East. The *Pioneer* says that prospects at Lausanne are at present very hopeful. The solution of the Reparation problem has removed an obstacle which threatened to cause another breakdown. The *Vikram* expresses the hope that owing to the friendly attitude of England Turkey will derive substantial benefit from the Lausanne Conference. England has changed its policy towards Turkey with a view to secure her defection from Russia and thus guard against the Bolshevik menace to India. The *Mashriq* advises Great Britain to evacuate Constantinople in order to avoid any collision with Turkey in view of the present Anglo-Russian tension. The *Oudh Akhbar* is sanguine of the success of the Lausanne Conference and remarks that Kemal Pasha acted very wisely in preventing the Angora Government from making an alliance with the Bolsheviks and that the attitude of both the Turks and the Allies in the Conference is very satisfactory. The *Hamdam* is gratified that Greece has been overawed by the diplomacy of Ismat Pasha, and being unable to pay reparation is inclined to give back some territory. The *Medina* sounds a discordant note when it says that the exchange of notes between Russia and England is intended to serve as a respite in order to bring about the end of the Lausanne Conference, and in case of a war between Turkey and Greece, Russia will surely have it out with her greatest enemy England. The *Naved* suspects that the political murders recently committed in Europe betray the existence of a deep conspiracy which aims at murdering influential Turkish officers with a view to depriving the Angora Government of their valuable services and thereby clearing the way for its enemies. Like the murder of the Crown Prince of Austria, which precipitated the Great War, the murder of Turkish officers may lead to bloodshed and massacre.

The Egyptian Constitution.

While the Muslim papers have little to say on Egyptian affairs, a section of Hindi extremist papers continues to express dissatisfaction with the new Constitution. The *Vartman* maintains that Egypt has been granted only nominal liberty, seeing that British military authorities still maintain their iron hold over the country, that martial law courts still continue to inflict death sentences upon innocent and patriotic Egyptians in the name of justice, that mean imperialistic tricks have been and are still being practised to conceal the existing state of affairs there. The *Vikram* holds that the declaration of Egyptian freedom cannot bear any value until the British army evacuates the Nile area and until the Egyptians feel that the British have no longer any hand in the administration of Egypt.

Indians in the Colonies.

The position of Indians in the Colonies continues to receive attention. The *Leader* commenting upon the segregation debate in the South African Assembly severely criticizes the speech of the Minister of the Interior and says: "If the treatment meted out to our countrymen in Natal, where they did not proceed of their own accord, and some other provinces of the Union, can be characterized as 'fair and just,' words must have assumed new and strange meanings with these proud missionaries of Western civilization in that continent." The *Indian Daily Telegraph* styles Mr. Shastri's recent speech in England as impotent rage in politics and deplores the futility of the efforts of Liberal leaders in trying to win their cause merely by making speeches. It looks forward to absolutely no result from the loud voice of the Liberal leaders, like Mr. Chintamani, and says: Except as a fine piece of rhetoric, it will fall flat on statesmen and the public alike. Justice has now hidden herself lest the cold muzzle of the revolver should scratch its face. The only answer to the claim of holding India and Kenya by the sword must be something more effective than words. Unless you make a threat and show that you can carry out that threat, you will be, and deserve to be, treated as on the eve of the salt tax certification. The *Vartman* assures the Indian residents in Kenya that if they are determined to

stand out to a decisive issue despite all hardships and oppression, they are sure to put an end to the absolutism and the injustice of the whites. Writing of the Empire Day the *Indian Daily Telegraph* exclaims: "Empire Day—and at the time that the Kenya crisis is on and the whites are combining against us in Africa! It has no meaning for India, except that it is a mockery."

The British Prime Minister.

The *Free India* commenting on Mr. Bonar Law's resignation says that his premiership does not form any landmark in the history of British politics. Except a few of his personal friends none is sorry for his exit. As far as India is concerned a change in the British premiership does not affect her as she neither expects anything from British capital nor from British labour. The *Vikram* is elated at the fall of Mr. Bonar Law and says that he was a person of mediocre abilities who could not control his own party and could not satisfactorily solve even one of the problems facing the British nation. It views with indifference the appointment of Mr. Baldwin and expresses its conviction that so long as the Conservatives remain in power no good can be expected by any country, much less by India, no matter who is appointed the Premier. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that Mr. Bonar Law's policy with regard to Turkey, Germany and Russia was always weak and unsteady and resulted in partial loss of British prestige. The new Prime Minister, being a Conservative, India can expect no good at his hands. The *Medina* regrets Mr. Bonar Law's resignation as a national loss but is gratified that Lord Curzon has not been appointed Premier. The *Qaum* remarks that Mr. Bonar Law resigned because his party was suffering continuous defeats and the Labour party was growing in power. The *Zulqarnain* remarks that it is the general wish of the Indians that Lord Peel should be removed from the Cabinet and some broadminded and liberty-loving man be appointed in his place.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Vikram* warns the people against the efforts which, it says, are being strenuously made by the agents of Satan to promote disunion between Hindus and Muhammadans and exhorts them to try their utmost to preserve the Hindu-Muslim unity which is a *sine qua non* for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Naved* has little hope that the advocates of *shuddhi* will respect the resolution of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as nowadays *shuddhi* and the Hindu *sangathan* movements are given preference over Hindu-Muslim unity. It deplores the participation of Ruling Chiefs and influential aristocrats in the *shuddhi* movement as being fraught with dangerous and evil consequences. The *Qaum* bitterly resents the letter of Rana Ferozuddin in connection with the Arya Samaj activities against the Malkana Rajputs and remarks that the Hindus should now open their eyes and in their struggle for the emancipation of the country they should not blindly sacrifice their religious and communal interests. The *Al Khalil* regrets that the *shuddhi* movement is daily widening the gulf of communal bitterness. The *Medina* is of opinion that Swami Shraddhanand ought to have nothing to do with politics and that the failure of the *swaraj* movement is due to his activities only. The *Hamdam* holds Pandit Malaviya responsible for the Hindu *sangathan* movement which is proving fatal to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity because he never leaves any opportunity of injuring the Musalmans. The *Al Khalil* writing in a similar strain deplores that Pandit Malaviya is trying to fan the fire of communal strifes.

Civil disobedience.

The *Shakti* contends that if the Congress were to concentrate all its energy on civil disobedience the bureaucracy would leave the country within a year. Government is sure to have recourse even to arms to put down the movement, but if India is to attain freedom she must be prepared to pay for it in blood and she will surely do it. The *Lakshman* holds that civil disobedience at Nagpur shows that the country is prepared for general civil disobedience, and that if this movement is once started a sufficient number of people will be forthcoming to sacrifice themselves at the altar of the country. One Pandit Ganga Sahai Parashari writing in the *Kartavya* exhorts the people to have recourse to *satyagraha* to save the country from the injustice and oppression of the bureaucracy and to establish *swaraj*. "If they are the true descendants of their brave ancestors like Rana Pratap, and if they cannot see their sisters and daughters disgraced before their own eyes and their brethren killed in hundreds of thousands they should no longer hesitate to sacrifice themselves in the cause of the freedom of the country. The *Anand* views with disfavour the Central Provinces Government's attitude towards the national flag question as it creates unnecessary unrest in the province and the country.

Bolshevism.

The *Anand* points out that the propagation of Bolshevik views in India cannot but do incalculable injury to the country and hence peaceful Indians have been greatly exercised over the news of the Bolshevik propaganda in this country. It urges the need for timely measures being taken to save Indians from this danger.

Congress politics.

The proceedings of the meeting of the Congress Committee, held at Bombay, have been followed with close attention. The *Vartman* does not hope that any compromise between the two Congress parties over the question of Council entry will effect any improvement in the prevailing situation. The *Anand* holds that the decision of the All-India Congress Committee to allow the members of the *Swaraj* party to enter the Councils has given a death-blow to the principle of non-cooperation. Nevertheless it is a welcome change in Congress politics inasmuch as the Liberal party and the *Swaraj* party will soon join forces in the Councils to advance the interests of the country. The *Pratap* remarks that the one good which the slackness of the non-cooperation movement has done is that even the simple and unwary people have been enabled to see the naked form of the bureaucracy. It exhorts the people to take measures for the reorganization of the nation so as to enable it to end the present humiliating position. The *Vikram* holds that when the *Swaraj* party will launch out its activities of renewing the political agitation in the country, the Congress split and the weakness of the Hindu-Muslim unity will automatically disappear. The *Qaum* remarks that in view of the *satyagraha* started at Nagpur the pro-Council activities should be abandoned or the *Swaraj* party will be responsible for the failure of the movement. The *Naved* says that non-cooperation can only be successful if it is started and brought to an end within a year. Thorough preparations should be made to carry out all the items of the programme within a fixed period. There is every likelihood of the people being disgusted and disheartened if the Congress persists in its present attitude. The *Naved* remarks that the Congress has altogether lost its influence and can no longer be described as 'national.'

The compromise resolution of the Working Committee has been well received. The *Oudh Akhbar* is gratified that both the parties in the Congress have arrived at a mutual settlement. The *Advocate* hails with satisfaction the decision of the Congress Committee as being most conducive to the interests of the country and hopes that time will completely justify the doctrine of the compromise resolution. The *Leader*, which has been suggesting in a guarded manner the coalition of the *Swaraj* party with other constitutional groups since the incident of the Ministers' resignations, has come out with a leading article in which it openly invites the *Swaraj* party to combine with the Liberals and the Congress majority party. It remarks that entry into the Councils opens out a large field of political activity within constitutional limits which cannot fail to produce its effect on the entire country and infuse new life into the people. We are not unaware of the fact that the *Swaraj* party has declared battle on three fronts, namely, against the bureaucracy, the Moderates including the Liberals and the Congress majority party. But the wiser policy for it to follow, taking all the facts into consideration, would be not to think too much in terms of party nor to emphasize out of all proportion points of difference but to act in a spirit of cooperation with all the progressive forces in the country. Standing between the Moderates on the one side and the orthodox non-cooperators on the other it forms a centre party and as such it should not overlook its organic relationship to the other two wings of national thought. In another article the *Leader* expresses satisfaction that a disastrous disunion has been averted. And hopes that the deliberations of the Congress may once more be characterized by that sagacious patriotism and practical commonsense which are very necessary for carrying on the national struggle along fruitful paths. With a Government of 'die-hards' installed in England and the reactionary forces in full swing in this country, intensive cooperation among our countrymen, of all communities and classes, was never more necessary than now. The *Pioneer* thinks that the arrangement decided upon at Bombay enables the Congress, for the present at least, to preserve a semblance of unity. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* approves of the decision and advises the Liberals to combine with the *Swaraj* party and says: "We have no doubt that the political classes, if they will unite their forces, would strike consternation into the minds of the authorities. We have no doubt that the voice of the people would once again come to be respected and even acted up to, if the Liberals and the *Swaraj* party should coalesce." In another place it says it would have been glorious if the spirit now exhibited in seeking entry into the

Council, had been displayed when Lord Reading opened the door for conference. The opportunity was then lost: it was proudly rejected. And then came the Bardoli programme. That sapped the spirit of the non-cooperation movement, rendering it absolutely academical and imaginary.

The Frontier Tribes.

The *Aj* vehemently protests against lavish expenditure on the Waziristan campaign as a gross injustice to India which is getting heavily saddled with the burden of debt and asserts that no amount of high-handedness will avail to protect the inhabitants of the frontier provinces from the raids and attacks of the frontier tribes unless the former are allowed to keep arms. The *Medina* remarks that the written promises taken from the Frontier Chiefs, if they can satisfy the Government, are far better than air raids against them and apprehends that these promises will, in future, prove a pretext for the Government to lay hands against the tribes. The *Oudh Akhbar* resents retaliatory measures against the Frontier tribes and doubts if such measures will be successful in overawing and subjugating the perverse and wild tribes of the Frontier.

The United Provinces Ministers.

The *Swadesh* thinks that the selection of the new Ministers will strengthen the hands of the Governor all the more. It would have been much better if this farce of Ministry had altogether been done away with and the Governor had concentrated all power in his own hands. The reforms, says the paper, have been fully exposed and Government's policy completely unmasked. The *Anand* says that as the Zamindars are in a majority in the Legislative Council it is not surprising that the new Ministers have been selected from among them, and expresses the hope that by the creditable discharge of their duties they will prove themselves as patriotic as the members of any other political party. The *Aj* remarks: It is a matter for gratification that by the new appointments the Government has clearly demonstrated that the kind of education and training imparted by it in this country is worthless, specially in view of the fact that it cannot produce persons fit and capable to hold the Ministerial office. It is necessary that tahsildars and deputy collectors be graduates but the Ministers and Executive Councillors can be persons who have either no school or collegiate education or who had given up their studies on account of ignominous failure even in lower classes. The new appointments throw light on the worth of the present education, on the wisdom of those who made these appointments and on the efficiency of those who have been appointed Ministers. The *Al Bashir* remarks that in the history of India Mr. Chintamani and Pandit Jagat Narayan will be recorded as Ministers who made the interests of the country subservient to their own personal interests and created obstacles in the way of the country's freedom. The *Nayyar-i-Azam* holds that they resigned on flimsy grounds and carried a trifling matter too far. The *Al Khalil* calls the selection of the new Ministers as the right thing under the present circumstances and hopes that the Nawab of Chhatari will prove a blessing to the country. The *Mashriq* is gratified that the expectations entertained by it at the appointment of Sir William Marris have been fulfilled and congratulates him on the selection of his Ministers. The *Naved* remarks that suspicions are generally entertained that the Zamindar party sacrifices national interests to please the Government but is hopeful that the present Ministers will, by their conduct, try to refute these allegations and gain the confidence of the people. The *Hamdam* expresses its satisfaction at the present allocation of Ministerial portfolios whereby the responsibilities of both the Ministers regarding the most important transferred subjects have been placed on equal basis and the subjects allied to one another from the administrative point of view have been placed under the same Minister.

The U. P. Administration Report.

The *Pratap* is utterly dissatisfied with the U. P. Administration Report for 1921-22 and holds that it has been written from the bureaucratic standpoint and in the bureaucratic style. There is nothing in the Report on the basis of which any sound conclusions can be formed regarding the existing condition of things in the province. It is more in the nature of a Publicity department pamphlet than a provincial administration report. A perusal of the report shows that public criticism has no effect on the bureaucracy which continues to regard itself as infallible and as above learning any lesson.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 9th June, 1923.

The Near East.

THE Muslim press continues to be hopeful of a speedy peace in the Near East. The *Hamdam* is gratified that the peace negotiations at Lausanne are taking a favourable turn and remarks that the result will be a source of great rejoicing to the Musalmans of India. The *Mansur* writes in a similar strain and even the *Medina*, which has so far been doubtful of the motives of the Allies, expresses satisfaction that peace will soon be established. It urges the necessity of giving the same international rights to Turkey as are enjoyed by Japan and other independent Powers. In order to keep Turkey and Greece apart, the paper advocates the formation of a buffer State between the two countries. The *Hindustani* protests against attempts made on the life of Ismet Pasha, and referring to the doings of Mustafa Saghir it insinuates that Great Britain is responsible for such activities. The paper suspects that the Lausanne Conference is being unnecessarily prolonged with a view to get rid of a popular Turkish general for ever. The *Vikram* views with suspicion the conclusion of the Iraq treaty which, according to the paper, has been signed with the object of dealing a blow to the power of the Turks and arresting the progress of Pan-Islamic propaganda. "Absolutely selfish as the British are, it is impossible that any action of theirs should be devoid of selfishness."

Indians in the Colonies.

While the Indian papers ascribe the agitation against Indians in the Colonies to hatred and racial feelings, the *Pioneer* says that the Indian Extremists who have inflicted grave injury on their own country, have also helped to discredit India abroad. It opines that the fictitious agitation with regard to the salt tax will not help the Indian cause in the Colonies or elsewhere. There can be no doubt as to the effect on the British outside India of the preaching of lawlessness here and of the stream of vilification and misrepresentation incessantly directed against British officials who are honestly doing their duty to the Indian people. Referring to Kenya conversation in England the *Leader* says that Indians have gone the farthest limit possible in meeting the viewpoint of their opponents, and if still the Colonial Office fails to do justice by them, it will justly be concluded that the Imperial Conference resolution was never meant to be seriously carried out. In another article headed the "Natal Ordinances" the paper is disappointed with the Simla *communiqué* on the subject and exclaims: When Indians are discriminated against to their utter detriment at every possible step in some of the Dominions like South Africa we should like to know what becomes of 'the Imperial aspect' of the matter. It expects absolutely nothing as the result of the correspondence which is reported to be going on between the Union Government and the Provincial authorities in Natal. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is equally disappointed with the correspondence published by the Government of India and in a highly emotional article headed "Colonial Arrogance" it says: The new spirit is abroad: they want a White Empire. They have won certain places under the sun by the sword—at least they believe it and proclaim it so—and they hope to keep it by the sword. There is only one remedy; retaliation, blind, furious—even if it fails, as has failed the non-co-operation movement. Arguments with Colonial fanatics are in vain. The *Anand* says that the situation in the British Empire will become very delicate in case the British Government fails to accede to the just demands of the Indians in Kenya, inasmuch as no people will like to remain within the Empire as a downtrodden nation.

The British Prime Minister.

The comments of the Hindi extremist press on the new British Prime Minister are not generally complimentary. The *Shakti* surmises that the new British Prime Minister is a plain, straightforward man who will not hesitate to enforce martial law and military authority whenever required. In his régime racial distinctions will become the order of the day. The *Abhyudaya* expresses the apprehension that Mr. Baldwin cannot remain the Premier of England for long, as the majority of the English people are opposed to the Conservative régime which is not the true representative of the people. The *Vartman* holds the Conservative Ministry to be a signal failure. Its foreign policy has been short-sighted and suicidal and its domestic policy calculated to create distrust in the people. The policy pursued by it in India, Egypt and Kenya is likely to lead to a revolution.

All this shows that the days of the Conservative régime are numbered. The *Hamdam* remarks that in the event of Lord Peel's presence in the Cabinet and Mr. Stanley Baldwin's ignorance of Indian affairs, no change in the Ministerial policy regarding India is likely to take place. Lord Curzon has now learnt enough by experience that an Imperialistic policy regarding Turkey has proved injurious both to his own interests as well as to that of his country. The *Hindustani* regrets that on account of the influence of the 'die-hard' party over the new Premier no hope for the betterment of India can be entertained. This influence is likely to increase because he always holds that India is not for Indians but for Englishmen.

The Hindu-Muslim unity.

The bitterness of feelings over the *Shuddhi* movement shows little signs of abating. The *Hamdam* condemns the Hindu press of the Punjab for destroying the Hindu-Muslim unity and holds the Aryas responsible for sowing the seed of discord and strangling the *swaraj* movement. The *Qaum* approves the advice of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that all communal activities likely to disturb the unity should be stopped. In another article the paper resents the efforts of a section of the Muslim press to throw a veil over the faults of the Muhammadans and calumniates the Hindus only and remarks that the Musalmans have no reason to grumble if the Hindus organize themselves. The *Naved* opines that under the cover of 'organization' of the Hindus a spirit of militarism is being infused against the Muhammadans. Their hostile activities will provoke the Muhammadans to counter measures which lead to an undesirable collision. The *Abhyudaya* urges, in view of the joint statement of Mr. Purushotam Das Tandon and Maulana Azad Sobhani on the reclamation of Malkana Rajputs, the imperative need for Muhammadan propagandists withdrawing themselves from Agra to relieve the existing tension of feelings between the two communities and thus prevent national interests from being injured. The *Swadesh* holds it to be an absolute necessity to unite the hearts of the two communities if true unity between them is not to be a delusion and the attainment of *swaraj* an idle dream. The causes making for disunion between them must be removed before they can be welded into a strong and well-organized nation. The *Arya Mitra* warns the Hindus against the designs of Muhammadans in retaliation of the reclamation of Malkana Rajputs, which are to take the form of the abduction of Hindu boys and women. It urges the Hindus not to delay their reorganization for a single moment if they are to save themselves from utter ruin and degradation.

Civil Disobedience.

The *Shakti* continues to invite the Kumaunese to have resort to civil disobedience over the question of forests and also exhorts the forest employees to resign in a body. Civil disobedience over the national flag affair in the Central Provinces has given an opportunity to a section of the extremist press to preach the feasibility of mass civil disobedience or to utilize it as an efficient means of infusing fresh life into political agitation. The *Vartman* asks the Congress leaders to emulate the example of the Akali leaders and endeavour to make the Nagpur *satyagraha* a success. They should not fail to convert it into an all-India movement. The *Lakshman* remarks that though the chances of success of mass civil disobedience appear to be gloomy for the present, it is certain that under the pressure of public opinion the leaders will have to declare it some day or other. The *Parivartan* exhorts the youths of the country to join in their thousands the Central Provinces civil disobedience struggle to humble the pride of the bureaucracy and emancipate their motherland. The *Swadesh* expresses whole-hearted sympathy with the civil disobedience campaign against the Lawrence statue and in the Central Provinces, and asks the leaders not to fail to take full advantage of the situation with a view to create an impression throughout the country. The *Medina* is jubilant over the civil disobedience started at Nagpur and welcomes the suggestion that it should be converted into an all-India movement. In another article it remarks that the only way for a mutual settlement between the contending Congress parties is to unitedly carry on the propaganda of individual and mass civil disobedience by collecting money and recruiting volunteers and within the shortest time they should prepare the provinces for civil disobedience. The *Qaum* holds that civil disobedience will be the last and the final weapon for obtaining *swaraj*, and remarks that the country should be prepared for the struggle.

Bolshevism.

The *Aj* points out that although England has taken suitable measures against the advance of Bolshevik forces it has not succeeded in stemming the tide of the secret propagation of Bolshevik doctrines and the time has arrived when England must either fall

a victim to the Bolshevik power on account of her obdurate persistence in the policy of territorial aggrandizement, or she must confer self-government on all her dependencies and thereby come to be regarded as the greatest Power of the world. The *Parivartan* holds that Bolshevism, owing to its active sympathy with the poor, is spreading rapidly throughout the world including India and England. Ninety-five per cent. of the people of this country are true votaries of Bolshevism. It prophesies that within a very short time labourers will unite and become Communists and will put an end to the autocracy of the capitalists of the world. This would have surely happened in India but for the presence of the non-violent non-cooperation movement in this country, for the capitalists here with the help of Government oppress the poor and thereby help in the spread of Bolshevism. Referring to the allegations of the Anglo-Indian press regarding the spread of Bolshevism in India, the *Qaum Parast* remarks that if the ideas about material and commercial progress, holding of high posts by Indians and saving the country from the selfish exploitation of the foreigners, are to be termed as Bolshevism then every patriotic Indian will like to be called a Bolshevik. The *Medina* remarks that if British complaints regarding the recent Frontier activities being due to Bolshevik propaganda are true, then the very existence of Great Britain is in great peril and the only remedy is to grant *swaraj* to India. Writing of Fascism, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that there is a close resemblance between the doctrine of Fascism in Italy and *satyagraha* movement in India. Fascism is entirely based on self-negation, self-sacrifice and self-immolation in the cause of the country.

Khilafat affairs.

Seth Chhotani's resignation as president of the Khilafat committee has attracted considerable attention, specially in respect of the Khilafat money. The *Pioneer* and the *Leader* ask for more definite information as to the actual position of affairs. The *Hamdam* pays a tribute to the self-sacrifice of Seth Chhotani in having placed his mills at the disposal of the Khilafat committee in lieu of payment which was due from his brother, the treasurer of the funds, and suggests that the mills instead of being sold should be run on commercial lines. It regrets that by the resignation of Seth Chhotani, the Khilafat committee has been deprived of the guidance of an experienced and honest worker. The *Medina* also regrets his resignation and doubts if his successor, Dr. Ansari, will be able to discharge the double duties of the Khilafat and the Congress working committees. The *Oudh Akhbar*, while reposing perfect confidence in his honesty, deplores Seth Chhotani's lack of proper supervision of national funds. The *Al Bureed* on the other hand reproaches Seth Chhotani for investing the Khilafat money in his own business and appropriating the profits, and accuses the Khilafat workers of misappropriation and malpractices.

Congress politics.

The leading newspapers urge the necessity of a coalition of all constitutional parties in the country. The *Leader* points to the efforts which are being made in England of re-uniting the two wings of the Liberal party and says that politics in India should be purified and straightened irrespective of consequences, and invites the *Swaraj* party which believes in the policy of constitutional opposition, to join hands with the Liberals, and thus promote the cause of unity. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* continues to take the Liberals to task and says that the Liberal who has been flattered by Lord Peel will hereafter swallow 20 Kenyas and 30 Salt taxes just as he swallowed the Royal Commission and Princes' Protection certification. Who says the British are not statesmen enough to rule India? In another article it deplores Mr. Rajagopalachari's recent statement and says that the great name of the Congress has a force with the masses which only the nationalists can impair by their internecine quarrels, by Mr. Rajagopalachari's artless philosophising and Mr. George Joseph's rattling thunder. The Hindi press welcomes the Bombay compromise. The *Garhwali* thinks that it will direct the energies of the nationalists in the right direction and impart a steadying character to their policy and they will now strive to realize an attainable ideal. The *Lakshman* describes the compromise as a wise step and says that the *Swarajists* should now destroy the Councils from within and hoist the flag of *satyagraha* so as to bring about unity in the Congress camp once again. The *Aj* remarks that every thoughtful person will support the decision of the All-India Congress Committee. Indeed it was indispensable for maintaining intact the solidarity of the Congress and re-animating the national movement. It asks the nationalists to treat with indifference the misleading, unconstitutional and retrograde advice of Mr. Gopalachari to disregard the compromise resolution of the committee, as such

counsel, if acted upon, cannot but sound the death-knell of the Congress. The *Bharat Jiwan* suggests that this work of reconciliation should be completed by extending a friendly hand to the moderates and re-admitting them into the Congress fold. The *Vartman* is almost the only paper which has struck a discordant note when it says that the so-called compromise cannot succeed in achieving its object. None of the two parties truly represent the public opinion and the Congress is being crushed between two ineffective ideals, while the country is being consistently deceived. This compromise between co-operation and non-cooperation cannot last long. Such showy and hollow compromises can neither restore unity nor do any good to the country. It is impossible to attain *swaraj* through the Councils. It can be attained only when hundreds of thousands of Indians are thrown into the blazing furnace. The goddess of freedom who is thirsty for blood can only be propitiated when she is offered cups of blood. The *Lakshman* condemns the revolt of Messrs. Rajagopalachari and Shyam Sunder Chakravarti against the All-India Congress Committee as it will cause serious injury to the country's cause as did the revolt of Messrs. Das and Nehru against the Gaya Congress. The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses its satisfaction at the compromise and hopes that a spirit of toleration and give and take will ever prevail amongst the Congressmen and the loss of prestige hitherto suffered will be made up thereby. Writing in a similar strain the *Qaum* remarks that Mr. Tandon's resolution has cleared the way for both the parties and has pointed out a path which the united forces of the country can follow with enthusiasm. The *Hamdam* says that the majority party having failed in its efforts to collect 25 lakhs of rupees and recruit 50,000 volunteers no programme is now left before the country which could lead to *swaraj*. The *Azad* is gratified that the Congress has decided not to throw impediments in the path of the *Swaraj* party and the Congress funds will now no longer be wasted in creating internal dissensions and that the public will no more be perplexed by conflicting ideals. While holding the reconciliation as desirable, the *Naved* is dissatisfied with the methods employed by the Congress working committee. It fears that the day is not far when the national Congress will become a disorganized association of irresponsible and fickle-minded politicians commanding no respect in India and outside. The *Najat* does not approve the decision of the Congress committee in favour of the pro-Council party and remarks that Mr. Das' party will be responsible if Congress is discredited in the public estimation by their failure in the Council. The *Naved* warns the *Swaraj* party not to take unlawful advantage of the decision of the Congress by becoming seekers after positions as is being done in the Municipal and District Boards.

The United Provinces Ministers.

According to *Free India* Mr. Chintamani has, by his connection with the Government for these two and a half years, gathered additional influence to his pen and tongue because he can now speak and write in the right royal-civilian style. In the eyes of the Government even the most cringy oppositionist is an enemy. Its opinion is not the real test of cooperation or non-cooperation. The public opinion is the proper crucible in which the element to be tested is to be placed. Put in this crucible, let Mr. Chintamani answer whether his party is a party of cooperators or otherwise. The *Aj* remarks that by accepting the insulted office of the Minister, the new Ministers have aroused suspicion in the mind of the people that for greed of office they are prepared to pocket every insult and even act as orderlies to the Governor. So long as they do not completely remove this suspicion by their actions such petty sacrifices on the part of the present opulent Ministers as a voluntary reduction of Rs. 1,000 in their respective salaries cannot restore them in public esteem. The *Qaum* expresses resentment that the Muslim press is exulting over the resignation of Mr. Chintamani and accusing him of bigotry, and remarks that he was a true politician and whatever he did he always did for the public good. The *Azad* also regrets the attitude of the Urdu press in ascribing personal and private motives to the resignations and says that the Ministers have rendered a great service to the country by resigning their office. The *Al Bashir* approves the appointment of the new Ministers and remarks that the landholders being in the majority, it was quite in keeping with democratic principles to choose the Ministers from that class.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Lausanne Conference.

An atmosphere of hopefulness continues to prevail with regard to the outcome of the Lausanne Conference. The *Zulqarnain* views with satisfaction the shifting of war clouds due to the Turko-Greek tension and the substitution of sympathy and good will in place of sentiment and passion. The *Al Khalil* holds that before the firm resolve of the Turks the threats of the Allies have vanished into thin air and all the important questions have been settled to the satisfaction of the Turks. The *Najat*, however, is not very hopeful as peace in the Near East cannot be a permanent one unless the question of the sacred places of Islam and the Jazirat-ul-Arab is settled according to the wishes of the Muslim world. The *Mashriq* has a contributed article in which the writer deprecates the Turkish claim for Mosul as the entire Arab population is opposed to Mosul being included in the Turkish Empire. The people of Mosul have signified their willingness to be ruled by Amir Feisul and it is sheer waste of time to hold a fresh plebiscite.

Indians in the Colonies.

The papers have very little to say this week on the position of Indians in the Colonies. The *Lakshman* is doubtful of the Kenya problem being solved to the satisfaction of the Indians and remarks that injustice will continue to be heaped upon Indians in the Colonies when they hold no better status than that of a slave in their own country. In another article the same paper says that the sweet words recently uttered by the Under Secretary of State with regard to India are probably meant to serve as a balm to the wounds inflicted upon Indians in connection with their treatment in the South African Colonies.

The Hindu-Muslim unity.

The Hindu-Muslim unity continues to be the chief topic of discussion in the vernacular press. The *Naved* remarks that it is absurd to assert that the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements have been started simply for defensive purposes. The Muslims are determined to cooperate with the Hindus so long as short-sighted persons like Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand do not try their patience beyond endurance. The *Mashriq* severely criticizes Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal for ignoring the anti-Muslim activities of the Hindus and accuses him of diverting the attention of the Musalmans from safeguarding their rights against the Hindus. The *Medina* regrets that Swami Shraddhanand has torn asunder the bond of Hindu-Muslim unity and shattered the hopes of attaining *swaraj*. He is a friend of the bureaucracy and has tried to do a thing which the Government could not do in spite of coercion and repression. The *Al Bureed* describes the *Sangathan* movement as anti-Muslim and warns the Hindus that the Musalmans will not hesitate in taking counter measures if any attack is made upon their religion. The *Arya Varta* remarks that Hindus can achieve *swaraj* without making an alliance with the Musalmans and that the Government was forced to concede the Reforms to India on account of the Great War and not on account of the Lucknow compact. The *Hamdam* would not find fault with the *Sangathan* movement if the Hindus cultivated moral courage side by side with physical prowess. It exhorts the Musalmans to develop physical strength and power. The *Hindustani* accuses the Musalmans of throwing impediments in the way of the country's political emancipation and thereby causing an injury to the cause of *swaraj*. The *Qaum* requests the Musalmans not to hurt the feelings of the Hindus by slaughtering cows on the occasion of *Bakr Id* as the interests of the country and nation demand that a spirit of harmony and unity should prevail between the two communities. The *Swadesh* publishes a contributed article in which the writer says that Hindu-Muslim unity is possible if Muhammadans learn to look upon India as their motherland and thus assure the Hindus that in case India is invaded by any Muslim Power they will rather defend this country than side with the invader. The *Lakshman* says that the resignations of the Hindu and Sikh members of the Lahore Municipality are an outcome of the new policy of the Punjab Government. The *Vikram* holds that it is the irresponsible writings of the vernacular press which continue to widen the gulf between Hindus and Muhammadans and thereby injure national interests.

CENTRAL REGISTRY
19 JUL. 1923
INDIA OFFICE

Re-conversion of Muslim Rajputs.

The *Hamdam* suggests that the experienced members of the Khilafat Committee should now realize their responsibility and offer their services for organization and propaganda work in connection with the renegation of Malkana Rajputs and asks the Hindus to coolly and calmly ponder over the reaction which these activities have produced throughout the country. The *Naved* considers it expedient for the Khilafat Committee to keep itself aloof from proselytizing activities as it has enough to do in the field of politics. The *Qaum* throws the entire responsibility of the *Shuddhi* movement on the shoulders of the maulvis. The *Hamdam*, while agreeing with one Mr. Prem Chand that the *Shuddhi* movement is purely based on political principles, strongly refutes his allegation that the religious fervour of the Musalmans is the main cause of the present situation.

The Public Services Commission.

While the *Pioneer* regards the *personnel* of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India as a workable body, the *Leader* thinks that, with the exception of Sir Reginald Craddock, the other European members of the Commission are more or less dark horses so far as the Indian public is concerned. The composition of the Commission, highly unsatisfactory as it is, will not abate to the smallest extent the opposition to its appointment. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that the announcement will be received with positive dismay by the Indian public. The paper expects little from the Liberal members on the Commission beyond a well-written minute of dissent, although in their craving for a name for statesmanship one need not be surprised if they succumbed to the temptation of compromise, in the same way that compromise was displayed over the racial distinctions legislation.

Civil disobedience.

Ccmmenting upon Pandit Jawahir Lal's exhortation to Congress Committees to hoist the national flag on their offices, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that if his appeal for the hoisting of the national flag should be taken up and if we should have the official geniuses as in Nagpur and Jubbulpore, India must be soon a veritable pandemonium. The paper deprecates the sending of volunteers from Lucknow to take part in the civil disobedience in connection with the national flag at Nagpur. The *Lakshman* says that if at least one hundred thousand persons find entry into jails as a result of individual civil disobedience, Government will be compelled to come to terms with the leaders. If the people are once convinced that they are out for a decisive conflict there will be no difficulty in securing the required number of people to offer civil disobedience. The *Vartman* holds that the ideal of non-violent *satyagraha* which the Central Provinces have placed before the country is an efficient and unique means of removing the slavery of India and exhorts the people not to slacken their struggle but to sacrifice themselves in ever-increasing numbers at the Nagpur battlefield. The *Jain Kesari* says that though the bureaucracy is tired of making arrests and realizes its mistake it is not prepared to retrace its steps and assures it that India will no longer acquiesce in the humiliation of her national flag and that hundreds of thousands of her children will fill the jails in vindicating its honour. Pandit Badri Dat Pande writing in the *Shakti* counsels patience to the Kumaunese in regard to the question of starting civil disobedience in connection with their forest grievances. Until they have completely organized themselves and are ready to undergo sufferings, recourse to civil disobedience will only create unnecessary unrest and suffering without any corresponding gain to the people. The paper itself now changes its attitude towards the question and advocates organization of the people before launching out civil disobedience. Government will surely adopt coercive measures to prevent their organization but they should be prepared for it and should not swerve from the path of duty.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* expresses satisfaction at the rapid progress of Bolshevism and notes that the wave of socialism is penetrating into India also. It adds: The *kisans* and the labourers are waking up. Let them only establish unity and resolve to win freedom and they will see that fortune has begun to smile upon them. The *Aj* apprehends a calamity to France from the predominance of Bolshevism in Ruhr. The mere touch of the spark of novel and revolutionary doctrines will set France, the gun-powder magazine of Europe, on fire. If the French are inebriated by the exhilarating Bolshevik views, the whole of Europe will catch fire. The *Vartman* says that as England has been opposed to the Soviet Government from the very beginning, the latter is determined to destroy the British Empire. The Bolsheviks have become the bitter enemies of England and they are only awaiting an

opportunity to deal a blow to her when she has been deserted by her Allies who are already impatient at her selfishness. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the British Government is justified in charging the Soviet Government with carrying on an anti-British propaganda and thereby breaking the agreement concluded between them in 1921. The *Naved* remarks that the present situation in the country is not the result of Bolshevik propaganda but of the disappointment caused by the indifference and breach of pledges on the part of the rulers. Real statesmanship and wisdom consist in finding out the causes of unrest and in trying to remove them.

Khilafat affairs.

The *Aligarh Gazette* alleges that Dr. Mahmud and his other colleagues have misappropriated the Khilafat funds and are giving all sorts of encouragement and pecuniary aid to those who are causing injury to the Musalmans. The *Zulqarnain* protests against the misappropriation of the Khilafat funds for private purposes and is gratified that through the honesty and generosity of Seth Chhotani a portion of the amount has been recovered. The *Hamdam* remarks that Dr. Ansari by becoming the President of both the committees has assumed the unique position of a great dictator, and a cooperation which has been lacking between the Khilafat and the Congress for the last four years has now become quite possible. While questioning the right of Seth Chhotani in investing national funds in his saw mills the *Mashriq* points out that the use of money for the purpose for which it was not subscribed is forbidden by Islam. In a leading article the *Leader* asks where is non-cooperation and says that the best thing for the Congressmen to do is to drop the meaningless use of the term non-cooperation which has become a source of self-deception, and has bred hypocrisy and conceit, and to call things and programmes by their proper names.

Congress politics.

Commenting on the new Liberal creed as described at Allahabad by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru the *Indian Daily Telegraph* launches an attack against the Liberal party and says that the Liberals have so far advanced in thought that they now speak of active non-cooperation where the circumstances demand it. It bemoans the condition of political parties in India and says that nobody in higher circles now cares what India thinks. The Liberals have proved themselves contemptible, and the majority of Indian political thinkers are absolutely callous to the actions of the bureaucracy. In the paper's opinion Mr. C. R. Das is losing his balance and unless Pandit Moti Lal Nehru descends from the Himalayas and bridles his junior partner the *Swaraj* party will be wrecked. The *Abhyudaya* and the *Vikram* are grieved at the attitude of Mr. Rajagopalachari's party towards the Bombay compromise and say that it will only create splits and divisions in the Congress ranks to the utter ruin of the country. The editor of the *Kartavya* holds that the decision of the All-India Congress Committee represents no compromise and will on the contrary accentuate the differences in the Congress camp and lead to very bitter consequences. The *Pratap* welcomes the decision and holds that in the interests of national unity, national agitation and national organization Mr. Rajagopalachari's party should surrender itself to the decision of the All-India Congress Committee, otherwise the Congress will suffer a most severe blow. The *Aj* advises the *Swaraj* party and the Majority party to act unitedly in respect of other items of the Congress programme with the exception of the boycott of Councils. The *Vartman* declares itself against the Bombay compromise and takes the *Swaraj* party to task for its indifference towards the Nagpur civil disobedience campaign. Every far-sighted man can visualize the unsatisfactory situation which will be created by the propagation, side by side, of two different and conflicting ideals. The *Qaum* warns the pro-Council party to realize the delicacy of the situation and strictly abide by the remaining items of the Congress programme. The *Medina* remarks that the pro-Council party by its obstinacy has mercilessly ignored the united voice of the country. The *Al Bureed* holds that as the two parties are still carrying on counter activities a collision between them is inevitable. The *Oudh Akhbar* maintains that in view of the threatening aspect of the internal dissensions the Congress Committee was justified in ignoring the decision of the Gaya Congress. Prudence demands that we should sympathize with the programme of the *Swaraj* party. The *Arya Varta* remarks that the Congress Committee has done well in accepting the resignations of the members of the Working Committee. The *Hindustani* is gratified at the success of the *Swaraj* party and hails the decision of the Committee as extremely satisfactory. Unless party factions are ignored non-cooperation has little chance of success in a country

under alien domination. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Majority party is unwilling to abide by the decision of the Committee and apprehends that by these internal dissensions Congress activities will cool down, and if they are allowed to last long the next Congress session will be a repetition of the Surat session. The *Naved* hails with delight the nomination of Maulana Muhammad Ali for the presidentship of the Congress and remarks that he is the only man who can lead the country on the right path.

Political propaganda.

The *Vartman* says that the votaries of revolution in India are not at all pessimistic. Armed with the strong shield of non-violence they have entered into the battlefield and are even prepared to sacrifice their lives to quench their thirst for freedom. The inebriated bureaucracy is continually stirring the smouldering sparks of revolution and by provoking the people to wield their terrible weapon of *satyagraha* it is courting its own destruction. The *Vikram* exhorts Indians to make huge sacrifices to propitiate the goddess of Liberty. The *Aj* takes Mr. Chintamani to task for attaching too much importance to constitutional methods, and says that history proves the efficacy of unconstitutional methods over constitutional ones. It was unconstitutional agitation, and not constitutional, that enabled Italy, Holland, Belgium and Spain to break the chains of serfdom. No country in the world has ever acquired its fundamental rights through constitutional agitation. The same paper criticizing Mr. Chintamani's recent statement that non-cooperation has failed says that the fact that *swaraj* could not be attained within a year does and can in no way prove the failure of the non-cooperation movement, seeing that during the short tenure of its life it has shaken the throne of the heaven-born bureaucracy. The *Anand* urges that in view of the growing reactionary policy of the Conservative British Cabinet in regard to India an agitation should be started to protect the existing rights of Indians and to make the Indian policy altogether independent of changes in the British Ministry. The *Swadesh* sarcastically remarks that India is within the Empire only for the whites to fatten at her expense and not for consultation and equal treatment. But if India continues to assert her self-respect imperialists will surely have to wring their hands some day or other. The *Vartman* holds that Mahatma Gandhi's ideal of government is far superior to that of Rousseau, Marx and Lenin inasmuch as it is for the good of the whole of mankind.

The Kumaun forests.

The *Shakti* of Almora continues to attack the forest administration in Kumaun. Writing in the paper Pandit Badri Dat Pande says that the bureaucracy itself is responsible for the misunderstanding prevailing among the people regarding the forests, which have been usurped for its selfish ends. The administration of forests should be placed in the hands of the people and not of the selfish bureaucracy. The Forest department is by no means a friend, but an enemy of the people who have suffered great loss and even dishonour at its hands.

The Dhariwala affair.

The *communiqué* of the District Magistrate of Muzaffarnagar regarding the Dhariwala affair has been extensively published in the press, but so far only a few papers have commented on it. The *Qaum* remarks that the police was responsible for provoking the villagers into violence and then perpetrating outrages upon them. It asks the lovers of liberty to realize that it is idle to expect justice from a Government whose agents have committed such outrages. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the police has again committed the same blunder as at Chauri Chaura. If it had acted with prudence the public would not have been provoked to take revenge. In another article the paper remarks that in view of the facts revealed the police is equally responsible for these occurrences. In a communicated article the *Qaum* takes to task Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru for taking the Superintendent of Police with him while making an independent inquiry as it was simply impossible to ascertain true facts in the latter's presence.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 23rd June, 1923.

Situation in Europe.

THE press views with alarm the political situation in Europe created by the French action in the Ruhr and the *coup d' état* in Bulgaria. The *Pioneer* remarks that if the rumours crediting the new Government in Bulgaria with being in touch with Soviet Russia and Turkey are to any extent justified, the outlook is a serious one. The whole situation is at present obscure, but the prospect of another blaze in the Balkans cannot be lightly dismissed. The *Leader* does not think that France will easily give up the ascendancy it has acquired in European affairs merely to oblige Britain. It appears to the paper that the forces of disintegration in Europe have grown so strong that no one can check them. With Russia, Germany and Austria bankrupt, France bent upon the strangulation of Germany, and the Reparations question still defying solution, the future of Europe looks gloomy indeed. The *Al Bureed* remarks that the obstinacy of France in the matter of the Ruhr is giving rise to fresh complications in European politics. If France persists in its attitude a rupture between her and England will become inevitable and will greatly endanger the European peace.

The Lausanne Conference.

The *Oudh Akhbar* apprehends that the revolution in Bulgaria will further prolong the Lausanne Conference. The *Al Bureed* is of opinion that the question of the Turkish national debt will lead to the breakdown of the Conference. The *Medina* remarks that the Turks have already undergone considerable sacrifices for the sake of peace, and if the Allies still fail to accept the Turkish terms regarding the national debt, they are sure to lose their credit. The *Hamdam* says that the Turks have granted all sorts of concessions and it is wrong to accuse them of creating complications in the Conference. They are desirous of an early peace to set their own house in order. The *Pioneer* attaches little value to the commercial agreements which are being signed by the Turks and says that until peace is concluded at Lausanne the agreements are not worth the paper upon which they are written. The *Leader* remarks that in view of the large questions having been settled at Lausanne it is a pity that a deadlock should have arisen over the question of the methods of paying the interest on the Ottoman debt. The international situation in Europe is such that the Turks have got the whip hand and they are thoroughly conscious of it.

Indians in the Colonies.

The press continues to discuss the position of Indians in the Colonies. Referring to the resolution admitted for discussion in the Legislative Assembly advocating retaliatory measures against Colonials in India, the *Pioneer* remarks that it is impossible to regard these proposals as likely to smooth away difficulties confronting Indians overseas. The *Leader* expresses satisfaction that the pretensions of the delegates in London and the Kenya white settlers have been thoroughly exposed. If East Africa is to be administered in the interests of the natives, it is necessary that not only should the white settlers be not granted responsible government, but that His Majesty's Government should lay down and firmly pursue a policy of protecting them from expropriation and exploitation. The *Arya Mitra* remarks that no entreaties or representations to the British Government will improve the lot of Indians in the Colonies unless their brethren in India rely upon their own exertions and wholeheartedly devote themselves to the attainment of *swaraj* which will make them respected both at home and abroad. The *Medina* remarks that the cruelties perpetrated upon Indians in Colonies are a blot upon European civilisation. The *Oudh Akhbar* has no hope that the Europeans will ever give up their habit of trampling upon the rights of the Indians and says that it would be no wonder if they are brought to their senses at the hands of the Japanese.

Indian debate in Parliament.

According to the *Pioneer* the debate is not calculated to encourage those Indian politicians who seem to be determined to carry on agitation against the salt tax in Great Britain. The idea of appealing to a people which has borne with grim patience and determination

the terrible burden of taxation resulting from the Great War against a trifling impost like the salt duty verges on the ridiculous. The *Leader* is dissatisfied with the discussion and says that it has only enabled Earl Winterton to announce the policy of the new Government in relation to the working of the Reforms. The paper strongly attacks the Viceroy's power of certification and says if this is not the "old autocracy wearing a parliamentary cloak," then what else is it? And yet India was assured by the Duke of Connaught that autocracy had been abandoned. It is the duty of Indians to strive for the abolition or at least substantial curtailment of this arbitrary power of the Viceroy; for unless this is done, the powers of the Assembly must remain shadowy, to be exercised by mere sufferance and not as of right. It concludes its criticism by remarking that the hard-headed Britisher will not be convinced of the necessity of conceding full responsible government unless the people of India on their part give sufficient evidence of their earnestness in the matter. The *Advocate* finds in Mr. Trevelyan's shaking of head an indication of the Labour party's indifference to Indian interests and says that it should now become clear to the Moderates and Cooperators that the so-called Reforms were "only the old autocracy wearing a parliamentary cloak." The Moderates should now give up hope of any substantial help from the Labour party and join hands with the *Swaraj* party and present a united front with a view to storm the citadel of bureaucratic autocracy once for all. If the Moderates could not adopt non-cooperation as advised by Mahatma Gandhi, they could at least adopt "responsive non-cooperation" of Mr. C. R. Das. March of events has made it possible for a powerful coalition between the *Swaraj* party and the Liberals. The best interests of India demand that petty party strifes should be drowned for the sake of the common good of the country. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that Earl Winterton's speech will not even rouse a serious reply in India. The Winterton references to the Public Services Commission are not full and frank but they are full and frank enough to be understood in this country. Never before has the political prestige of India stood at a lower level. Never, in the history of political agitation in this country, has such an instance of almost savage mockery from its rulers jarred on the bitter feelings and dark forebodings of a law-abiding population. Referring to Earl Winterton's statement that other Asiatic countries would be glad to have the peace and justice of India under the Union Jack, the *Leader* says that his assertion is not supported by facts. Without liberty, peace and justice can carry no solace to the soul, but perhaps the Under Secretary of State for India is unable to appreciate the forces of nationalism which are working in Asiatic countries. The *Azad* says that Earl Winterton's speech has disclosed the defects of the Reforms and the discussion in Parliament has proved the necessity of modifying the Government of India Act.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The press takes a serious view of the growing estrangement between the two communities. It is remarkable that the *Leader*, which has invariably supported the cause of cow-protection, is prepared to let the Musalmans sacrifice as many cows as they like in order to serve the cause of unity on which depends the economic and political salvation of the country. It asks patriotic Hindus why the cow should be allowed to disturb the harmony between the two communities. Is it more important than national freedom? Must the cow be saved at the price of national serfdom? Let us realise once for all that the present system of administration causes much greater economic and moral loss than the sacrifice of any number of cows and let us all unite in bringing about a change in it. If Hindus are true nationalists they should have greater regard for the Muhammadans than for the cow. That is the test. If Muhammadans are true nationalists they should care more for the good will of the Hindus .than for the sacrifice of the cow. The Hindus should do their duty and should not get angry if the Muhammadans do not do theirs. The latter will sooner or later respond to the genuine call of brotherhood from the side of the Hindus, for like all Eastern peoples, they too have a warm heart. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is alarmed at the prospect of Hindu-Muslim collision on the next *Bakr Id* and asks all those who are not drawn to Nagpur to take up the work of Hindu-Muslim conciliation. Every time that a clash occurs between the two communities the pride of the Nationalist is certainly humbled to the dust. Referring to the Moradabad riot the paper says: The cause is a trifle but significant enough to show the burning Vesuvius on which political India is at present sitting. Any day it may burst and the lava may extingush all signs of life. The *Medina* deplores the Hindu-Muslim strife and says that although primarily incited by the bureaucracy which administers

on the principle of 'divide-and-rule' it is spreading with alarming rapidity, specially in the western districts where the two communities are arming themselves for a bloody struggle. The contagion of communal antagonism and hatred is bound to spread to the Police and the Army and in that event it is evident that the engineer will be hoist by his own petard. The *Kartavya* points out that the question of cow-protection is the root-cause of all Hindu-Muslim strife, and if it is satisfactorily solved the bonds of unity between the two communities will never be dissolved in future.

Conversion of Muslim Rajputs.

The Muslim press is devoting considerable attention to the conversion movement. The *Hamdam* apprehends that the Aryas will carry their proselytising activities into Oudh also and exhorts the Musalmans to take preventive measures to avert the danger. The *Shuddhi Sabha* is so menacing to the Musalmans that it will be suicidal for the Musalmans to ignore it. It is extremely to be regretted that the Musalmans who were prepared to sacrifice their life and property for an inch of the soil of Jazirat-ul-Arab do not wish to exert themselves the least in counteracting the activities of the Aryas. One Mr. B. R. Sharma writing in the *Al Khalil* exhorts the Malkana Rajputs to decline to be converted by the Arya Samajis as their attitude besides being quite in keeping with their Rajputs traditions will also prevent a collision between the two communities. The *Hamdam* condemns the speech of the Raja of Khirwa (Rao Gopal Singh) as most annoying to the Muslims and remarks that in spite of his high-sounding profession of unity he has proved himself an embodiment of bigotry. The *Shia College News* condemns the Musalmans for ignoring their religion and exhorts them to give up the agitation for *swaraj* and unitedly counteract the *Shuddhi* movement. The *Arya Varta* takes to task Maulana Abdul Bari for declaring that none but the Musalmans have a right to propagate their religion and remarks that had the Maulana been allowed to have his own way he would expel the Hindus from India.

Civil Disobedience.

The *Leader* disagrees with Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru's views with regard to civil disobedience and says: A mere development of the spirit of resistance to constituted authority will not necessarily imply the growth of a common national consciousness without which no *swaraj* can be established on stable foundations. We can have no faith in mass civil disobedience unless it is the spontaneous expression of national feeling as is the case with the Germans in the Ruhr.

The national flag agitation.

The *Oudh Akhbar* while appreciating the sympathy and enthusiasm displayed by the Lucknow people towards the Nagpur *satyagraha*, opposes the decision of the local Congress Committee and remarks that it is unwise to leave the local work half done and send the volunteers to Nagpur. The *Arya Mitra* asks the Central Provinces Government to change its angle of vision with regard to the national flag question. It should realise that the *satyagrahis* will not be terrorised into submission through fear of imprisonment. The *Pratap* appeals to all Indians to propagate the cause of the national flag and challenge the bureaucracy to do its worst to prevent its propagation. If they cannot protect their elementary individual rights, it is impossible for them to attain *swaraj* by paralysing the machinery of administration through mass civil disobedience. The *Lakshman* urges the Congress Majority party to give up opposition to council entry and prepare for civil disobedience. If they take full advantage of the national flag agitation in the Central Provinces they can kill two birds with one stone. They can discourage council entry as well as make mass civil disobedience possible. The *Kartavya* exhorts all non-cooperators to participate in the Nagpur civil disobedience campaign disdaining all fear of imprisonment and even death. Have the Indian youths become so cowardly and effeminate that while their sisters and mothers join in the struggle, they lag behind in their homes? The *Bharat Jiwan* urges that a conference of the leaders of all the political parties should be held exclusively to decide the question of the national flag and to awaken national respect for and devotion to the national flag. The problem of *swaraj* will be solved to a very large extent the day India realises the importance of this question.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* describes how Socialism and Bolshevism are the outcome of the fight between the rich and poor, which has been going on in full swing for the last few years. The poor would have endured the tyrannies of the rich but the latter got so inebriated that they forgot that the labourers also were human beings and treated them as

beasts. The struggle which was first started in Russia and ended in favour of the labourers now embraces the whole world. The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that owing to economic depression, political upheaval and the dilapidated condition of roads and railways in Central Asia there is no danger of a Bolshevik attack upon India.

The zamindar and the *kisan.*

The *Vikram* refutes the right of the zamindars for ownership of land and cites the Hindu scriptures to prove that the land is the rightful possession of the cultivator. It tries to establish that the zamindar has no right to take even a pie from the *kisan* and that the former should get nothing.

Khilafat funds.

Referring to Dr. Ansari's statement with regard to the Khilafat funds the *Pioneer* says that it is calculated to create astonishment rather than satisfaction among those who are anxious to know what has actually happened. It demands a definite and full statement of the position by the Khilafat Committee. Eulogising the sacrifices and services of Seth Chotani in the cause of Khilafat the *Hamdam* bitterly resents the attitude of certain Muslim papers which have made it a point to condemn and villify the popular leaders and remarks that by wrongly accusing them they have only rendered help to the enemies of Khilafat and Indian liberty. The *Mashriq* quotes from the letter of Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk, a staunch non-cooperator, to show that the Khilafat fund was not properly managed and that a considerable proportion of it was misappropriated. The *Aligarh Gazette* complains why such a considerable amount was allowed to remain under the personal custody of Seth Chotani instead of depositing it in a bank. The *Medina* takes to task the Bombay Khilafat Conference for admonishing the Musalmans for taking part in the communal strifes when hitherto no such warning has been given to the Hindus by the Congress.

Congress politics.

A feature of the comments on Congress affairs is the growing volume of attack on Mr. C. R. Das. The *Leader* says that the present state of confusion in the Congress is due to the want of a towering all-India personality in the Congress which can reconcile the warring elements. It asserts that Mr. Das is trying to establish his dictatorship and to fill the gap caused by Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment and remarks that the future does not lie with autocrats, however patriotic and courageous they may be, but with leaders who are prepared to cooperate with one another on the basis of free and frank discussion and in a spirit of give and take. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thinks that meetings ought to be held to proclaim C. R. Das mad. In another place the paper says that Mr. Das would very soon be the beloved of the enemies of India, for, at present, he is out to destroy Indian nationalism built up by Gandhi. He has done enough to come under the notice of Anglo-Indian papers as a convenient instrument for a further split in the Nationalist camp. The *Vartman* attacks Mr. C. R. Das for his Madras speech against the Congress and says that self-conceit has so clouded his reason that he cannot see things in their proper perspective. His tactics are not only disappointing but also despicable. The *Aj* also condemns this speech and says that Mr. Das is carrying on a campaign of unscrupulous misrepresentation and calumny against the Congress the results of which cannot but prove disastrous to the country. The *Bharat Jiwan* urges that the Bombay compromise should be accepted by both the Congress parties which should work out their respective programmes without opposing each other. The *Anand* says that the way in which Mr. Das has been working after the Bombay compromise inspires the hope that the *Swaraj* party will win the day and capture the Congress soon. It hopes that the Congress will now revert to the right path and that all thoughtful patriots will rejoin it and save it from disintegration. The *Vikram* deplores that nothing has yet been done anywhere to organise and conduct electioneering campaigns which are so indispensable for the success of the council-entry movement. The *Garhwali* says that the present political situation in the country is fraught with perilous uncertainty for lack of an influential leader and deplores that despite the Bombay compromise the non-cooperators are still divided among themselves and far from doing anything towards the realisation of their goal are frittering away their energies in mutual opposition. The *Hamdam* is distressed that the internal dissensions in the Congress camp have dealt a death-blow to the aspirations of the Indians and the Congress is now itself a scene of non-cooperation between different sections. The *Hindustani* gives credit to Mr. C. R. Das for bringing about an improvement in the political situation and remarks that he will fight the true battle of

swaraj in the council. The *Qaum* regrets that the reconciliation of the contending parties has given rise to mutual dissensions all the more and there is a strong suspicion that Mr. Das will soon adopt the attitude of Mr. Pal.

Political prisoners.

The *Leader*, the *Anand*, the *Lakshman* and the *Pratap* urge the release of Lala Lajpat Rai in view of the serious condition of his health. The *Arya Mitra* says that the imprisonment of such great patriots as Lala Lajpat Rai and Mahatma Gandhi for no other offence than that of the love of their country is a serious blot on the existing system of government in the country and urges that as the non-cooperation movement has spent its force all the political prisoners should be released.

Political propaganda.

"A Labourer" writing in the *Vikram* urges the need of a vigorous and intensive agitation among the labourers to enlist their support in the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Vartman* wonders whether in view of the unrest in the country and the restlessness among the people young men are again drifting towards a red revolution and whether in view of the alleged failure of the non-cooperation movement the leaders of the *Gadr* party are re-starting their activities. This time they have a field ready for their campaign. The *Vikram* says that in order to make India free such enthusiastic youths are needed as will renounce all pleasures, and rising above the greatest temptations will devote themselves heart and soul to breaking the bonds enchaining India. The *Qaum* remarks that the more the bureaucracy indulges in oppressions the nearer the people will be drawn towards the goal. The *Oudh Akhbar* holds that the lack of inclination on the part of the Indians to enter military service is mainly due to the fact that the Government is not a national one. The *Medina* says that Indians are still strong enough to resist the Russians though they have been disarmed and rendered helpless by Britain.

Babbar Akali Jatha.

The *Vikram* protests against Government prohibiting the Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee inquiring into the Babbar Akali outrages and says that this action of the Government is an incontrovertible proof of the perversity of its intellect. The *Vartman* accuses the Government of indiscriminate use of the criminal law and of the oppression of the villagers in tracing out and arresting the Babbar Akalis. It condemns the *Pioneer's* appeal to the Government for the repression of the Babbar Akalis and ascribes the origin of their *Jatha* to the diabolical barbarism practised by the bureaucracy for the last four or five years in the Punjab.

The Dhariwala affair.

Commenting on the statement issued by Messrs. Kunzru and Sita Ram, the *Leader* says that in a case of such a serious nature where grave allegations are being made about looting of property, and, what is worse, outrages on women, it is the duty of Government to order an immediate independent inquiry and to deal severely with all those who broke the law. The officers of Government as well as the subjects of the King equally deserve protection against lawlessness. Referring to the Dhariwala affair the *Pratap* remarks: The Dhariwala affair is not so insignificant as not to bear comparison with the Chauri Chaura incident. It is true that Dhariwala did not witness bloodshed and incendiarism, but it is also equally true that Chauri Chaura did not witness rape and loot. Besides, in Chauri Chaura the outrages were committed by an ignorant and indisciplined mob whereas in the Dhariwala outrages those educated and disciplined policemen had a hand who are entrusted with the protection of the person and property of the public. The authorities tried to whitewash the affair but the non-official report of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and others has exposed the doings of the police and its supporters. The *Al Khalil* takes to task the Inquiry Committee for placing the entire responsibility on the shoulders of the policemen and conniving at the excesses committed by the villagers and remarks that such a one-sided report cannot command public confidence.

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For the week ending the 30th June, 1923.

Situation in Europe.

THE press has very little to say about the Near Eastern affairs, but the note of alarm sounded by the daily papers last week, with regard to the political situation in Europe, has been taken up by the weeklies. The *Abhyudaya* apprehends that the Bulgarian revolution is pregnant with serious consequences. It may affect the decisions of the Lausanne Conference, cause a conflagration in the Balkans, and involve Europe in another disastrous and devastating war. The *Aj* opines that the present conflict of Imperialism and Conservatism in Britain has made her foreign policy unsteady, which may sooner or later lead to a rupture between her and France. In another article the paper takes strong exception to Lord Curzon's letter to the Soviet Government and says that the unprecedented arrogance of Lord Curzon is calculated to impede the establishment of friendly relations between Britain and the Soviet Government. The *Medina* predicts that in view of the general upheaval prevailing in Europe a world-wide war is imminent. The paper condemns the European civilisation and remarks that the avarice, high-handedness and selfishness of Europe have ruined the world. The revolution in Bulgaria will not be confined to the Danube only but will extend to the Volga and thence to the Thames.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Leader* praises Mr. Shastri for his spirited reply to Lord Ampthill on the question of Indians in the Colonies and says that having regard to the incalculable mischief which the writings of these ex-satraps do, Lord Ampthill has richly deserved the sharp rebuff. The *Oudh Akhbar* protests against Europeans becoming trustees of the East African natives and remarks that if Great Britain wants to rule over East Africa for the good of the natives, then it should not only refuse self-government to the white colonists but also adopt a policy of protecting their rights. With regard to the resolutions which are to be discussed in the forthcoming meeting of the Legislative Assembly, the *Leader* refuses to believe that the Assembly will hastily make itself a party to the proposed retaliation without any clear and careful weighing of gains and losses in case of its adoption and the Anglo-Indian press may well refrain from reading into these resolutions a desire to cut the nose to spite the face. The *Hamdam* expresses satisfaction at the failure of the propaganda in England of the European settlers of Kenya and says that the final settlement with regard to this question should ensure the equality of treatment between Europeans and Indians.

Khilafat funds.

The publication of Mr. Mushir Husain Qidwai's statement with regard to the mismanagement of Khilafat funds has revived the controversy. The *Pioneer* persists in its demands of an explanation from the Central Khilafat Committee as to the disposal of large sums of money raised for the distressed Turks. The *Hamdam* in a leading article considers Mr. Qidwai's charges as deserving of serious consideration and calls upon the responsible members of the Khilafat Committee to furnish a detailed explanation, but the paper does not agree with him that because of the Turkish peace being in sight, the Khilafat Committees should be dissolved, as the question of Jazirat-ul-Arab has still to be decided. Maulvi Masud Ali Nadvi, who was a member of the first Khilafat deputation to England, writes to the *Hamdam* expressing his great surprise and regret at Mr. Qidwai's statement. He asks him to reconsider the baseless charge and to say whether the question of the sacred places of Islam has been satisfactorily solved and whether the demand in this connection was merely a *camouflage*. The *Aligarh Gazette* and the *Mashriq* reprint from *Al Nazir* a letter written by Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk in which he expresses great dissatisfaction with the authorities of the Central Khilafat Committee. The Maulana does not expect that Seth Chotani's factories which have been made over to the Committee will yield the large sum of money which was subscribed for the help of the Turks.

Indian debate in Parliament.

The vernacular press is united in condemning Earl Winterton's speech in the debate on the salt-tax question. The *Azad* remarks that Lord Winterton's utterances have dashed to the ground all the hopes of a large section of Indians who favoured the Reforms. It exhorts the Indians to launch a vigorous agitation for getting the Reforms amended. The *Oudh Akhbar* describes Lord Winterton's speech as discouraging to the Indians and doubts if the voice of the Legislative Assembly will ever influence the officials. The *Vikram* characterises the British Government's support of the action of the Government of India in the matter of the salt-tax as a piece of woeful partiality and hopes that it will meet the disapproval of the entire world. The *Vartman* holds that Earl Winterton's speech embodies an announcement of the policy of the new Government in relation to the working of the Reforms. It derides the Moderates for the ruthless manner in which Earl Winterton has massacred their hopes and expectations and remarks that his speech must be an eye-opener to all those who have pinned their faith on constitutional agitation for the attainment of *swaraj*. In view of the speech the paper urges the need of a revision of the decision regarding council entry. The *Aj* asserts that the speech has amply demonstrated that the Nationalist party held a more correct view about the Reforms. It says that the proper course for the Liberals now is to join the Congress and endeavour their utmost to paralyse the unjust bureaucracy. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* describes the Army debate in the Lords as another straw on the camel's back. It apprehends that it only means that the Indian army must remain as it is and must cost the Indian taxpayers as much as at present. The recent salt-tax revelation is followed by the present revelation on the future military policy of the Government. The people have simply ceased to count, the eyes of the rulers are directed to strengthen the bonds round India and not to help the people to self-government, as is alleged in the Act. It appeals to all parties to join hands and concludes its articles by saying that the Liberals after all are Indians first and profiteers next, and they will easily rally under the banner of self-respect and retaliation. Even the worm has been known to turn.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The question of Hindu-Muslim relations continues to exercise the press. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* takes a very serious view of the situation and considers that the Hindu-Muslim disunion eclipses all other factors in the present political situation in India. It is not yet too late, and the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity is certainly one that deserves all the efforts of all the leaders of all the political parties in India. Hindu-Muslim union is no party question but the very vital life-breath of *swarajist* India. The *Lakshman* points out that it is through the obstinacy and narrow-mindedness of the Muhammadans that Hindu-Muslim unity is being gradually dissolved and urges Dr. Ansari and other Muhammadan leaders to take to task their recalcitrant co-religionists. It will never do to demand constant sacrifices on the part of the Hindus only. The *Arya Mitra* deplores that the Hindus and Muhammadans instead of devoting their united energies to the discomfiture of their common opponents are wasting them in mutual dissensions. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that such of the Hindus and Musalmans as engage in communal strifes are the enemies of the country and that India can only gain through their death and not through their survival. The *Medina* remarks that the existence and stability of the Government under which so much unrest prevails is no more real and permanent than that of a bubble or mirage. The paper accuses the Hindus of provoking the Musalmans at Moradabad and asserts that at Bijnor the Hindus are contemplating the ejectment of the Muslim tenants from their holdings.

Conversion of Muslim Rajputs.

As a safeguard against the conversion of the Malkana Rajputs the *Al Bashir* advises the establishment of *maktabs* in villages for imparting religious education and remarks that the movement is not confined to the Arya Samajis only, but the patwaris, the village sub-postmasters and school teachers are all taking part in the *Shuddhi* propaganda. The *Al Khalil* remarks that the participation of the *Sanatan Dharmis* in proselytising activities is a clear indication of the movement being a political one. It regrets the dragging of religion into politics and exhorts the Musalmans to be calm and patient.

Cow protection.

The *Anand* asks the Hindus not to be frightened into giving up the *Shuddhi* movement by the threat of Muhammadans to sacrifice cows in far larger numbers on the occasion of the next *Bakr Id*. If the Hindus do not allow themselves to be carried away by the provocative attitude of Muhammadans the latter will realise the strength of the former and the cow-protection question will be automatically solved. The *Aj* suggests that the Press Representatives Conference should not restrict itself to discovering means for the prevention of cow-slaughter during the forthcoming *Bakr Id* only, but it should endeavour to get it stopped altogether. Such a splendid opportunity is not likely to recur. The stoppage of cow-slaughter will not only benefit India economically, socially, and spiritually, but it will also strengthen the Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Hamdam* apprehends communal disturbances on the occasion of *Bakr Id* and asks the responsible Muslim leaders to realise their duty. The disunion between the two communities will injure the cause of the country and the Government will not fail to take full advantage of the situation. The *Qaum* doubts the success of the Allahabad Conference in maintaining harmony between the two communities on the occasion of *Bakr Id* and opines that the situation will remain unaltered as the Muslim press is not likely to give up its anti-*Shuddhi* attitude. The *Mashriq* advises the Musalmans to have some regard for their Hindu brethren and not to create disturbance by hurting their feelings. It also warns the Hindus to realise that if religious war breaks out in India it will be very difficult to trample upon the feelings of the Musalmans. The *Al Bureed* asks the Musalmans to be cautious and forbearing on the occasion of the coming *Bakr Id* and thus show a spirit of toleration enjoined by Islam.

National flag agitation.

According to the *Indian Daily Telegraph* the national flag activities alone can save the country from acute Hindu-Muslim strife by directing popular attention to patriotism rather than religious fanaticism. The *Lakshman* contends that the struggle waged in Nagpur will decide whether or not the country is prepared for civil disobedience and will impress upon the whole country the importance of the national flag. If all the communities in India recognise the three-coloured national flag, communal differences will cease to disturb the people, and the third party cannot take advantage of these strifes. The *Anand* refers in condemnatory terms to the action of the Nagpur authorities in arresting two hundred volunteers while asleep and remarks that this action shows that the authorities are panic-stricken and want to maintain their prestige by means of repression. A coercive policy will only intensify the prevailing situation and the Central Provinces Government will be well advised even now to withdraw its orders regarding the national flag and thereby put an end to the growing unrest among the people. The *Parivartan* condemns the repressive policy of the Government and says unless it changes its attitude it will have to face civil disobedience in every nook and corner of the country over the national flag question. The *Aj* hails the arrest of Seth Jamnalal Bajaz as the triumph of the Nagpur *satyagraha* and expresses the conviction that the self-sacrifice of such a great personage will win for the national flag a place of honour in the heart of every Indian. The downfall of the bureaucracy will be completed when it will be compelled to arrest such noble souls as Jamnalal. Writing in a similar strain the *Vikram* remarks that the arrest of Seth Jamnalal will give an impetus to the Nagpur *satyagraha*. The *Qaum* remarks that the national flag struggle at Nagpur is based on the desire to fight out a decisive battle and is the manifestation of the national determination to give an opportunity to the bureaucracy for concentrating all its weapons of tyranny at one point to oppose an unarmed nation.

Congress politics.

The *Leader* sees in the present strife in the Congress that the constituent parts of the organisation are at war with one another and anarchy runs in it instead of discipline. By way of remedy it advises those who are opposed to the Gaya resolution, relating to the boycott of the councils, to separate themselves from the Congress and form a party outside it. Unless this is done the confusion will become worse confounded. The *Advocate* says that if the Moderates had not cut off all connection with the Congress, the position and the prestige of the Congress would have been stronger and higher. Moreover, the present chaotic position would not have arisen. If the Moderates come again within the Congress fold, the political situation in India would be much improved.

The *Aj* rebukes Mr. C. R. Das for deliberately avoiding to take the public into confidence with regard to the *Swaraj* party's programme within the councils and remarks that it is not proper to give votes to the members of the *Swaraj* party unless they satisfy the public as to the programme of action which will be followed by them within the councils. In view of the growing revolt against the Bombay compromise the *Lakshman* urges that a special session of the Congress should be held to compose the differences and put a common programme before the country. The *Aj* approves of the name of Maulana Muhammad Ali for the presidentship of the next session of the Congress as the country needs a President who has not only made great sacrifices but whose views are comprehensive and nationalistic and likely to influence the Hindus and the Musalmans alike. The *Al Bureed* remarks that none of the contending parties is on the right path and that the adherents of both instead of advancing the cause of *swaraj* are strengthening the chain of India's slavery. There is no guarantee that on entering the council the Das party will not ignore the Congress and the country as the members of local bodies are doing these days. The *Hamdam* has an article from Azad Subhani in which he finds fault with the Congress Committee in ignoring the decision of *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* regarding the boycott of councils. It is now the duty of *Jamiat-ul-Ulema* to come forward boldly and challenge the decision of the Congress Committee. It will dig its own grave if it remains silent on this question.

Political prisoners.

The *Medina* characterises it as an act of tyranny to keep an influential person like Lala Lajpat Rai in jail in spite of his illness. Being a sick man he cannot foment agitation, and if he proves dangerous he can be again sent to jail under the elastic sections of the Penal Code. The *Vikram* says that by continuing to keep Lala Lajpat Rai in jail, in the present condition of his health, the bureaucracy is laying an axe at its own root. It urges the remission of the remaining term of the sentence passed on him.

Political propaganda.

The *Naved* is sanguine about India's emancipation because the Indians, in spite of all their communal differences, fully realise their political subjection and are desirous to get out of it. The Hindus and the Musalmans may fight against each other but they can never forget the demands of their motherland. The *Hilal* exhorts the Indians to unite and remove the dominating influence of an alien, tyrannical, and uncivilised nation from the country. The Hindus and the Muhammadans should embrace each other on the political platform with an open and sincere heart. The *Mashriq*, on the other hand, characterises the English rule in India as a blessing for the Muhammadans. Muslim interests would never have been safe in the hands of the Hindus if the British Government had not been here. The *Hamdam* says that as long as Mr. Chintamani was a Minister he had nothing to say against the 'diarchy,' but the moment he lost five thousand rupees a month the charms of the Reforms vanished from his sight.

The Dhariwala affair.

The *Aj* says that it is impossible to write with restraint about the outrages practised upon women in Dhariwala, and the delay of the district authorities in instituting an inquiry. From the standpoint of justice and morality they have no right to rule under whose administration such atrocities are possible. The *Qaum* regrets that the women were ravished and the village plundered in the presence of the police whose duty it was to protect the life and the property of the people. The district authorities' attitude was calculated to widen the gulf of mutual hatred between the police and the public, and it is astounding that they did not put the machinery of law in motion against the culprits. If we but unite a thousand tragedies of this sort can be atoned for. The *Hamdam* remarks that the misdeeds of the police, and its supporters have been whitewashed in the official statement and asks the Government to appoint a commission composed of officials and non-officials to inquire into the matter and bring the perpetrators of crime to justice. The women on account of their innate modesty and fear of scandal could not but conceal the fact of their having been ravished.

Municipal addresses.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* regards the Government order regarding the presentation of addresses as a red rag to the Lucknow Municipality and a cheap attempt on behalf of Government to assert its authority. The *Leader* says: We do not see what purpose other than that of causing irritation can be served by such an order. It

does not prevent the presentation of addresses by municipal boards to whomsoever they like; it only lays down that the expenditure on account of them should not be incurred out of municipal funds. The *Rastra* protests against the order and remarks that it is altogether unjustifiable and is intended to restrict the liberty of action of the people. The refusal of the Lucknow Municipality to obey the order has dashed to the ground the hope expressed in the last report on Municipalities that the local bodies would not allow political considerations to dominate the conduct of their business and escape being infected with the virus of non-cooperation. The time is not distant when the non-cooperators in the councils will render impossible the very promulgation of such orders. The *Lakshman* congratulates the Lucknow Municipal Board on its giving a fitting reply to the Government in regard to its unjustifiable interference with the rights of the Municipalities to present addresses. This is the first skirmish between the Government and the new Municipal Boards. Perhaps the former wanted to put the latter's independence to test, and it must have come to know what great difference there is between the Moderates and the non-cooperators.

NAINI TAL:
The 30th June, 1923.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 7th July, 1923.

Lausanne Conference.

THE press blames the Allies for prolonging the Lausanne Conference. The *Aj* remarks that it is regrettable that a small question such as that of the National Debt should have caused a deadlock in the Lausanne Conference and blames the French for demanding the payment of the loan in gold francs. The French may be put to some loss on account of the depreciation of the franc, but the Imperialistic policy of France is itself responsible for this and why should the Turks suffer for it. The *Naved* ascribes bad motives to the Allies and remarks that the force of arms will be the ultimate arbiter to decide the issue finally. The *Medina* remarks that the question of Public Debt is merely an excuse for delaying the conclusion of peace at Lausanne as the interests of the Allies can be better served if the Conference proceedings are prolonged.

Indians in the Colonies.

The press continues to write bitterly against the ill-treatment of Indians in the Colonies. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* apprehends that the Kenya question will not be solved to the satisfaction of Indians and says: Threaten the British Government that India would non-cooperate and cut itself off from the Empire and then they may pause to hear what it is really about and ask the Kenya Government whether anything cannot really be done. The *Oudh Akhbar* is in favour of adopting retaliatory measures against the white colonists and remarks that as long as the question of the Indians is not satisfactorily settled the Colonial imports into India should be doubly and trebly taxed. The *Aj* refers in condemnatory terms to the ill-treatment of the Indians in Kenya, Tanganyika and almost all other British Colonies and remarks that racial discrimination is nowhere so acute and poignant as it is in the British Empire. In order to put an end to this racial discrimination the paper suggests that Indians will have at first to deal a stunning blow to the notion of divine superiority of the whites in their own country. They will have to demonstrate not only the uselessness of the steel frame but also its utter inefficacy. By such a course of action they will win the sympathy of the non-white nations of the world which will help them enormously in acquiring a status of equality with the whites. The *Leader* says that the Kenya question has now come to a head and it is extremely necessary that the Assembly should put its full pressure on the Government of India to make the obtuse angle of the India Office more straight than it has hitherto been and to prevent India's interests being betrayed by unsympathetic officials like Sir Louis Kershaw.

Khilafat funds.

The *Hamdam* expresses its satisfaction at the arrangement made by Seth Chotani for the payment of the Angora fund and suggests that if instead of sending money these saw-mills are removed to Angora they will serve as a momento of the strength of Indian sentiment regarding Khilafat and will strengthen the feeling of brotherhood between the Indian Musalmans and the Turks. The *Azad* remarks that the confiscation of the fund by the Government would have been preferable to the misappropriation on the part of the President of the Central Khilafat Committee.

Indian debate in Parliament.

The *Medina* remarks that the speech of the representative of the Labour party lacked that enthusiasm and vigour which the Indians expected. Earl Winterton's reply in this connection deserves the serious consideration of the Liberals. The non-cooperators demand *swaraj* but he does not find India fit even for Dominion status.

Hindu-Muslim unity.

The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* regrets that the Hindus are contemplating the social boycott of Musalmans. The *Al Khalil* deplores that even the most staunch Congressmen are displaying communal bigotry and are shaking the very foundation of the Congress by undermining the Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Medina* taunts Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on raising the structure of unity again after demolishing it and advises him to keep

himself aloof from these activities and leave the nation to its own fate. The *Qaum* resents the hostile attitude of the Musalmans towards Pandit Malaviya and remarks that the Musalmans are jealous of his eminent position and do not like that the Hindus should be guided by such a firm-minded leader. In another article the same paper regrets the lack of unity amongst the Hindus and takes to task those Hindus who hold the *Sangathan* movement as the cause of all disturbances. It is surprising that the Hindus are ready to unite with the Musalmans disregarding all religious differences and sometimes against their conscience but they have no cooperation among themselves. The *Rahnuma* advises the Hindus to adopt a spirit of toleration which is the surest way of removing all differences and restoring happy relations between the two communities. Raja Mahendra Pratap's letter from Pekin, which originally appeared in the *Abhyudaya*, has been reproduced by other Hindi papers also. In the course of this letter Raja Mahendra Pratap deplores the recent feuds between the Hindus and the Musalmans and remarks: The Hindu who fights with a Musalman is not a Hindu; he is a *Melechh*. And the Musalman who fights with a Hindu is not a Musalman; he is a *Kafir*. Those who are true Hindus or true Musalmans should boycott these *Melechhs* or *Kafirs*.

Cow-protection.

The *Rahnuma* in a communicated article finds fault with the Hindus for demanding all sorts of concessions from the Musalmans and undergoing no sacrifices themselves and remarks that it is impossible for the Musalmans to forego a religious right if the Hindus are not ready to treat them like brethren. If the Hindus persist in their attitude the Musalmans will be compelled to pay them in their own coin and thus retard the progress of unity. The *Al Bureed* holds that the question of cow-slaughter is mostly responsible for all the differences between the two communities and remarks that the Hindus do not hold the cow in reverence from any religious point of view but they simply want to create mischief and harrass the Musalmans. The *Abhyudaya* welcomes the decision to hold a Press Representatives Conference at Allahabad and is very optimistic about its results and remarks that if the representatives to the Conference take up the matter in right earnest and are determined not to rest on their oars until they have stopped cow-slaughter then there is no power in the world which can continue cow-slaughter or increase it. It warns the Musalman representatives not to lose the present rare opportunity of winning the steadfast friendship of the Hindus.

The national flag agitation.

The *Pioneer* remarks that there would be widespread satisfaction in this country if the authorities were to turn their attention to the men who, while keeping themselves in the background, are instigating their dupes to carry on the preposterous national flag agitation in the Central Provinces. It adds that the *communiqué* of the Central Provinces Government effectually disposes of the contention in the Extremist press that the patriotic heroes have been acting purely on the defensive against the wanton aggression of an unsympathetic and repressive bureaucracy. The *Millat* describes the national flag agitators as enemies of peace and order and advises the Musalmans not to take any part in that agitation. The Musalmans are being made dupes of the selfish designs of the Hindus and the object of all these disturbances is to extirpate Islam from India. The *Naved* remarks that the abuse of power on the part of the officials is responsible for the loss of British prestige in India. Unrest is not a material thing to be destroyed; it is only a mental attitude which can be changed by removing the causes that have created it. The *Medina* is gratified that the blunder committed by the Government has given the Indians the much-desired opportunity of re-starting *satyagraha* and remarks that repression and coercion are a blessing for freedom. For the expansion of the struggle for freedom the *Najat* exhorts the members of the District and Municipal Boards, who have won their seats through the Congress, to take an active part in the Nagpur *satyagraha*. The *Parivartan* says that if Indians want to come out of the slough of slavery, if the Jallianwala Bagh and the Guru-ka-Bagh and the Rae Bareli and Basti massacres have made them realise their degradation, and if they consider it their supreme duty to emancipate their motherland they should join the civil disobedience campaign at Nagpur for the vindication of the honour of the national flag. The *Swadesh* asserts that the insult offered to the national flag is an insult to the national ideal of the thirty-two crores of Indians. Government will have to shed rivers of our blood in objecting to the national flag. The *Aj* welcomes the repression launched out by the Nagpur authorities and remarks that the more we can compel the bureaucracy through peaceful and non-violent means to perpetrate greater injustices the more it will stimulate and

enliven the national agitation. The *Vartman* remarks that the arrest of Seth Jamna Lal Bazaz has electrified the national flag agitation and infused a new spirit into it. Thousands of persons who at first wavered and hesitated are now ready to go to Nagpur and participate in the *satyagraha* struggle undaunted by the rigours of jail. The Nagpur *satyagraha* has proved the futility of council entry, it has belied the report of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee and has brought home to the people the imperative necessity of launching *satyagraha* without delay. The paper suggests that the Tahsil and City Congress committees should at once start *satyagraha* in their respective areas after the fashion of the Nagpur *satyagraha*. In another article the paper says that India is determined to revolt and the flag of this revolution has been planted at Nagpur. The plantation of this flag sounds the death-knell of the present system of administration. The *Kartavya* says that the Central Provinces Government's action in arresting volunteers in their homes shows that Government has set aside all considerations of law and justice and is out for wholesale repression.

Congress politics.

The *Medina* remarks that truth has again been vanquished by falsehood and the idol of autocracy for the breaking of which we underwent all sorts of sacrifices and hardships has been re-installed. The counter-activities of the contending parties of Congress are such that no party can be expected to achieve success. The *Najat* regrets that the decision of the Congress Committee has widened the gulf between the two parties and remarks that it is a violation of the Congress principle to spend all energy on the council struggle. The *Qaum* regrets the collision of the two parties to the entire gratification of their enemies who are now becoming more and more sure of their success. Referring to his recent speech the *Hamdam* takes to task Mr. C. R. Das for planning the destruction of non-cooperation and assailing the capability of Mahatma Gandhi to lead the nation. He is wrong to suppose that this course of action will bring him popularity and fame. The *Pratap* sadly remarks: What a heart-rending scene is this that a few provincial Congress Committees are unwilling to abide by the decision of the All-India Congress Committee and the District and Tahsil Congress Committees refuse to be subservient to the Provincial Congress Committees! Such a course of action will destroy the organisation of the Congress and drag its prestige to the ground. The *Vikram* implores Mr. C. R. Das and other leaders to drop the controversy regarding the Round Table Conference in view of the fact that it is creating mutual dissensions and thereby causing an irretrievable injury to the national cause. The Round Table Conference controversy will not help Mr. C. R. Das at all in the fulfilment of his programme of council entry. On the other hand, it will prejudice his cause. In another article the paper administers a stern rebuke to Mr. Rajgopalachari for his Madura speech and remarks: Has the venom of party spirit infected Mr. Rajgopalachari's brain to such an extent and has his mind become so much obsessed with envy that he should have kicked his principles and stooped so low as to prefer the Liberal to the *Swaraj* Party? The *Anand* is not hopeful about any compromise being reached between the two Congress parties. It is most regrettable, says the paper, that the mutual dissensions of Congressmen have almost wrecked the Congress and rendered the attainment of *swaraj* impossible.

Political propaganda.

The *Abhyudaya* in a leading article vehemently protests against the continued confinement of Lala Lajpat Rai in jail despite the serious condition of his health and remarks: We should give up all other agitation for the time being and devote ourselves wholeheartedly to securing the release of the Lalaji. The Liberals should also join us in this task and let Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru tell the Government that if it does not release the Lalaji they will sever their connection with it. The *Aj* opines that the rumour regarding the appointment of the Duke of Devonshire as the Viceroy of India is not without foundation and says that since the appointment of Mr. Baldwin as the Premier of England those persons have got an upper hand in the Cabinet who are dissatisfied with Lord Reading on account of his political views and particularly on account of his Jewish descent. Referring to the report that non-cooperators who have undergone imprisonment for more than six months can, on obtaining necessary permission from the Government of India, stand for council election the *Pratap* remarks that this method for the removal of a disqualification for council election is so insulting and meaningless that no true non-cooperator will like to sacrifice his self-respect to secure this concession. The *Vikram* pays a handsome tribute to Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru for the efficient manner in which he has been carrying on the

administration of the Allahabad Municipal Board and says that it is easily the first in these Provinces in point of efficiency. It exhorts other Municipal Boards to emulate its example. Professor T. L. Viswani writing to the paper says that never before in the history of British India has there been so much unrest in the country as at present. Such a violent storm of unrest is raging in the country these days that even the diabolical repression of the Government has failed to allay it. India has announced in emphatic and unequivocal terms that her aim is to establish complete independence. Lord Reading has tried to answer this challenge by enforcing repressive measures but has egregiously failed.

Bolshevism.

The *Hamdam* ascribes Bolshevik failure in Central Asia to the higher and nobler principles of Islam and remarks that Islam prefers Bolshevism so far as it is opposed to Imperialism, but it has absolutely no sympathy with the other activities of Bolsheviks. The Turkish statesmen will do well to watch carefully the activities of the Russian representative and see how far they are favourable to their interest. The *Najat* remarks that the Police by concocting stories regarding the Bolshevik propaganda is perturbing both the Government and the public. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the Bolsheviks are abating their activities in the Near East and if they stick to the terms of the agreement between them and Great Britain it will redound to the great success of British diplomacy.

The Dhariwala affair.

The *Rashtra* says that despite the report of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru and Rai Bahadur Pandit Sita Ram on the Police excesses in Dhariwala, Government will take no action against the Police and that Indians will have their grievances redressed only when they make themselves strong and powerful by organisation. The *Vartman* strongly condemns the brutal atrocities practised by the Police at Dhariwala and demands that it should be adequately punished for plundering the village and for committing rape upon women. It is a matter for the Government to be ashamed of that it should have dismissed this matter so lightly when on the assault of a couple of European ladies by a few ignorant persons at Amritsar or Lahore it declared martial law, dropped bombs and used machine-guns, and when on the abduction of Miss Ellis it despatched an army to the frontier. The *Swadesh* remarks that the officials have tried to whitewash the doings of the Police. If the villagers themselves removed their property for fear of being plundered by the Police, it is a sad commentary on the Police which is for the protection of the persons and property of the people. The official report is silent on the disgrace of married women and one cannot believe that virgins would have fared better at the hands of the Police, when even the married women were not spared. The officials may oppress the people for some time more, but they must note that the latter are bound to seize the reins of administration sooner or later.

Municipal addresses.

The *Advocate* remarks that after the spirited retort of the Lucknow Municipal Board the bureaucracy will do well to make its ground sure before issuing unjustifiable notifications. The bureaucrats must bear in mind that if they show no respect for public opinion then the public would hardly show any genuine respect for them. The *Swadesh* approves of the attitude of the Lucknow Municipality in opposing the order of the United Provinces Government regarding municipal addresses and expresses the hope that the other Municipalities of the Province will follow suit. If the municipal commissioners are sufficiently self-respecting they will never tolerate this unjustifiable interference with their rights and will convince the Government that the days are gone by when it could get its arbitrary orders obeyed. The *Kartavya* opines that this order of the Government is a serious blow to the system of local self-government. As the municipal funds are contributed by the people their representatives alone have the right to decide whom addresses are to be presented to and the Government's interference therewith is altogether unnecessary and uncalled for. The *Pratap* strongly disapproves of the order and exhorts the Municipal Boards to violate it by presenting addresses to the Indian leaders.

Public Services Commission.

In a signed article Babu Raghupati Sahai says that India will never accept the recommendations of the Royal Public Services Commission unless it is explicitly declared, and the declaration is given effect to, that these foreign services will be abolished in the future government of the country with the exception of the experts who may be retained by the Government of India with the consent of the Legislative Assembly and whose selection may not be confined to England alone. These services

should be completely Indianised. A scale of pay for these services should be fixed according to India's means and there would be no objection to Britishers and Colonials competing for them provided that Indians are also allowed to compete for similar services in England and the Colonies.

The Indian Military Policy.

The *Leader* says that the replies of Mr. Burdon, the Army Secretary, to the series of questions by Sir Sivaswamy Iyer and Dr. Gour on military matters in the Legislative Assembly show that the military policy of Government in connection with the admission of Indians to important branches of the Army remains as immobile as ever. The whole military policy of the Government in regard to the Indianisation of the military services is in the highest degree unsatisfactory. It is its military policy which is regarded by Indians as the true test of the sincerity of Government's professions for establishing self-government in India, and unless it is soon radically altered the undesirable consequences of popular distrust towards Government will become increasingly manifest. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* commenting on the arguments advanced by the Commander-in-Chief and his Secretary remarks that they explain nothing except their distrust of the people and their determination to uphold the existing military supremacy over India. Referring to the Indian Army debate in the Lords the *Leader* remarks that it will be grossly unjust to India if further reductions apart, even the Inchcape cuts are not properly carried out in their entirety.

The United Provinces Council session.

The *Leader* protests against the decision to hold the United Provinces Council session in October and remarks: To us the plea of economy urged for holding the local Council session towards the end of October does not appear to be convincing. It almost seems as if the members of the new Government are fighting shy of the Legislative Council, or, at all events, do not view with equanimity the prospect of facing the discussion of several important and perhaps inconvenient questions, including the Dhariwala affair and the issues raised by the ministerial resignations, that are expected to be brought up before it. In another article the paper asks why Sir William Marris is holding the next session of the Council at Lucknow and not at Allahabad. Does His Excellency recognise the latter city as the capital of the province or is he obsessed by taluqdari Lucknow nearly as much as his predecessor? The paper remarks: We are persuaded that there is no hope for Allahabad during the present régime any more than there was in the old, and that Allahabad's one duty now is to organise a movement for the separation of the two amalgamated but not united Provinces. 'Home Rule for the Province of Agra' must be inscribed on the banner of our movement.

The Criminal Law Amendment Repeal Bill.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* characterises the rejection of the Criminal Law Amendment Repeal Bill as a great liberal betrayal. It is a crying shame which must force every self-respecting head down. This combine between the bureaucrats and Liberals through thick and thin is not without significance. The *Pioneer*, on the other hand, compliments the Liberals on their political acumen in rejecting the Bill.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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Lausanne Conference.

ONLY a few papers have so far commented on the result of the Lausanne Conference. The *Pioneer* complains of the scantiness of details of the final agreement but opines that the terms are eminently favourable to Turkey. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the Ruhr spirit has shown itself over the evacuation of the Straits. It is the Turk's resolution to be free or to die that secured her the peace, not surely the sense of justice of the Allies. The *Leader* considers it a matter of great satisfaction that an agreement at long last has been arrived at between the Allies and Turkey. It hopes that there will be no further delay. The *Vartman* says that the British have unstintingly conceded most of the Turkish demands because they wanted to avoid a collision with the Turks who have Persia, Afghanistan and the Bolsheviks for their allies. The Conference this time also marks a victory for the British diplomacy which has succeeded in averting a war which would have proved quite ruinous to Britain.

Indians in the Colonies.

Writing on the position of Indians in Canada the *Leader* regrets that the Imperial Conference resolution is sought to be whittled down into a mere pious declaration of good intentions binding upon nobody. Apparently 'Imperial Solidarity' does not seem to weigh much with some of these Dominions. The paper resents Canada's discrimination against Indians even in favour of the Japanese. The *Anand* protests against the anti-Indian legislation enacted in South Africa and remarks that the selfish policy of the South African Government has set the ball rolling in the matter of the destruction of the Empire, and if the British Government will not check this policy the utter disruption of the British Empire is inevitable within a short period. The *Hindustani* hopes that England will not be deterred from discharging her duty towards Indians by the threats held out by the white colonists and remarks that there is no reason why Indians should not go into the Colonies to earn their living when thousands of Europeans from all parts of the Empire come to India and return to their respective countries after amassing considerable wealth. The *Hamdam* remarks that the Lucknow Municipality by passing the resolution against the celebration of Empire Day has rightly expressed the indignation of Indians over the inhuman and humiliating treatment meted out to their countrymen in the Colonies. *Free India* remarks that the present position of Indians is one worthy of contempt in the eyes of the world. Only credulous men like Sastri can eternally labour under the delusion that the Empire stood for equality for all.

The Khilafat Committee.

The publication of a statement by the Central Khilafat Committee in respect of settlement with Seth Chotani for the realisation of Khilafat money entrusted to him has not allayed dissatisfaction created by the mismanagement of the Khilafat fund. The *Leader* says that the Khilafat Committee cannot escape responsibility for whatever loss may be suffered. The paper is not satisfied with the Committee's statement as it does not show the estimated value of the two saw-mills that have been transferred and whether Seth Chotani has any other property from which the deficiency can be made good. The *Al Bashir* takes to task Mr. Mushir Husain Qidwai for advising the abolition of the Khilafat Committees and remarks that he never took any active part in the progress of Muslim India and always kept himself aloof from safe-guarding the political interests of the Musalmans. The *Mansur* remarks that the existence of the Khilafat organisation is necessary as long as all the demands regarding the Khilafat are not satisfied. The *Al Bureed*, while admitting that the Khilafat fund has been misused and the arrangement made by Seth Chotani for the payment of the Angora fund is unsatisfactory, does not agree that the Khilafat Committees should be abolished and remarks that Mr. Mushir Husain's advice is calculated to mislead the Musalmans from the path of religious duty as Jazirat-ul-Arab is still under non-Muslim domination. Mr. Mushir Husain Qidwai in a signed article contributed to the *Hamdam* justifies himself in advising the abolition of the Khilafat Committees and remarks that when Khilafat

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Committees have made themselves subservient to the Congress, there remains no need for keeping up such a costly organisation. The Turkish sword can bring about the emancipation of the Jazirat-ul-Arab. The *Aligarh Gazette* appreciates the generous contributions of Muslim India for Turkey and advises the Musalmans not to be disheartened by the destruction of the Angora fund but to go on rendering every monetary help to Turkey. The *Aj* supports the suggestion of Mr. Mushir Husain Qidwai to dissolve the Khilafat Committees, remarking that the people should devote their attention to the situation at home which has assumed a serious aspect.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The vernacular papers continue to devote considerable space to Hindu-Muslim relations. The *Arya Mittra* points out that despite all clamour and opposition on the part of Muhammadans, Hindus will not stop the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. Muhammadans should no longer expect that Hindus will continue to yield to them as before; because the latter have fully realised that their sacrifices for the sake of their Muhammadan brethren have been quite misplaced. The *Vartman* takes Maulana Abdul Bari to task for his statements that no one had any right to convert a Muslim and that the Hindu-Muslim unity was profitable to the Hindus only and asks the Muhammadans to follow Maulana Azad Subhani who, along with the Ali Brothers and other prominent leaders, holds the Hindu-Muslim unity to be a *sine quâ non* for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Naved* describes Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya as an enemy of Hindu-Muslim unity and accuses him of impeding the progress of liberty. The *Qaum* expresses its gratification at the reconciliation effected between the Hindus and Musalmans in the Punjab and advises both the communities to maintain it and not to embarrass the leaders by their communal strifes. In another article the same paper remarks that the present is the most opportune time for the Hindu *Sangathan* movement and exhorts the Hindus of the Punjab to obey their leaders to save themselves from the coming danger. The *Zulqarnain* advises the Musalmans to safeguard their own interests and adopt means for their protection as the Hindus are developing physical strength to overpower them and remarks that they should prefer pan-Islamism to Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Haqiqat* ascribes the communal strife to the lack of education in the country. The readiness of the two communities to unite in political matters against a third party is the real test of their unity. The *Ittihad* regrets that the Government has yet taken no notice of the secret *Baesi* Committee of Amroha, which is carrying on its intrigues successfully and aims at injuring the Muslim interests.

Conversion of Muslim Rajputs.

The *Al Khalil* remarks that the *Arya Samajis* have been ever antagonistic to *Sanatan Dharmis* but their co-operation in the *Shuddhi* movement clearly betrays the fact that the movement is not a religious one. They have by their activities demolished the foundation on which the structure of India's freedom was to be raised and caused irreparable loss to the country. The *Hindustani* advises the Muslims to be reasonable and not to resent the *Shuddhi* movement. Both parties should carry on their respective religious propagandas, but if any disturbance takes place they will not be able to emancipate themselves from the chains of slavery for ages to come.

Cow-protection.

Maulana Abdul Bari in a contributed article to the *Hamdam* says that if the Musalmans are forced to give up cow-sacrifice on the occasion of *Bakr Id* it will become a religious obligation for them to sacrifice cows. Whether the Muhammadans will sacrifice cows or not depends upon the attitude which the Hindus adopt. The *Al Bureed* is not sanguine that the *Bakr Id* will pass off peacefully and regrets that the mischievous activities of Swami Shraddhanand have created an awkward situation.

Congress politics.

The *Leader* thinks that as the Calcutta Congress held in September 1920 marked a turning point in the history of the Congress so the Bombay Special Congress may result in the discomfiture of the followers of Mr. Gandhi. According to the *Pioneer* the prospects of a harmonious session of the Congress at Bombay do not appear to be particularly bright and it agrees with the *Leader* in thinking that the disciples of Mr. Gandhi may be discomfited by the supporters of Mr. Das. The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, on the other hand, remarks that the special session of the Congress will settle the place of the *Swarajists* in the Congress. The Das' party will be pulled out with the greatest ease. The country is tired of their strange behaviour, their

inconsistencies and their uncertainties. The *Pratap* exhorts the *Swaraj* party to start at once its electioneering campaign and remarks: The firm and unalterable convictions of the *Swaraj* party have divided the Congress into two groups and its strict adherence to its convictions has accentuated party factions which have now taken the form of a fatal split. If the *Swaraj* party now shows any slackness in carrying out its convictions it will be answerable to the country. The *Bharat Jewan* points out that as the result of the dissensions among the leaders the Congress is gradually losing its hold on the people and exhorts congressmen to do nothing which may injure their national organisation. The *Arya Mitra* deplores that instead of pushing forward the constructive programme of the Congress the two Congress parties are frittering away their energy over the question of council entry. Such dissensions cannot help in the attainment of *swaraj* and will rather alienate the sympathy of the people with the Congress. The *Vikram* administers a stern rebuke to Mr. Rajagopalachari for his exhortation that the people should rather vote for the Moderates than for the members of the *Swaraj* party in the ensuing council elections and says that it is a misfortune of the country that such a respected leader as Mr. Rajagopalachari should give utterance to such mean sentiments. In another article the paper insinuates that the sole object of the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Nagpur is to annul the compromise resolution and says that no good will accrue to the country from this meeting and that its interests will be best served by allowing the compromise resolution to stand as it is. The *Aj* is gratified that Maulana Muhammad Ali has every chance of being elected the President of the next Congress session and remarks that the Maulana's election is the nation's answer to the repression of the Government.

The national flag agitation.

The national flag affair at Nagpur continues to attract attention. The *Advocate* blames the Government of the Central Provinces for the present situation and says that in its zeal to crush the national awakening of the people of India the Government seems to be throwing to the winds all the codes of fair play. If it persists in trying to keep its prestige the people of India are also determined to vindicate their inalienable rights of citizenship at all costs. The *Pioneer* thinks that the participation of the leaders who have so far remained in the background in the processions might give a temporary fillip to the movement but their arrest will put a stop to the agitation. The *Arya Mitra* remarks that the enthusiasm displayed over the national flag question must convince the Government that the people are so much animated with national pride that they cannot tolerate any insult being offered to their national flag despite all coercion and repression. The *Aj* holds that the Central Provinces Government has acted and is still acting in an illegal manner in regard to the national flag. The *communiqué* of the Central Provinces Government declaring the action of the people to be illegal is quite unjustifiable. The Government is itself violating its laws and the "justice-loving" Governor General is watching all this with an air of sublime indifference. But the paper does not view with favour the proposal to start a separate national flag agitation in the United Provinces, remarking that the Congress should not expend its entire energy on this question to the neglect of the other important items of its programme. The propagation of the *swadeshi* and the boycott of the *bideshi* must continue to receive proper attention on the part of the people. The *Vikram* commends the decision of the Provincial Congress Committee that the people of the United Provinces should participate in the Nagpur *satyagraha* instead of starting the struggle separately in their own province. The paper is elated at the progress of the national flag agitation and remarks: The sacrifices of patriots are infusing a new life into the country. Those provinces which have been quiet so far are now manifesting a keen desire to participate in the Nagpur *satyagraha* as is evident from the recent demonstration of the Akalis at Amritsar. The paper expresses the conviction that if the Nagpur agitation continues to progress at this speed the brave Akalis will wholeheartedly participate in it and the Government will then meet with as ignominious a discomfiture as it did in the Guru-ka-Bagh affair. The *Vartman* contends that it has become manifest to the people that the Nagpur flag agitation has razed to the dust the popular enthusiasm with regard to the council entry and made the leaders of the *Swaraj* party doubtful about their success. The *Najat* exhorts the people to carry on peacefully their defensive war for freedom and avenge the dishonour of the national flag. Self-consciousness and national honour play a great part in political activities and form the basic principles on which the structure of freedom can be raised.

The *Hindustani* resents the repressive measures adopted by the officials at Nagpur and hopes that the leaders will show to the world whether they deserve to be classed with the thieves and robbers or those who are arresting them. The *Hamdam* deplores the attitude adopted by the members of the *Swaraj* party towards the national flag struggle at Nagpur and remarks that love for the council is causing them to sever their connection gradually from the non-co-operation movement.

The certification debate in the Assembly.

The *Pioneer* emphasises the unreality of the debate in the Legislative Assembly and regrets that the moral of the vote in the House of Commons has not been grasped by Indian politicians. It is not the Die-Hards at Home who form a real obstacle to the extension of Reforms, but the Die-Hards in India who, instead of accepting the new constitution in the spirit in which it was granted, decline to abide by the terms of the Government of India Act by its obvious implications. According to the *Leader* the Home Member made a fighting though unconvincing speech in opposing the resolution; but whatever may be the forensic worth of his utterances it cannot reconcile Indians to the highly unsatisfactory position. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that as a serious debate on constitutional questions the proceedings can take rank with the greatest of World's Parliaments.

Release of political prisoners.

The *Pioneer* is gratified at the result of the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the demand for the release of Mr. Gandhi and other prisoners and says that it revealed once more the extraordinary mentality of some of the members of the Assembly and showed how utterly irresponsible and indifferent to facts are many of those who pose as political leaders in India. The *Leader* says that the mover of the resolution to the Assembly did not render a service to the prisoners whose release was demanded. The paper disagrees with the Home Member in his estimate of Mr. Gandhi's conduct and does not think that Mr. Gandhi if he is freed now or a little later will necessarily be a menace to public peace. It ventures the opinion that if there had been no Khilafat question there would have been no non-cooperation movement. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the speech of Sir Malcolm Hailey would only create more pity than anger in the minds of the people. "He excelled himself in his unnecessary attacks on Gandhi which really meant attacks on the millions of His Majesty's subjects in this country. But when a paid servant of Government like Hailey speaks of a great man like Gandhi, we expect certain respect and dignity. There is a way of expressing one's opinion without insulting those from whom we disagree: and where Mahatma Gandhi is concerned, Indians, who worship him, have a right to expect from the little men dressed in brief authority better behaviour than Sir Malcolm has displayed." The *Qaum* remarks that the Government has fallen so low as to be afraid of the release of Lala Lajpat Rai in spite of his illness. It is futile to appeal to the Government in the name of civilisation and morality.

The abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Leader*, while regretting the conduct of the Maharaja, remarks that Lord Reading will probably now understand why so much hue and cry was raised when he certified the Princes' Protection Act. Incredible things are done in some of the Indian States which remind one of the Middle Ages. That such oppressive despotism should exist under British suzerainty in this country is a serious reflection upon it. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* calls the abdication a unique event and asserts that there are few States where, if the powerful searchlight of the British judiciary were directed, similar condemnation as has fallen to the lot of Nabha would not have been passed. The paper insinuates that the real cause of the abdication is the Maharaja's attitude towards the British Foreign Office. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets the abdication and says that the State will be much improved under the direct control of the Government of India.

Addresses by municipalities.

The action of the Lucknow Municipality in respect of addresses has been generally approved. The *Aj* compliments the Lucknow Municipal Board on its courageous retort against the order of the local Government regarding the presentation of municipal addresses and exhorts other municipal boards to follow suit. The *Vikram* strongly condemns the decision of the Cawnpore Municipality to present an address to the Governor and remarks: It is our conviction that by the decision the Board has disgraced the country and has itself trampled upon its rights. Those members of the Board who have violated the wishes of their electorates by favouring the presentation of the address should be adequately censured. The *Abhyudaya*

congratulates the Lucknow Municipality on its decision to spend fifty rupees out of the municipal funds on the address to be presented to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and remarks: This is what is called civil disobedience. Such action of the municipal boards will prove more fruitful than the hoisting of the national flag over the municipal offices. *Free India* remarks that it is a pity that the Government should be so panicky at every little thing done by the people. Such orders instead of helping the bureaucracy only furnish grounds for additional grievances. The *Najat* characterises the order of the Government as imprudent and expresses its gratification at the resolutions passed by the Lucknow Municipal Board. It advises the Government to withdraw its order as no question of prestige is involved in it. The *Arya Varta* remarks that there can be no two opinions regarding the Government's order which is a clear infringement of the rights and powers of the Municipal Board.

The United Provinces Legislative Council.

The *Oudh Akhbar* is gratified at the Governor's decision to hold the next session of the council at Lucknow and not at Allahabad. It deprecates the suggestion of the *Leader* to start an agitation for the separation of Agra from Oudh and says that with the exception of a few Liberals no reasonable leader of the Agra province will care a straw for it. The *Vikram* protests against the postponement of the United Provinces Council session and remarks: Every action of the British Government in India is characterised by crookedness. It insinuates that the postponement is due to the desire on the part of the Government to avoid discussion on the unpleasant questions such as the ministerial resignations and the Dhariwala affair.

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The Turkish Peace.

THE news of an early conclusion of peace between the Allies and Turkey has been received with a distinct feeling of relief although the *Pioneer* considers it possible that there may be some scepticism as to the actual outlook until it is definitely stated that the Treaty of Lausanne has been signed. The *Leader* remarks that the immense sacrifices made by the Turks for a just and honourable peace have at last been rewarded. They have succeeded in extorting terms which are more like those secured by victors than by the vanquished. Turkey has vindicated its right to live. The *Oudh Akhbar* rejoices at the news and hopes that the peace with Turkey will be a lasting one. The *Medina* is jubilant over the Turkish success in the Lausanne Conference and remarks that the West has been laid low before the vanquished East. In a highly emotional article it points out to England that a rare opportunity for securing Turkish friendship has again presented itself. It calls upon the Musalmans of Morocco, Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli and Egypt, who are struggling to regain their liberty, to rise up and arm themselves with the sword of Islam and the shield of righteousness and obtain for themselves a similar peace. "O ye! blind people of Arabia, who repose confidence in foreigners and who are entrapped in the meshes of their diplomacy wake up now and conclude a similar peace. Rulers of Persia and Afghanistan! take lesson from this splendid success and make yourselves capable to conclude such a peace. O ye! enslaved Musalmans of India, the victims of discord and disunion, peace has now been concluded, but the struggle for your national existence has not yet ended, you should now rally at one national centre. The voice of the Turks is clearly sounding the note that they have reclaimed every inch of their homelands, that Jazirat-ul-Arab is now the property of all the Musalmans and that it is your duty to emancipate it now." The *Rohilkhand Gazette* says that if ambitious Europe is desirous of lasting peace, it should drown its diplomacy in the Bosphorus. The *Najat* holds that the delay in the Peace Conference was caused in order to deprive the Turks of their sovereign rights and to entrap them in the meshes of Western intrigues. The Turkish question is of Asiatic importance and the success of Turkey is the success of Asia. The *Naved*, writing in a similar strain, exhorts the Musalmans to exert themselves for the full independence of Arabia and to establish a Muslim Commonwealth under the Khalifa with Turkey as its centre. The *Al Bashir* is not hopeful of an easy solution of the Jazirat-ul-Arab question as the freedom of a country depends upon the activities and sacrifices of the people themselves but the Arabs appear to be far removed from possessing the quality of patriotism.

Indians in the Colonies.

The question of Indians in the Colonies continues to be discussed with avidity. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that the statement of the Government in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State on the Kenya crisis would only strengthen the suspicions and rumours that the decision has gone against India. The *Leader* commenting on the same statement says that it would be a great betrayal of the Indian cause if the vital interests of our compatriots in Kenya are thrown overboard in the way that the Colonial Office proposes to do. In another article headed "Lord Reading's opportunity" the paper comments on the forecasts of the settlement and hopes that the Viceroy will make it clear emphatically that the Government of India will not be a party to this gross betrayal, miscalled settlement, which ignores not only reason and justice but the pledge given by Britain to India at the Imperial Conference of 1921. Lord Reading has a peculiar opportunity of vindicating India's honour and status. Will he rise equal to it? The *Pioneer* commenting on Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary's resolution in the Assembly remarks that the grievance of the Indians is purely sentimental. It asserts that the action of the Dominion Government is not dictated by racial animosity, but on the economic ground that in their position as custodians of the interests of the indigenous population they are compelled to protect it against the competition of immigrants who might seriously hamper the development of local resources by the local people. Referring to Mr. Desai's statement the *Leader* says that India's honour and status are at stake and the

country must bestir itself in time to guard itself against this threatened betrayal by the Colonial Office. Warnings fall flat on it. But not even this Government need have any doubts as to the disastrous consequences of a White Empire policy. The *Anand* remarks that if the news regarding the failure of the Indian deputation to England on the question of the Indians in Kenya is correct, one has to confess that the injustice which has been done to Indians by trampling upon the rights of their compatriots in Kenya is highly improper and insulting and the British Government and the Government of India should make a final attempt to check it if they are anxious to avoid the disruption of the British Empire. Babu Ram Nath Seth writing in the *Swadesh* opines that Indians can ensure good treatment of their brethren in the Colonies only if they exert sufficient pressure on the British Government by boycotting British goods and impressing upon it that the interests of the Empire can best be served only by conciliating them.

The Khilafat Committee.

The mismanagement of Khilafat funds continues to be generally deplored. The *Pioneer* suggests that the English practice to issue full and detailed accounts, duly audited, of charitable, religious and other funds collected by subscription should be followed in India. The *Aligarh Gazette* publishes a communication from an anonymous correspondent alleging that the value of Seth Chotani's property taken over by the Khilafat Committee does not amount to more than six or seven lakhs. The *Hamdam* remarks that the abolition of the Khilafat Committees will amount to undoing the past labours and that Mr. Mushir Husain by advising their abolition has supplied a weapon to the enemies of the Khilafat. The *Haqiqat* suggests that the best course will be to turn out those workers who are guilty of misappropriating and misusing the Khilafat funds and not to abolish the Khilafat Committees simply for the fault of a few workers. The *Saiyyara*, a new daily of Lucknow, says that the Khilafat Committees are a boon to the country and the question of their abolition is premature. The *Al Bashir* opines that the Khilafat Committees should now devote their attention to the national education and spend all their energy and resources in starting primary schools and *maktabs* in the villages and thus Mr. Mushir Husain will have no cause to advise their abolition. The *Hamdam* in another article remarks that Seth Chotani did not invest the funds in his business of his own accord but was advised to do so by the office-bearers of the Khilafat Committee themselves. Instead of making any profits he lost his own money in the bargain. Under such circumstances it is to his great credit that he handed over his remaining property in lieu of the funds. In a signed article contributed to the same paper Mr. Mushir Husain appeals for funds in aid of the Muslims in distress in various parts of the world and remarks that the money should be placed under the charge of a board of wealthy persons as it is sheer waste to give any money to the Khilafat Committees for any purpose whatsoever. The *Rashtra* says that if the Khilafat funds have been mismanaged those responsible for it should be removed from the Khilafat Committees, but that it would not be advisable to abolish the committees until they have achieved the objects for which they were brought into existence. The *Aj* is utterly dissatisfied with the statement of the Central Khilafat Committee regarding the Khilafat funds and remarks that the failure to publish a detailed account of the funds despite charges of misappropriation casts a slur on the management of the Committee.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Saiyyara* deplores the present situation and remarks that the autocracy which was ever determined to break asunder the Hindu-Muslim unity may well be proud of its unexpected success. The primary duty of the leaders is to remove the tension. The *Al Bashir* applauds the services rendered by the Hindus in the cause of Khilafat and remarks that the Musalmans simply to maintain this unity ignored the excesses of Mr. Chintamani and underwent every sacrifice. If the unity was at first essential to solve the question of Khilafat it is now doubly so for the emancipation and progress of our own country. The *Agra Akhbar* says that the Musalmans have now well understood the diplomatic move of the Hindus and the meaning of the so-called unity and exhorts the Musalmans to open their own shops and not to purchase anything from the Hindus as it is the best way to defeat them and to ameliorate their own economic condition. The *Millat*, writing in a similar strain, remarks that the existence of the Musalmans now depends upon trade. The Musalmans should not mix with the unbelievers as they treat them worse than Chamars. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* refutes the allegations of the *Leader* that Mahatma Gandhi launched the non-cooperation movement simply for the

protection of the Khilafat and remarks that though the two movements are quite distinct from each other, the Musalmans are grateful to the Hindus for upholding their cause. The *Gyan Shakti* says that Maulana Abdul Bari's advice to Muhammadans not to show any regard for the feelings of Hindus in the matter of cow-sacrifice on the occasion of the forthcoming *Bakr Id* owing to the *Shuddhi* movement, should open the eyes of those people who advocate Hindu-Muslim unity. Hindus should devote their energies to their separate organisation, for so long as they do not make themselves strong enough for self-defence both Hindu-Muslim unity and cow-protection are impossible. Referring to the Hindu-Muslim dispute over the Maswanpur temple (Cawnpore) the *Vartman* remarks that the Hindus and Muhammadans should be ashamed of themselves in providing an opportunity to the Government to mock and laugh at their much-advertised unity.

Cow-protection.

The *Saiyyara* in a communicated article remarks that in the matter of cow-sacrifice the Musalmans should implicitly obey the injunctions of Islam and should not be influenced by the anti-cow-sacrifice views of some of the worthless theologians who have sold their religion. The *Agra Akhbar* remarks that the Musalmans will certainly sacrifice cows on the occasion of *Bakr Id* as their religion sanctions it and no one can stop them from doing so. The Hindus will be well advised not to be excited and to let the Musalmans sacrifice cows peacefully. The *Al Bashir*, on the other hand, remarks that in view of the services rendered by the Hindus it will be an act of great ingratitude on the part of the Musalmans to sacrifice cows on the occasion of *Bakr Id*, and if they do so they will be accused of impeding the path of India's freedom.

Congress politics.

The *Leader*, which of late has been assiduously advocating a coalition between the *Swaraj* and Liberal parties, points out that the sheep that had strayed out of the fold are coming back reluctantly and the wisdom and the faith of the party which stuck to the path laid down by the founders and the builders of the national movement are once more vindicated. It asserts that the Liberal party is the only true custodian of the old Congress and deserves the support of the people, now that the futility of the methods of direct action has been established, and urges upon those who wish to serve the country along fruitful lines to join the Liberal party and add to its strength. In another article the same paper says that so far as the Special Congress is meant to act as a corrective to the Das party it will fail of its purpose. Unity in the rank of non-cooperators can be brought about only if the Special Congress confirms the compromise resolution and the no-changers abide by its decision. The *Anand* holds that owing to party spirit the Congress has been reduced into a mere arena of mutual wranglings and recriminations. As the interests of the country are being irreparably injured the people should assume the control of the Congress and turn out from its fold those members who incite party feeling. The *Aj* views with disfavour the decision to hold a special session of the Congress at Bombay and remarks that besides entailing loss of time, money and energy it may intensify the existing dissensions and estrangement. The *Lakshman* deplores the existing slackness in the political life of Oudh owing to the dissensions in the Congress, and exhorts congressmen to do all in their power to push forward the *swaraj* movement. The *satyagraha* campaign will soon have to be started and it will not do to allow the people to remain unprepared and unorganised for it. The *Nizam-i-Alam* opines that the decision of the Congress Committee is in no way derogatory to the Ulemas' *fatwa*, as the main object was to wreck the Councils. The goal is, therefore, still the same.

National flag agitation.

While the *Azad* deprecates the frittering away of energies in side issues like the flag agitation, the *Qaum* insinuates that it is the Government which by lighting the match wants to cause a conflagration in the country as there is nothing in the flag which may be calculated to wound the feelings of the white men. It is easier to put down a rising than to suppress the national spirit. The *Oudh Akhbar* advises the Lucknow people to act soberly and reasonably so that there may be no collision with the Government and the unhappy incidents of Nagpur, which are equally disliked by patriots and the supporters of the Government, may not be repeated at Lucknow. The *Vikram* urges concentration of all energies on the national flag agitation at Nagpur instead of starting civil disobedience in each and every province. Mr. Arjun Lal Sethi writing in the *Vartman* fervently appeals to the people of Rajputana to participate whole-heartedly in the Nagpur national flag agitation which, he holds, is the only means of dispelling the

darkness which enveloped the country as a result of the Bardoli resolutions and of removing the dissensions caused by the question of council entry. The *Lakshman* urges that all other national work should be postponed and all national energy concentrated on achieving victory at Nagpur on which the future of the *satyagraha* movement and of *swaraj* entirely depends. It alleges that repression, brutal treatment of prisoners in jail, misrepresentation and frightfulness are all being practised by the bureaucracy to crush the national flag agitation at Nagpur. Babu Raghupati Sahai writing in the *Swadesh* says that the worst specimen of the bureaucracy's obstinacy is its attitude towards the national flag affair at Nagpur and Jubbulpore. The bureaucracy is mistaken if it thinks that the leaders have not the support of the people in this matter. It has sustained and will continue to sustain discomfiture. It is provoking the people and the result will be that the national flag will be hoisted in every home throughout the country. One Pandit Chhail Bihari writing in the *Jiwan* asks Indians to give a fitting reply to the bureaucracy's challenge at Nagpur. Every true Indian should withdraw his cooperation from this unjust and wicked Government. Every individual, be he Indian or Englishman, who is in the civil and military service of this Government, is guilty of a most heinous crime against humanity. All Government servants should give up service and all people should boycott foreign cloth. An army of volunteers should be raised to carry on the non-violent struggle in a determined spirit.

Release of political prisoners.

The Indian press deplores the result of the debate in the Assembly relating to the release of political prisoners. The *Advocate* says that the cooperators by bringing forward the resolution have unwittingly done great disservice to the country and to themselves as the opportunity of flinging cheap sneers at the greatest Indian leader was availed of with avidity by the opponents of Indian aspirations. The *Hamdam* remarks that the Government is mistaken if it thinks that Lala Lajpat Rai will ever send a memorial for his release however serious his illness may be. After the flat and insulting reply by the Government it will be simply impolitic to move any further resolution in this connection. The *Qaum* remarks that no civilised Government can adopt such a severe attitude towards an influential leader and that by its shameless conduct the Government is aggravating its difficulties. The *Arya Mitra* urges the Government to release Lala Lajpat Rai in view of the growing serious condition of his ill-health till he recovers and to imprison him again afterwards. The *Jiwan* remarks that the Punjab Government would not release Lala Lajpat Rai for it wants to revenge itself upon him. It thinks that by the death of Lalaji, a thorn in its path would be removed. The Punjab Government wants to kill him in the jail by subjecting him to hardships and the Indians should not fail to take steps to get him released. The *Vartman* says that Sir Malcolm Hailey has grossly insulted Lala Lajpat Rai by stating that Government has received no memorial from him for his release. Let Sir Hailey and his supporter, the Viceroy, note that even if the Lalaji is made to undergo greater sufferings and even if he is thrown alive by the bureaucracy into a burning furnace he will never submit a memorial for his release.

Proceedings of the Indian Legislature.

Spirited comments have been made in papers on the result of the debates in the Indian Legislature. Referring to the Government defeat over the Alliance Bank question the *Pioneer* says that the speeches were obviously inspired by racial feeling. The resolution of the Assembly will only tend to diminish whatever prestige that body still enjoys. With regard to the demand for further Reforms the *Pioneer* is surprised that the Home Member's speech appears to have brushed aside as recording barren achievements. If the majority which defeated the Government on Wednesday imagine that by constantly pressing for further advances on the British Parliament they may not achieve all they want, or profess to want, but on the other hand may manage to steal a few inches, they have singularly failed to appreciate either the nature of the present Constitution and its significance, or the essential genius of British statesmanship. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* also thinks that the debate on the Alliance Bank affair clearly indicated the strong current of racial feeling that has been stirred up. The votes on the two resolutions ought certainly to convince the authorities of the seriousness of popular antipathy towards it. But there has been no sign at all that Government either realises this antipathy or, realising it, very much cares for it. The same paper characterises Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary's resolution on the League of Nations as an impotent rage and says that the mover has seriously staked his reputation as a sober thinker and cooperator.

The abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Pioneer* resents the protest of the Akali Sikhs and says: "This fatuous attempt to import political prejudice into the case will deceive no one except the wilfully blind, and will certainly not create a favourable impression on public opinion at Home towards the aspirations of Indian politicians for an immediate constitutional advance and for more rapid progress in the Indianisation of the services." The *Azad* says that the manner in which the Maharaja of Nabha has been dealt with by Government will not allay public dissatisfaction. The *Hamdam* remarks that the Government has committed a great blunder by forcing the Maharaja to abdicate. It ought to have exercised its influence in bringing about a reconciliation between the two Darbars. If the Government had other serious grievances against the State it ought to have got the matter decided by a tribunal composed of Native Chiefs.

Confiscation of Raja Mahendra Pratap's estate.

The *Aj* says that it is extremely unjust to confiscate Raja Mahendra Pratap's estate until he is tried by an impartial tribunal and convicted of treason. The *Shakti* remarks that the confiscation of the property of Raja Mahendra Pratap without a trial in an open court adds one more crime in the crime list of the bureaucracy. The *Rashtra* publishes a letter from Raja Mahendra Pratap saying that "the enemies of the world" have laid him under a heavy debt of gratitude by confiscating his property and thereby saving him from the stigma of being a capitalist. He further remarks that it is property and capital which prevent the people from discharging their duty and make them sell their motherland into the hands of the Englishmen. If landowners and capitalists were not to fill the coffers of the Englishmen they would not be able to purchase the services of people to keep their motherland in subjection.

Address by municipality.

The *Tohfa-i-Hind* says that the Government's recent order in the matter of municipal addresses interferes with the freedom and discretion of the boards and has greatly perturbed the members of independent views by prohibiting them to express their gratitude to national workers. The *Azad* advises the Government to rectify its mistake as soon as possible because the local boards are the first stage of self-government and it is impolitic to impose restrictions upon them in such trifling matters. The *Kartavya* remarks that no municipal board with the least sense of self-respect should obey the order of the Provincial Government regarding the presentation of addresses. The *Lakshman* condemns the members of the Cawnpore municipal board, who though congressmen have voted in favour of an address being presented to His Excellency the Governor and urges that the general public should bring pressure to bear upon them to vacate their seats.

The United Provinces Legislative Council.

The *Al Khalil* takes exception to the *Leader's* attack on Government in deciding to postpone the session of the Council to the last week of October and says that the *Leader's* present attitude is influenced on account of Mr. Chintamani's resignation. The Liberals who had already little influence on the people have now lost their prestige in the eyes of the Government. The *Hamdam* remarks that the Liberals resent the postponement of Council session because they cannot get an early opportunity of expressing their indignation at the Ministerial resignations. It, however, trusts that His Excellency will revise his decision and fix the session in the first week of October as it will to some extent remove the grievances of the Liberals and afford facility to the non-official members in view of their electioneering campaign.

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The 21st July, 1923.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 28th July, 1923.

The Turkish peace.

WITH the exception of the *Pioneer* which does not hope for any firm and speedy settlement of the future relations between Turkey and the European Powers, the Indian papers are jubilant over the terms secured by the Turks which they regard as a triumph for the latter. All the papers, including the *Pioneer*, are unanimous in paying a tribute to the work Ismet Pasha has accomplished on behalf of his country. The *Leader* says that with supreme effort Turkey has thrown off the shackles of generations and stands unfettered today. Afghanistan has already regained her full freedom, Egypt is free, Ireland has got self-government. Must India remain where she is? The paper supports the demand of the Indian leaders regarding the Jazirat-ul-Arab and says: No Indian, who is fighting for the freedom of his country, can support the policy of domination over other peoples and we are in wholehearted sympathy with this demand. The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, which devotes a full page with bold headlines on the Turkish peace, congratulates the Viceroy on the foresight and imagination displayed by him in associating his Government with the people of India in rejoicing over the peace treaty, and says: "Even of greater effect than the victory of Japan over Russia is this actual resurrection of Turkey from the grave which Europe had dug for her and in which Europe had buried her. . . . While the Muslim is particularly happy over the success of the Khilafat, to the most orthodox Hindu this day is significant as the celebration of the assertion of an Asiatic race. The Turkish peace is the glorious symbol of the grim self-determination of a people to be free or to die. It is the greatest example in history of the success of soul force. . . . It is the triumph of Asia, and today Hindus and Muslims are Asiatics first, Indians next and only last Hindus and Muslims. The peace reverberations go through the whispering galleries of the East in one unbroken harmony, rousing to life the inert, urging to vigour the tardy, and heartening those succumbing to the overwhelming force of adverse circumstances. . . . And it will be a great world, indeed, when the millions of the great Asiatic continent, drilled into the efficiency of the West, assert their individuality and their civilisation." In another article the same paper says: "Little men with their little aims deserve to be forgotten on such a great day when the thoughts will proudly centre on the vast ground traversed and the one inspiration that helped on the struggling travellers—Hindu-Muslim unity and the Gandhi-Ali brothers combine. . . . The Turkish peace has divinely dawned, it would seem, to roll back the clouds that threatened Hindu-Muslim union." The *Aj* congratulates the Turks on the conclusion of the peace treaty at Lausanne and applauds the statesmanship, bravery and strategy displayed by them. It says that the future historian will describe with surprise, not unmixed with pleasure, the Turkish achievement as indicative of the dawn of a new era. The *Pratap* says that the news about the Turkish peace is most satisfactory and hopeful. The *Vikram* remarks that the Turks have secured most advantageous terms and all their demands have been conceded. But although they have emerged victorious out of their struggle the Khilafat question has not yet been settled and the Indian Musalmans should not give up the Khilafat agitation until Jazirat-ul-Arab is liberated from non-Muslim control. The *Najat* remarks that all the hopes of the Allies remained unfulfilled before the determination of the nationalist Turks. The *Oudh Akhbar* congratulates the Musalmans and the Indian Government on the successful conclusion of the Lausanne Conference. The *Rahnuma* says that the Muslims should rejoice that the demands of the greatest Islamic empire prevailed against the dishonest and designing European nations which had been aiming at the ruin of Turkey. It expresses the hope that the British will liberate Jazirat-ul-Arab also and will soften their policy generally towards the Turks and the Muslims. One Maulana Nazir Ahmad of Bulandshahr writing in the *Hamdam* asks the Muslims not to celebrate the Turkish peace

until Jazirat-ul-Arab is freed from the English domination. The recent Anglo-Arab agreement is strengthening the English designs in that country and the freedom of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia is in danger.

Peace celebration in India.

The joint manifesto issued by the nationalist leaders with regard to peace celebrations has been supported by Indian papers on the ground that it will strengthen the Hindu-Muslim unity; but the *Pioneer* expresses dissatisfaction with this "flamboyant" manifesto which, according to the paper, shows that the signatories are feeling their way towards the continuance of the Khilafat agitation. In reality it is another attempt to push forward the non-cooperation programme. It strongly condemns the efforts of the nationalist leaders to arrange for processions and meetings at this particular moment when popular feelings are excited on the occasion of the forthcoming *Bakr Id*. The *Leader*, on the other hand, is in thorough agreement with the manifesto and makes a passionate appeal to Hindus and Musalmans to sink their differences. "Let us recognise our weaknesses and remove them. Communal strife and jealousies must cease. We should not fight among ourselves. Our demand for liberation and for national self-government can only be conceded when it is based on intense love of the country and of freedom and is backed up by solid unity between Hindus, Muhammadans, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians." A Muslim nationalist writing in the *Indian Daily Telegraph* calls upon Indians to be united. Let the Turkish peace leave us as united in India as the struggle for its attainment made us. Let *Shuddhi*, cow-killing and crumbs in Councils not deceive us. Let us see the glory of a united India—worship at its altars—lay our lives at its feet. Our own struggle for freedom, though weak and crushed at the present moment, may not make us despondent and enervated. The *Medina*, emphasising the need for celebrating the peace, advises the people to give an exhibition of their unity and hopes that all India will participate in it.

Indians in the Colonies.

The Kenya settlement has elicited spirited comments in Indian papers. The *Pioneer* characterises the settlement as a compromise and says that the champions of the Indian case have reason to be contented with the decision. India gains her main point if the doctrine of equality of citizenship is not violated. It approves the limited franchise for Indians and says that the Indian settler in Kenya is protected against himself in that he is not given a political power which he is unable to use, and incidentally would not be allowed for the most part to use in his own country. It recommends that the decision should be accepted as blending fact with theory as effectively, perhaps, as is possible in an imperfect world. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* calls it a 'betrayal' and says: "The cup of humiliation is now full to the brim for India . . . . It is a cruel disillusionment . . . . Never was insult more deliberately added to injury than when this entire edifice of injustice to our case was sought to be justified by the plea that the Kenya was a sacred trust in the hands of Britain . . . . By this decision of the grave Kenya question, the real test, as it was termed, of British sincerity towards India, India has been definitely cut off from the Empire . . . . The teeth of the agitator may not break on the glassy surface, but the heart of India is broken." The *Free India* does not believe that Indians would be deceived by any false promise of equal treatment under the new *régime* which will give the British Government a free hand in dealing with the Indians as it desires.

Khilafat affairs.

The *Hamdam* welcomes the proposal of the nationalist Turks to convene a Conference of the divines of the Muslim world to discuss the question of the powers and the status of the Khalifa in relation to the Turkish Nationalist Government and other matters. The *Najat* says that the Khilafat being divorced from temporal power will not be represented by the Turkish ambassadors in other countries. Therefore there should be a Vice-Khalifa in every Muhammadan country to represent the Khalifa. "We should soon consolidate the scattered powers of Islam so that the Muslim world should once more become an everlasting and invincible power." The *Saiyyara* remarks that to dissolve the Khilafat Committees at the peremptory orders of Sheikh Mushir Husain Qidwai will be to ruin the Muslim community. No doubt the committees mercilessly wasted the money, but it will be a greater crime to give up the real object on that account.

Deportation of Shia Ulema from Mesopotamia.

The Muslim press deplores the action taken by the Iraq Government in deporting Sheikh-ul-Khalasi, the Shia divine, from Mesopotamia. The *Oudh Akhbar* cannot believe

that the Mesopotamia Government being subordinate to a civilised nation like the British could act so inhumanly as to deport a Shia Ulema from Mesopotamia and says that such actions on its part cannot but defame the British civilisation. The *Medina* maintains that the deportation of Shia divines from Mesopotamia has been brought about by the British Government and not by Amir Feisul who has little liberty of action.

Egypt and Hedjaz.

Several Muslim papers have referred to the dispute between Egypt and Hedjaz over the Medical mission. The *Saiyyara* and the *Al Khalil* strongly condemn the King of Hedjaz for not allowing the Egyptian mission carrying sacred offerings to Ka'aba to enter Hedjaz and say that he has all along proved himself to be an enemy of his religion. He first rebelled against his sovereign and has now revolted against his God.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Strong appeals have been made in almost all the Indian papers to take advantage of the Turkish peace celebration in restoring Hindu-Muslim friendship. A Muslim nationalist writing in the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: Let the great *Id-uz-Zuha* day inspire us to sacrifice everything for Him, His people, the liberties of His subdued creatures. No more crawlings. Let us stand upright as men. A Hindu correspondent writing in the same paper says that the observation of the peace celebration on the *Id* day has banished all apprehensions of the Hindu-Muslim *fracas*. The *Saiyyara* desires that this year also the Muhammadans should adopt the same tolerant attitude regarding the question of cow-sacrifice as they have been doing for the last two or three years so as to maintain happy relations with the Hindus. One Muhammad Siddiq of Lucknow, writing in the same paper, while condemning the *Shuddhi* movement as destructive of the Hindu-Muslim unity and injurious to the cause of *swaraj*, advises the Muhammadans to remain patient and not to retaliate by sacrificing cows on the occasion of *Bakr Id*. The *Hamdam* apprehends, in view of the prevailing Hindu-Muslim tension, that unless the responsible leaders of both the communities take proper steps for the maintenance of peace, there may occur serious Hindu-Muslim disturbances in northern India on the occasion of the *Bakr Id*. It exhorts the Muslims not to wreak vengeance on the Hindus by sacrificing cows instead of other animals. The Hindus also should refrain from provoking the Muslims. The *Arya Mitra* has a communicated article from one Kunwar Chand Karan Sharda, who holds that the *Shuddhi* movement by strengthening and organising the Hindu community cements the bonds of permanent Hindu-Muslim unity and incidentally paves the way for the early attainment of *swaraj* and asks the Muhammadans not to look askance at it.

Congress politics.

The *Free India* favours the proposed special session of the Congress and advises the leaders to close up their ranks and present a united front against the powerful and tactful bureaucracy. The *Zulqarnain* opines that there is very little chance of Mr. Das and his pro-Council party scoring a success over the anti-Council congressmen and advises Mr. Das to sever his connection with the Congress and the non-cooperation movement and join the Moderates in their endeavour for the social and economic welfare of the country. The *Abhyudaya* is utterly dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Nagpur meeting of the All-India Congress Committee and views with particular disfavour the decision to hold a special session of the Congress, and remarks: The Congress is apparently on the brink of destruction. What will happen to it future alone can tell. The *Vartman* says that the decisions of the Committee can in no way be called hopeful. The change in the *personnel* of the Working Committee and the decision about the special session of the Congress are indicative of an uncertain and troublous future. The Congress has become the stage of devils. The poison of party spirit has infected the country so much that the death of the national agitation seems to be very near. The *Kartavya* opines that the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee has accentuated the feeling of bitterness and antagonism in the country. It apprehends that the proposed special session of the Congress at Bombay will only entail loss of time, money and energy without any corresponding gain to the country. The *Pratap* refers in condemnatory terms to the proceedings of the Nagpur meeting and protests emphatically against the decision to hold a special session of the Congress remarking that it is a colossal blunder which will spell disaster to the country. Prospects of a compromise being effected in this

session are remote, and if no compromise is arrived at as is quite probable the situation in the country will become appallingly serious. The *Swaraj* party and the no-change party will be engaged in a savage and fatal warfare between themselves, the Congress will be reduced to a standstill and the enemies of the Congress will be elated. The *Vikram* deplores the resignation of the Working Committee in view of the fact that the retiring members of the committee were keen on establishing a reconciliation and thereby saving the country from falling an easy prey to the evils of disunion. It apprehends that in the absence of this intermediary party the swelling waves of party spirit may hurl the national boat into a whirlpool and submerge it. In another article the paper says that in the existing circumstances it is the duty of the *Swaraj* party to endeavour its utmost to win over the country to its side but to abide by the decision of the special session even if it were against its programme of council entry. The *Vartman* maintains that the downfall of the *Swaraj* party is imminent and prophesies that its death-knell will be sounded at the special session of the Congress. The *Pratap* says that those who do not believe in the practicability of wrecking the councils should no longer labour under the delusion especially after Sir Malcolm Hailey's statement in the Legislative Assembly that the Liberals should not ally themselves with the party which will wreck the constitution and the Legislature. It refers to the defeat of the resolution regarding the release of Mahatma Gandhi and others and remarks that those who favour leaving the councils to the Liberals should open their eyes and see the incalculable mischief which will follow in the wake of this passive policy. The *Aj* says that the Congress has fallen a victim to obduracy, jealousy and malignity and the formation of different parties within it shows unmistakably that it is on the brink of destruction. It is a pity that today the Congress has been confined to sick-bed for an indefinite period at that land of Nagpur where about two years before it was reorganised with great enthusiasm and the non-cooperation movement was proclaimed.

The national flag agitation.

The *Tohfa-i-Hind* says that the national flag *satyagraha* at Nagpur has infused a new life into the Congress and the non-cooperation movement which had become almost dead. The infliction of severe punishments for crimes of political nature has all the more aggravated the public unrest. The *Helal* condemns the detractors of the national flag movement and remarks that it is the best means of crushing the pride and haughtiness of the tyrannical bureaucracy. The *Hamdard* denounces the participators in the national flag agitation as creators of unrest and disturbances. They have neither the welfare and the interests of the country at heart nor do they care for religious traditions. The *Shia College News* exhorts the Shias to keep themselves entirely aloof from the mischievous movement which is productive of disorders and disturbances. The *Oudh Akhbar* descanting on the futility of the movement points out that it cannot paralyse the Government now and infuse fresh enthusiasm among the people. The *Azad* discountenances the hoisting of national flags at shops and houses as is being done at Cawnpore. It is futile to carry such a trifling matter too far and it is to be hoped that Government will not commit any blunder in this connection.

Release of Lajpat Rai.

The *Leader* devotes a column to the case of Lala Lajpat Rai and says that on humanitarian grounds it is urgently necessary that he should immediately be set free. In spite of differing with Lala Lajpat Rai in certain political views the paper is gravely concerned that a distinguished man and a noble patriot with a record of self-sacrifice and philanthropic work of which any one may be proud should be subjected to a painful existence, and it may be a slow lingering death, on account of the little-mindedness of a local Government. "Differ from him as one might in politics, and we do disagree with him to a great extent, is there a single Indian who can think of Lala Lajpat Rai without at the same time thinking of a sincere, unselfish and zealous politician, publicist, educationist, philanthropic worker and social and religious reformer?" Condemning the terms imposed by the Punjab Government as a condition precedent to the interview between Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai the *Abhyudaya* remarks that the terms imposed by the Government are a living example of its narrowmindedness and are indicative of the fact that it does not wish that even the friends and relatives of the Lalaji should come to know about the real state of his health. A correspondent named Mr. Chatursen Shastri writing to the paper says:—The Lion of the Punjab is these days locked up in a sinful prison of the Government where on account of having to breathe the choking air of the hellish jail he has fallen a victim to tuberculosis. The condition of his health is appalling and no wonder

if he passes away from the world very soon. It is a folly to hope that the British who did not release the veteran McSwiney who had undergone hunger strike avowedly to give up his life will release Lala Lajpat Rai because of his illness. It is undignified to beseech his release. Let us, therefore, simply realise and bear in mind the savage way in which the health of the Lion of the Punjab is being ruined and his valuable life endangered.

The abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Hamdam* says that the Sikhs are justified in apprehending that their splendid traditions connected with the Nabha State will not remain intact after the English control is established over it and that the great help which the Maharaja used to give for their religious and communal objects will be entirely discontinued or considerably reduced during the English *régime*. The *Al Khalil* says that rulers of Indian States like Nabha really deserve that their powers should be restricted. The *Azad* opines that the attitude adopted towards the Maharaja of Nabha is entirely contrary to the new policy of Government in regard to Indian States. It would have been better if along with Justice Stuart two Indian princes had also been included in the Enquiry Commission. It thinks that the way in which the Maharaja has been made to sever his connection with his State is calculated to create suspicion in the public mind. The *Lakshman* is pained at the administration of the Nabha State passing into the hands of the Government of India at least for sixteen or seventeen years and asks why the Maharani Sahiba or any other capable relation is not appointed the guardian of the Tikka Saheb to administer the State. It urges the Government to publish a detailed account of the charges for which the Maharaja of Nabha has been thus punished. The *Arya Mitra* says that whatever the causes of the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha may be the subjects of the Nabha State and other Sikhs cannot be pleased over it. The *Vartman* says that the headwear of the State officials which is the same as that of the Akali and the implicit obedience on the part of the State, being Sikh, to the injunctions of the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee gave cause for irritation to the Government. How could a State following a committee at the hands of which the Government sustained a dismal defeat at the Guru-ka-Bagh escape falling victim to the bureaucracy? The ex-Maharaja of Nabha was an eyesore to the authorities because of his independent views. He is the brother-in-law of Raja Mahendra Pratap who is an enemy of the Government. The latter's wife and son lived with him and this might have contributed very materially to his dethronement. Whatever the causes may be this action of the Government has inflamed the Sikhs, nay, the whole of the Indian people. Other Indian princes should take a warning from the fate of Nabha. They must realise that if they raise their heads even a little they will be reduced to a more miserable condition than has fallen to the lot of Dhasa Durbar or the Rao Saheb of Kherwa. The *Abhyudaya* says that no one will be prepared to believe that the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha was voluntary especially when the published accounts of the affair demonstrate the existence of the element of compulsion. It should not be so easy a matter to dethrone a ruling chief. It is the duty of the Government to prove the *bona fides* of its intentions. Other ruling princes should take interest in the Nabha affair. Today is the turn of Nabha, whose turn it will be tomorrow no one can foretell.

Address by municipality.

The *Azad* condemns the efforts that are being made at Cawnpore to make the people go on strike on the occasion of the Governor's visit there simply because the local Municipal Board decided to present an address to him. It is meaningless to boycott the Governor's visit when the Congress itself has allowed congressmen to enter the Municipal Boards and the Councils.

Lucknow *versus* Allahabad.

The *Al Khalil* condemns the *Leader* for suggesting the launching of an agitation for the separation of the Agra province from Oudh as it will add to the different causes of disunion prevailing in the country. It would be no wonder if through the doings of the Liberals the Allahabad-Lucknow question assumes the shape of a Hindu-Muslim controversy. The mischievous activities of the *Leader* in this direction should at once be stopped.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 4th August, 1923.

The Turkish peace.

THE press continues to express gratification at the Turkish peace and to hope for the satisfactory settlement of the question of the freedom of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The *Pioneer* says that all will echo Lord Reading's hope that the old traditions of friendship with Turkey will shine forth with renewed light and vigour. Endorsing the appeal of Agha Khan the paper says that those persons who have already expressed their intention of making the freedom of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* the pretext for a continuance of the *Khilafat* agitation in the interests of the non-cooperation movement would do well to give heed to his advice. The *Leader* remarks "Rid of theocracy Turkey has emerged from the conflict a more homogenous and compact State, perhaps purer and stronger than she was at the outbreak of the war . . . It has won the recognition of its sovereign rights principally through the proved prowess of her sons on the field of battle. But it would be ungrateful to omit to mention the influence persistently exerted by Mr. Montagu and the Government of India in order to satisfy Indian Muslim sentiment. The *Zulqarnain* remarks that the peace is a splendid victory for the Turks. The *Agra Akhbar* says that the settlement has averted a world-wide war and is most gratifying to the Muslims of the British Empire. It is hoped that the old Turco-British friendship will now be re-established and the relations of the Indian Muslims with Islamic countries will become more happy. The *Oudh Akhbar* holds that though it is true that Britain did not honestly discharge its duties as the greatest Islamic Empire, yet the Muhammadans should not be so ungrateful as to forget the obligations to the Indian Government and the Secretary of State for India in connection with the Turkish question. It is certain that the Turkish peace will unite the Hindus and Muhammadans so strongly and permanently that neither the *Shuddhi* movement nor cow-sacrifices can disturb their harmonious relations. The *Hamdam* interprets the Turkish peace as the most splendid victory of the Turks over the Allies and says that it has infused a new life into Turkey. The Indian Muslims are grateful to the Indian Government which continually and strongly impressed upon the British Imperial Government their sentiments. The *Naved* holds that the Turkish peace means a victory not only for the Muhammadans but for the whole of Asia and for all the subject and oppressed nations. The *Mashriq* is extremely gratified over the settlement of the Turkish question because now the non-cooperating Muslims will have no religious excuse for severing their connection with the Government. The paper advises the British statesmen to respect the sentiments of the crores of Muslims and conclude such a separate agreement with Turkey as will make the interests of both the Powers respected in the world and will make the Muslim world believe that the old Turco-British friendship has been revived. Maulana Abdul Bari writing in the *Hamdam* maintains that the time of real rejoicing over the Turkish peace will come when the prestige of the *Khilafat* is re-established, the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* is completely independent, all the prisoners, including the Moplahs, are released and especially when the popular political leader, Mahatma Gandhi, is able to partake in the rejoicings. The *Vartman* is jubilant over the success of the Turks at the Lausanne Conference and remarks that it cannot be gainsaid that they have gained a signal victory over the Allies and particularly over Britain. The invincible sword of Turkey and the open and above-board policy of Kemal Pasha have discomfited the crooked policy and the diplomatic moves of the British Foreign Ministry. The treaty also marks the failure of the British intrigues in the Near East and augurs the future victory of Asia over Europe. The *Vikram* holds that the Lausanne treaty represents the victory not only of the Turks but also of the *Khilafat* agitation and expresses the conviction that if Turkey continues to be as resolute and courageous as heretofore the remaining portion of the *Khilafat* demands will also be fulfilled. The *Lakshman* congratulates the Indian Musalmans on the partial success of the *Khilafat* agitation and credits it with having contributed materially towards the conclusion of a satisfactory peace at Lausanne. It applauds the strategy of Kemal Pasha and the

valour of the Turks which primarily saved Turkey from the fate of a fallen and subject country. The *Kartavya* says that Hindus are as much gratified at the conclusion of the Turkish peace as the Muhammadans for as Asiatics they advocate freedom for all nations. The Hindus should also celebrate the peace along with the Muhammadans, for the victory of an Asiatic power should be a matter of pride for all Asiatics.

The Kenya settlement.

With the exception of the *Pioneer* which holds that the settlement gives Kenya Indians more than they could possibly have expected to secure had they not been supported by the advocacy of the Government of India and that there can be no doubt that the solution of the Indian problem in the British Colonies and Dominions is rendered more difficult by incessant and slanderous attacks on British honesty and British honour, the papers continue to publish indignant protests against the Kenya settlement. The *Leader* in a long article headed "An indefensible decision" says that British statesmanship has, indeed, reached the nadir of historical vision. The flagrant violation of sacred pledges and the racial bias with which the Kenya decision is influenced will ever remain a tragic failure of the British Empire in a most crucial moment. Commenting on the retaliatory resolution passed by the Assembly the paper says that the Assembly have been shrewd enough not to let the psychological moment pass without registering their protest against the treatment of our nationals abroad in the form of a Reciprocity Bill. In another article, reviewing the Viceroy's reference to Kenya, the *Leader* fears that it is unlikely that the Government of India's protest will take the form of any strong action unless public opinion fully asserts itself and continues to press the matter constantly on the attention of the Government. A ceaseless agitation must therefore be kept up for the immediate grant of full responsible government to India. His Majesty's Government by their recent decision have provided us with perhaps the strongest argument in support of the demand for Dominion status. The *Young India* remarks: The net result of all this is that the Indians are not to attain equality but are always destined to remain mere serfs within the Commonwealth only to serve as hewers of wood and drawers of water. The vernacular press is equally indignant. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that if unhappy discriminations are maintained between the Indians and Europeans, the former can never be led to believe that India is an equal partner in the British Empire. If His Majesty's Government does not satisfactorily settle the question of Kenya the unrest and agitation in India will not subside. In another article the same paper maintains that decision regarding the Kenya question can never be termed as just. It is hoped that the Government of India will support the Indians in the agitation which is to be launched against this decision. The *Hamdam* condemns the decision as most unjust for Indians and says that it is not at all acceptable to them and that they will now be forced to adopt other means for protecting the lawful rights of their countrymen. How can one expect India to sacrifice its men and money in future for the existence and safety of an Empire in which it is openly insulted and humiliated? The *Azad* opines that the future of the British Empire depends to a great extent on the satisfactory solution of the Kenya question. The *Aj* deprecates the efforts of the deputation of the Members of the Council of State to the Viceroy and remarks: The cries of the deputation will not produce any effect. It will be like crying in the wilderness. The condition of Indians at home is no better than that of those domiciled abroad. It is therefore no use starting a separate agitation for the redress of the latter's grievances. Let us concentrate all our energies on one object without which our sufferings cannot be removed and that is the speedy establishment of *swaraj*. In another article the paper reminds the members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State of their statement that the Kenya settlement would be the test of the real sincerity of the British Government towards India and hopes that this will be the final test and that if the British Government fails in it they will join the non-cooperators and work with them for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Anand* maintains that if the demands of Indians are not fully satisfied and they are not accorded equality of treatment in Kenya it will have a very bad effect on the Indian public. The advocates of the severance of the British connection will get an upper hand and Britain will find it impossible to maintain its control over India. In another article the paper refers in condemnatory terms to the decision of the British Cabinet regarding the Kenya question and remarks that it has utterly disappointed the Indians who no longer entertain hopes of justice being done to them by the British Government. Indeed, by this decision it has proved that

the Indians have no value as compared with the Whites and that they are slaves and will be treated as such. The Indians in Kenya should better be prepared for self-annihilation than submit to humiliating treatment. The *Pratap* indignantly remarks that it should open the eyes of the Liberals and bring home to them that they are called by the British Government to the Imperial Conference and the War Conference like dogs and fed on the crumbs from its tables in order to serve its own ends. It urges the Congress to take up the matter in its hands and adopt retaliatory measures against the unjust treatment of the Indians in the Colonies. The *Vartman* remarks that if the Indians pass over this decision with equanimity then it will mean that they have accepted the superiority of the Whites and by so doing they will destroy the honour of the brown nations of Asia and Africa. It deplores the indifference of the Congress in this matter and exhorts it to suspend all other activities and concentrate its entire energy on the Kenya question. In another article the paper remarks that the Kenya decision demonstrates the futility of deputations and memorials and warns the people that the condition of Indians cannot improve until the present system of administration is changed.

The Kenya debate.

Referring to the Kenya debate in the Legislative Assembly the *Pioneer* says that the final act of the Assembly was quite in keeping with its recent unhappy record. It holds that the adoption of the policy of retaliation will lead to the infliction of grave injury on Indians domiciled in the Colonies and points out that there are millions of untouchables and members of depressed classes in India whose exclusion from the elementary rights of humanity is acquiesced by public men who become wildly indignant when any disability is suffered by Indians several thousand miles away. The truth is the real and lamentable grievances of Indians in India, arising from circumstances for which the Government are not responsible and over which they have no control, fail to stir the blood of legislators who rise to dizzy heights of denunciatory rhetoric when full political rights are denied to Indians outside this country. To this argument the *Leader* retorts in the following words: The very fact that the opponents of Indian equality have little else to fall back upon except the stock argument of 'untouchability' in India shows the weakness of their case. No one except those who deliberately shut their eyes to facts of Indian social conditions will argue as though Indians have done nothing to stamp out 'untouchability' in their own land, and therefore deserve to be treated as 'pariahs' in the Empire. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* indignantly remarks: Why not the legislators stand out in a body, leaving Lord Reading to address Sarmas and Shafis on the glories of his judicial spirit in executive administration and on the need and effect of sanity and sobriety in the face of Kenya and Smuts. Thank God the mockery of the Legislature is over. Will at least now the Liberals and the Nationalists coalesce over the Kenya crisis, suspend all activities such as Council entry and reforms of the Government of India Act and, as one man, demand that Indians shall not be slaves under the Union Jack?

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Referring to the Meerut riot the *Pioneer* says: Notwithstanding attempts to promote Hindu-Muslim unity communal jealousy and communal frictions are still factors which have to be reckoned with in India, and, so long as those attempts are based mainly on a common antipathy rather than on mutual esteem, such unity as is achieved is likely to be superficial only, and incapable of withstanding any strain upon it. The *Vikram* deplores the action of the Musalmans of Amritsar in withdrawing themselves from the national flag procession. They should know that the national flag belongs as much to them as it does to the Hindus. It urges the Musalmans to abandon communal bias and jealousy in the interests of the nation. The *Aj* deplores the *fracas* between the Hindus and the Musalmans of Ajmere and blames the latter for it and remarks: The excesses on the part of the Musalmans were certainly not the outcome of the *Shuddhi* movement but of other factors that have been at work at Ajmere. The Hindus should not run away from the city and prove themselves to be cowards but they should organise themselves for self-defence. The *Vartman* remarks that the Ajmere incident has sprinkled salt on the wounds which the previous atrocities of the Musalmans had caused in the hearts of the Hindus. It appears that there exists a secret but organised association of the Musalmans which instigates them to perpetrate atrocities on the Hindus and in which the entire Islamic world is implicated. The paper exhorts the Hindus to organise themselves into a compact body to ensure

effective self-protection. The *Sayyara* remarks that the *Shuddhi* movement is creating discord in India and thereby delaying the political emancipation of the country. Swami Shraddhanand's pernicious activities only serve to widen the gulf between the Hindus and Muhammadans and injure the national cause. The *Al Khalil* holds the *Shuddhi* and the *Sangathan* movements of the Hindus responsible for the Hindu-Muslim tension. The mendacious speeches of Swami Shraddhanand have made the two communities to be at daggers-drawn against each other. The Congress-League compact of Lucknow is no longer respected by either community and it is to be apprehended that any other compact regarding *swaraj* will meet the same fate. The forthcoming All-India Hindu Sabha at Benares will render the situation all the worse because in it the seed of pan-Hinduism will be sown in place of pan-Islamism. The *Hamdam* is gratified that the enemies of the country failed in their mischievous activities with the result that the *Id-uz-Zoha* passed off peacefully and the Hindu and Muhammadans acted very prudently and judiciously on the occasion. This will discourage the traitors and they will now refrain from creating ill-will between the two communities. The *Dabdaba-i-Sikindari* expresses satisfaction at the peaceful passing off of the *Id-uz-Zoha* and says that if the Hindus do not interfere with the religious matters of Muhammadans, the latter will never sever their relations with the former. It is mischievous to say that the English do not like to see the Hindus and Muhammadans united. The *Al Khalil* remarks that it appears from the inauguration of the *Shuddhi* movement that the Muslims can get liberty in India on condition that they accept the Aryan civilisation. If this is so they should discard the Congress as useless and should themselves find out the way of their salvation.

Congress politics.

The *Leader* continues to advocate the necessity of coalition between the political parties. It regrets that in the game of power that is going on in the Congress the larger issues are forgotten and personal squabbles loom large. It advises the *Swaraj* party to follow the Liberals and form their separate organisation outside the Congress. On the other hand, the *Indian Daily Telegraph*, which persists in its hatred and ridicule of the Liberals, urges *liaison* between the *Swaraj* party and the landlords and says: If the *Swarajists* and Taluqdars can openly combine to crush the Liberals, they would be purifying public life of adventurers and place-hunters. Nothing could be better than the *Swarajists* and the Taluqdars coming to an understanding at a Round Table Conference. *Free India* severely criticises Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's recent manifesto on the reorganisation of Hindus and says that it will create nothing but factions which are already numerous enough in the country. All talk of organisation and rousing of public opinion is of no avail, and the proposal to form new political organisations is ill-conceived. Running of parallel organisations will make confusion worse confounded. The present national organisation of the Congress will lose the confidence of the people which it at present enjoys and the new associations will sweep away much of the solid work that the Congress has done by way of focussing public opinion through a common platform. Malaviyaji has shot the arrow aimlessly and naturally it has not hit the mark. The *Arya Mitra* says that the fact that Mr. Das and Mr. Gopalachari are determined to stick to their convictions regardless of the decision of the Congress shows that the national assembly now carries less weight with them than their individual opinions. It is opposed to holding the special session of the Congress when all Congressmen are not prepared to follow its decision and suggests that instead of laying so much emphasis on Council entry, which has evoked fatal controversy and bitterness, all the Congressmen should carry out those items of the constructive programme which are acceptable to all. The *Lakshman* fails to understand the mentality of the *Swaraj* party which prevented it from expressing sympathy with the national flag agitation at Nagpur. If Mr. Das' party persists in such an attitude much longer, the Congress will have to disown it. The *Vikram* regrets that the provincial Congress committees do not hold themselves to be subservient to the All-India Congress Committee, the district committees to the provincial and the tahsil committees to the district ones. It points out the need of organising the Congress which is indispensable for future national advancement.

The national flag agitation.

The *Vikram* remarks that the courageous fight of the Nagpur *satyagrahis* have brought the Central Provinces Government to its wit's end and affected its brain so much that it does not feel any shame in resorting to the dirtiest and the most improper means for crushing the *satyagrahis* who are pledged to non-violence. The *Kartavya*

says that the fact that national flag processions on the 18th July were not interfered with by District Magistrates throughout the country shows that the District Magistrate of Nagpur alone considers the national flag procession to be unlawful. In these circumstances it is nothing but obduracy on the part of the bureaucracy to indulge in repression at Nagpur and thus to murder law and justice. The *Anand*, however, sounds a discordant note remarking that the national flag processions which were taken out in all important towns on the 18th July will neither promote political awakening among the people nor help forward the cause of *swaraj*. These attempts at courting a conflict with Government can produce no beneficial results beyond creating excitement and bitterness among the people. Government will do well to ignore these demonstrations and not to be hurried into taking any ill-considered action against them. The *Aftab* opines that the national flag struggle at Nagpur is not only futile but injurious to the cause of the country. It condemns it as a revolt against Government which is bound to crush it as a forerunner of anarchy and internal strifes and urges every true well-wisher of the country to exert himself to stop this pernicious agitation.

Abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha.

The Indian press continues to be agitated over the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* welcomes the decision of the Government of India to appoint Sardar Balbir Singh as guardian to the heir-apparent as a wise step and says that his appointment will be hailed as restoring a tie between the people and the abdicated Maharaja. The *Medina* heartily sympathises with the Maharaja of Nabha and apprehends that Lord Dalhousie's doctrine has been enforced in his case. It remarks that there is still time for the Government to revise its decision and take some better step. If the Akalis translate their intentions into practice it will mean serious trouble for the Government. The *Hindustani* says that the Government officials forced the Maharaja into abdication as it is alleged that he used to keep them as far as possible out of his State. The *Lakshman* remarks that the passing of the Nabha State into the hands of the Government of India and the deportation of the Maharaja from the State without the least bloodshed illustrates once more how British rule was established in this country. It points out that just as it is incorrect to say that the Maharaja abdicated of his own accord, in the same way it is indisputable that the Nabha-Patiala affair alone is not responsible for such a severe punishment. It insinuates that his help to the Akalis and his being a relation of the revolutionary Raja Mahendra Pratap have also something to do with his misfortune. The *Shakti* says that the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha has created excitement not only among the Sikhs but all Indians. His abdication is surely not voluntary as is evident from the circumstances attending his departure from the State. The *Pratap* draws attention of the Punjab Government towards the allegations that the Maharaja of Nabha was compelled to abdicate and that he was dethroned because of his independent views, etc., and asks why it is silent and does not dare to face these allegations? Until the Government returns a reliable and satisfactory answer to these allegations people have an absolute right to say that the Maharaja of Nabha was compelled to abdicate under the pressure of the authorities. The *Aj* says that the Maharaja of Nabha has been unjustly treated. His greatest crime was that he was a nationalist and would not dance at the bidding of the British Resident. In the interest of the Nabha State we consider it to be highly improper that because of the Tika Saheb being a minor the Government of India should carry on the administration of the State for about 19 years. The paper hopes that the Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee which has taken up the matter in its hands will succeed in getting the wrong righted.

United Provinces Municipalities.

Free India says that at the end of his tour Sir William Marris will realise the Himalayan blunder his Government has committed, inasmuch as many Municipalities and District Boards have categorically refused to present any address to him as they feel that their liberty of action has been assailed. Referring to the Governor's Cawnpore speech the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: His Excellency, with that courage to right a wrong which brought him into conflict with powerful interests in England when he liberated the political prisoners, has promised to set matters right. In the face of the *hartal* that was organised at Cawnpore against the Governor this announcement is both high-minded and magnanimous. The *Vikram* supports the decision to observe *hartal* at Cawnpore on the day of the Governor's visit to the place and remarks: If a few members of the Board who

act as flatterers to the Government and who have no sense of public duty whatever want to disgrace themselves by presenting an address to the Governor they are at liberty to do so, but the courageous and awakened public of Cawnpore can never participate in this detestable work. That is why it has been decided to observe a complete *hartal* on the occasion of the Governor's visit. The public of Cawnpore must by observing *hartal* remove the blot which the decision to present an address has cast on it. The *Lakshman* compliments the Lucknow Municipal Board on showing a bold front in the matter of presenting an address to Pandit Motilal Nehru against the recent order of the Provincial Government regarding the presentation of addresses and says that as this means that hard fighting is going to ensue between the Board and the Government, the general public of the city should be prepared to render all possible help to the Board in that contingency and to undergo all sorts of sufferings. The people should remain firm and steadfast even if the Board is dissolved by the Government. The *Aftab* says that the present members of the Lucknow Municipal Board are actuated by the spirit of vindictiveness in abolishing the Empire Day holiday and instituting holidays in connection with the death anniversary of Mr. Tilak and the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. The non-cooperators have entered the Municipalities not with the object of improving them but with the undesirable object of destroying them.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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European situation.

THE press is unanimous in holding France responsible for the gravity of the situation in Europe. The *Pioneer* says that the French policy is actuated almost entirely by motives of revenge, and that India, in common with the rest of the world, is a sufferer from the results of French obstinacy. The *Leader* apprehends that the destruction of German capitalism due to French policy in the Ruhr will disastrously affect other capitalist States in the West, especially Britain, and may bring about the downfall of the existing European civilisation. In another article the paper says that in smashing Germany France is not quite oblivious of the fact that it will smash Britain also and will thus become the unchallenged and absolute master of Europe and perhaps of the world. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* asserts that the *Entente* has been dead for long. England and France will soon part, never to meet again. It suggests the intervention of America and says that if the new President should be a masterful personality, the French Ruhr adventure would have short shrift. The *Oudh Akhbar* apprehends the outburst of a revolution in Germany on account of the economic stress and says that the short-sighted policy of France will plunge the whole world into misery.

The Turkish Peace.

The papers continue to harp upon the success achieved by the Turks at the Lausanne Conference. The *Leader* says that the terms of the Treaty imply the greatest condemnation of Mr. Lloyd George's policy towards Turkey. The *Lakshman* remarks that the Treaty makes the future of the Turks more bright than it ever was before the war. The victory of the Turks is a victory for Asia which will be infused with a new life and Europe will have to realise that the day of "mandates" and of special interests will soon come to an end. When will India too like Turkey shake off the chains of slavery and stand erect before the world? The *Pratap* is jubilant over the Turkish Peace which it says signalises the victory of the Turks over the Allies and particularly over Britain. The credit for a favourable peace treaty is due to Indians also, for the Khilafat agitation contributed in no small measure towards the success of the Turks. The *Anand* advises the Turks to form an Asiatic Federation to protect themselves and other Asiatic states against European aggression in future. The *Al Khalil* remarks that the conclusion of the Turkish Peace is a second defeat of European Imperialism. The *Haqiqat* interprets the Turkish Peace as a guarantee for the future peace and order in the Near East and is confident that within two or three years the question of *Jazirat-ul-Arab* will be solved according to the desires of the Muslims. The Muhammadans should thank the Hindus who supported them in the Khilafat movement. The *Najat* describes the peace as a permanent defeat of European Imperialism in Asia and remarks that without moral and financial support from the whole of Asia Turkey could neither have continued its war of freedom nor could it have achieved such a remarkable success in the Peace Conference. The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that the liberation of the Holy Places from foreign influence should be the natural desire of every Muhammadan, but to secure that object no such methods should be adopted as are likely to injure the victory gained by the Turks and to prove harmful to the very end in view. The *Al Bashir* remarks that the Turks gained nothing so long as they relied upon the friendship of the European Powers, but all their hopes were realised the moment they relied upon their own strength. The *Al Bureed* says that the peace is the forerunner of the freedom of Asia and exhorts Indian Muslims to continue their efforts till foreign influence is altogether removed from the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The *Hamdam* expresses gratitude on behalf of Muhammadans for the efforts which the Government of India and the Secretary of State made in representing the sentiments of the Indian Muslims to the Imperial Government and remarks that an independent and strong Turkey is a source of special advantage to Great Britain.

The Kenya settlement.

The Indian papers are unanimous in condemning the Kenya settlement. The *Leader* says: We can stand no departure from the principle of equal citizenship in Kenya. If the

principle is departed from in Kenya its doom in the rest of the Empire is sealed. The paper supports the resolution passed by the Benares Liberal League, calling upon Sir B. N. Sarma and other Indian members of the Government of India to resign as a protest over the Kenya settlement and says: By continuing as members of the Government they will be a party, unwilling no doubt, to the betrayal of India's honour. If they care for Indian public opinion and for India's national self-respect, they have only one course left, and that is to resign and that without delay. In another article it bitterly remarks: When the Empire was in grave danger and when India's help was needed, we heard a great deal about justice and liberty, and India was told that it was fighting the battle of freedom. As to its reward, though an equal partner of the League of Nations, it is denied both equality and freedom in the Empire. After this gross and culminating betrayal what thinking Indian can believe in the most solemn of British pledges? In another place the paper advises all parties in the country to treat the Kenya question as of paramount national importance and not to rest until right and justice are vindicated. The *Azad* holds the decision to be most unjust and distressing to the Indians and remarks that it has given despotic powers to the white colonists. Can the Indians be made to love the Empire in the face of this glaring injustice? The *Hindustani* remarks that the Indians who are no more than the meanest slaves in their own country should not hope to be respected abroad. It is gratifying that the Moderates have now awakened but it remains to be seen whether they come to the arena and oppose the Government like men, or attempt to overawe it with only threatening speeches. The *Lakshman* says that all impartial men will condemn the Kenya decision and asks whether Mr. Sastri will not now cease to have any faith in the sense of justice of the British Government and will endeavour along with the non-cooperators to make India free by means of direct action. In the opinion of the *Vikram* the Kenya decision is a betrayal of Indian interests. It is a naked picture of the British Government's partiality towards the Whites and injustice towards Indians and Africans. The decision has dealt a severe blow to the national pride and self-respect of Indians. The *Kartavya* opines that the Kenya decision need not cause surprise to any Indian, seeing that it is a mistake to expect justice at the hands of the British Government. If Indians want equality of treatment abroad they should all join in striving to make India free, remembering that liberty and equality always march together. The *Aj* remarks that the Kenya decision has proved that India is not an integral part of the British Empire but merely a dependency and that Indians are not free citizens of the Empire but its slaves. It has also demonstrated the inefficacy of deputations and memorials and the infallibility of the non-cooperation movement in attaining our goal. The *Anand* says that Indians can no longer have faith in the sense of justice of the British Government. They should now exert themselves to show to the world that they are not at all prepared to suffer humiliation any longer.

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the sense of humiliation and disappointment felt by the Indians over the decision of the Kenya question cannot be removed by the Viceroy's speech in the Indian Legislature. The *Hamdam* says that the Viceroy's speech may encourage the Liberals who can be easily persuaded by charming utterances, but the public is not likely to attach any value to it as long as the Viceroy surrenders himself to the will of the Home Government and the Secretary of State. The *Anand* commends the Viceroy's speech to the consideration of the people who should bear in mind His Excellency's words that the good of the country lies only in working out the Reforms. The *Vartman* remarks that only the blind followers of the Viceroy, and not those who have the least knowledge of the real situation in India, can believe in his statement that the Indian people had covered half the way leading to responsible government. Has not the blood of the Indian people been sucked by the imposition of new taxes during His Excellency's régime and have not the hearts of Indians and of the Sikhs who were tortured at Guru-ka-Bagh been again lacerated by the deposition of a patriotic Indian Chief like the Maharaja of Nabha in the name of peace and order?

Hindu-Muslim relations.

In an article headed "Faith and Hope" the *Leader* points out to the present-day grievances which require united action by Indians of all classes and creeds, and says: It is, indeed, tragic that at a time when such a heavy blow has been struck at India's self-respect, Hindus and Muhammadans should be engaged in petty squabbles and that even those who call themselves nationalists and profess to

have the monopoly of unadulterated patriotism should be furthering the cause of reaction by unedifying internecine quarrels and by wasting their breath and energy in creating disunion. But when re-action is rampant and when the need of unity is the greatest they are at cross-purposes and disunited. Such a lack of correct political instinct is very depressing, but we still hope that out of the prevailing chaos a new political force will arise which will give a suitable answer to the unmistakable challenge of autocracy and race domination and make India a place fit for heroes and free men to live in. The *Rashtra* holds that the peaceful passing off of the *Bakr Id* has greatly disappointed those who secretly foment dissensions between Hindus and Muhammadans and has proved that the Indians have fully realised the need of Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Kartavya* remarks that the Ajmer and Meerut riots appear to be the outcome of Muslim fanaticism and lawlessness. All people will be grieved to see the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi for Hindu-Muslim unity undone owing to his incarceration. It appears that only another national calamity like the Jallianwala Bagh can succeed in reuniting the two communities. The *Vikram* opines that the peaceful celebration of the *Bakr Id*, at a time when great bitterness of feeling existed between the Hindus and Muhammadans, confirms the hope that the day will come very soon when the two communities will sink all communal differences and become united. The *Hamdam* says that the All-India Hindu Sabha is the outcome of that reaction which is responsible for the destruction of the Hindu-Muslim unity. If the Hindus persist in their attitude the Musalmans will be compelled to strengthen the pan-Islamic movement as a retaliatory measure. In another article the same paper exhorts the Muslim theologians to sink their differences and unitedly counteract the *Shuddhi* movement which openly aims at dismembering the Muslim community.

Congress politics.

The *Leader* continues to advocate the union of different political parties in the Councils and says that it should not be very difficult to evolve a more firm and aggressive policy for the assertion of the popular will inside the Councils on the part of all those who feel the existing position to be so humiliating as to be almost intolerable. The *Advocate* points to reactionary forces in India, as well as in England against Indian aspirations and says: If the Liberals and the *Swaraj* party whose ultimate goal is the attainment of *swaraj*, come to an understanding for concerted action after the elections are over, it would be the most desirable thing. The *Haqiqat* deplores the rupture between the contending parties of the Congress and remarks that it amounts to a childish inconsistency on the part of a responsible body to arrive first at a decision and then to revise the same under the pressure of the majority. The *Swaraj* party has little chance of success in the coming elections and it will have either to return back to the Congress or join the Moderates. The *Hamdam* advises the *Swaraj* party to come to an understanding with the landholders if it wishes to defeat the Liberals, though in so doing it may have to give up some of its principles. The *Vikram* is against the holding of the special session of the Congress and says that the All-India Congress Committee is better suited to remove the existing differences than the Congress itself. The *Vartman* says that the slackness and the indecision of the All-India Congress Committee have made the people indifferent to it. Both the *Swaraj* party and the majority party are responsible for the negligence to carry out the non-controversial items of the Congress programme. All this has created an impression that the Congress has become an inactive institution and that its resolutions are all hollow and showy.

Political propaganda.

The *Aj* remarks that the working of the Reforms has had a retrograde effect on the political progress of the country. India is today politically poorer and more backward than what it was in the pre-Reform era. The history of the first three years of the working of the Reforms is marked by the enhancement in taxation and increase in repression, by the growth of despair and unrest among the people, and by the unrestricted exercise of despotism on the part of the bureaucracy. The same paper points out that the Government of India, being a slave to the British Government, Indians cannot expect any help from the former in their struggle for freedom. Indians cannot cooperate with the Government for cooperation is possible only between equals. The only effective weapon available is non-cooperation. Will the Liberals then reconsider with an unprejudiced mind the desirability of adopting non-cooperation? The *Anand* heartily supports the advice of Lala Bhagwan Das of Benares to the Liberals and the members of the *Swaraj* party to join their forces in the next council elections, otherwise the interests of the country

will be injured by incapable men finding entry into the councils. The same paper urges the Liberals to formulate a proper and definite programme as it is sure to be accepted with alacrity by the bulk of the population at the present time when despair has overtaken the people. The *Vartman* thinks that the successive failures recently met by the Moderates are slowly but steadily driving them to the necessity of joining the non-cooperators. Indeed, non-cooperation is the only means of bringing about a cataclysm. The accumulation of various disappointments and insults gives birth to a revolutionary outburst. All the paraphernalia required for a revolution is fortuitously accumulating in India. It is to be seen what contributions and sacrifices are made by the Moderates towards the preparations for the future revolution. The same paper publishes a letter from Ras Bihari Bose from Japan who says that the freedom of India is indispensable for the regeneration of the entire world. It is not in itself the goal, but a means leading to it. The goal is the destruction of Imperialism and Militarism and the establishment of a better civilisation. The first duty of free India will be to release Asia and Africa from the claws of Imperialism. The same paper urges that the policies of both Moderates and non-cooperators having failed to achieve their object, other means should be adopted for the attainment of *swaraj*. The doctrine of self-determination should be enforced in Indian States and the subjects of those States should endeavour to establish a more responsible and representative system of administration in them. The *Aj* strongly condemns the Indian legislators for allowing fifteen hundred Indian coolies to be sent to Malaya despite the fact that they are most inhumanly treated there by the whites, who are let off with light fines even for causing death to Indian coolies.

Bolshevism.

The *Hamdam* remarks that in view of the fact that from time to time the tale of Bolshevik menace is repeated to the Indians there is little hope of any appreciable curtailment being effected in the military expenditure for some years to come. The English suspect that in case of any Bolshevik attack Indians will join the invaders and will not take any part in the defence of the country. Unless this distrust is removed and the patriotism of the Indians relied upon it cannot be expected that the British Government will consent to any reduction in the number of European officers and soldiers.

The Tilak anniversary.

Most of the extremist Hindi papers published articles eulogising Mr. Tilak's services to the country on the occasion of the third anniversary of his death. The *Vikram* remarks that out of Lokmanya Tilak's ashes arose non-cooperation. Indeed, he had on one occasion said that no patriot could ever refuse to non-cooperate with the Government for the attainment of *swaraj* which was his birthright. The *Vartman* says that even today the Indian nation is desirous of following the footprints of Mr. Tilak for the attainment of India's political emancipation. A rigid scrutiny of non-cooperation will reveal the fact that it is nothing but an amended form of Mr. Tilak's boycott movement. The *Kartavya* holds that all the credit for the present *swaraj* movement is due to Mr. Tilak who lived, worked and died for it and the people can best honour him by following in his footprints. The *Pratap* remarks that the only way out of the present political *impasse* in the country is to adopt the path of responsive cooperation advocated by Mr. Tilak who was convinced that the people were not prepared for absolute non-cooperation.

The national flag agitation.

The *Pioneer* says that the criminal buffoonery at Nagpur has gone on too long and hopes that the Governor of the Central Provinces will act up to his professions, and utilise to the full the powers he possesses to suppress what he has admitted to be an organised attempt to overthrow the Government. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that by their votes the Central Provinces Council have, to some extent, vindicated the claim of the Legislature to represent the public. The *Leader* says that the Nagpur flag agitation is becoming a farce. It is nothing but sheer waste of Congress funds to utilise them in trying to keep up a movement which has ceased to attract local attention and to arouse spontaneous enthusiasm in any part of the country. The *Hamdam* remarks that in proportion to the size of these Provinces the number of volunteers sent to Nagpur has been very small and asks the Provincial Congress Committee to send at least forty volunteers every week. The *Shahjahanpur District Gazette* condemns the non-cooperators for propping up a futile agitation in order to revive the non-cooperation movement. On the other hand, Government should not harass anyone unless his activities are really

injurious to it. It is, indeed, unbecoming for a Governm ent to stoop down to pay attention to such trifles.

The police excesses at Aligarh.

The *Leader* congratulates the Aligarh University and the district authorities in coming to a successful conclusion and says that it is good that this time at least there was no desire on the part of the authorities to shield such of them from the consequences of their extremely provoking and brutal behaviour, as were found to have deserved it beyond any doubt. The police for once has sustained a reverse in a very striking manner. The *Oudh Akhbar* finds fault with the police for becoming aggressive instead of maintaining peace and order and remarks that the police should be punished to appease not only the students but the whole of the country. In another article the same paper expresses its dissatisfaction at the punishment inflicted upon the two constables and fears that the wounded students will not be satisfied with it. The *Medina* advises the students to be patient and non-violent and to adopt the path of passive resistance and remarks that it is the only reply to the insults and humiliations offered to them. The *Mashriq* praises the authorities of the University for restraining the students and advises the Government to remove the police lines from the vicinity of the university as soon as possible. The *Hamdam* says that this deplorable incident has dealt a blow to the prestige of the national institution and has thereby much aggrieved the Muhammadans. As such incidents are likely to cause a breach of the public peace, it is hoped that steps will be taken to prevent their repetition.

The Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Anand* says that the deposition of the Maharaja of Nabha has aggravated the unrest among the Sikhs and urges that it would be much better if the Maharaja is tried in an open court and the people have an opportunity of knowing all the facts so that they may have no cause for agitating against the Government. The *Aj* does not approve of the letter of the Maharaja of Nabha to the *Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak* Committee asking it to refrain from doing anything which might embarrass the Government of India and says that this letter unmistakably betrays the absolute subjection and the lamentable condition of the Indian Chiefs. The Political department and the Political Agents or Residents appear to be the autocratic masters of the Indian Chiefs and their States. The *Hindustani* advises the Government to entrust the administration of the State to the Maharani otherwise excitement will prevail in the country which the Government will be unable to control. The forced abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha as a result of a summary enquiry is calculated to affect the status and honour of every Indian Prince. The *Azad* describes it as high-handedness of the Government to force the Maharaja to abdicate and remarks that the steps taken by the Government have created great excitement amongst the Sikhs. A committee of Indian Princes should be appointed to revise the whole case with a view to remove any injustice done.

Governor's visit to Cawnpore.

While approving the resentment expressed at the Government order regarding the municipal addresses, the *Arya Varta* opines that the local Congress Committee was not justified in asking the people of Cawnpore to go on strike on the occasion of the Governor's visit as at the time of election the Congress Committee deliberately returned such members to the Municipal Board whose allegiance to the Congress creed was never trusted. The *Hindustani* is gratified that the Governor has admitted his Government's mistake in the matter of municipal addresses and praises him for his courageous speech in spite of the strike on the occasion of his visit to Cawnpore.

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The 11th August, 1923.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 18th August, 1923.

European situation.

THE publication of the British note to France with regard to Germany has attracted considerable attention. The *Pioneer* remarks that France has taken the bit between her teeth, and it is to be feared that nothing short of a crash will avail to stop her. . . . It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the gulf between British and French policy is becoming too great to be bridged. It urges the British Government to act alone unless they are prepared to wash their hands of the whole business and to await the inevitable catastrophe. Pointing to the steady downfall of the French and Belgian francs, the paper says that it is a significant warning of what the future may have in store for those who in their unaccountable blindness persist in ignoring economic laws. In an article headed "The Rift" the paper remarks: So long as France continues in her present mood of sullen obstinacy, it almost passes the wit of man to discover any way out of the impasse. It is useless to burke the fact that Great Britain and France are drifting further and further apart. The rift is now so wide that it is impossible to disguise it any longer. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that no one can read the British note without being thrilled into the terrible actualities of the situation. Referring to Germany it says that the edifice that was the object of admiration of an entire world is now irreclaimable wreckage, which, even now, no human agency could save. The *Leader* styles the situation in Germany as a crisis of the first magnitude. Referring to the British note the paper thinks that it cannot enhance Britain's prestige. It is nothing but a confession of impotency. The reply is a direct encouragement to France which need have no fear of any inconvenient action on the part of the British Government. It would have been better if Mr. Baldwin's Government had made no attempt to solve the Ruhr problem than to have proclaimed its helplessness to come to the rescue of Europe at a time when it is threatened with disaster as a result of the policy of Britain's principal ally during the war. The *Mansur* remarks that the delicate situation in Europe has exposed the greed and selfishness of the European Powers which were making loud professions of humanity and the rights of weaker nations in the Great War. The *Hamdam* fails to understand the changed attitude of Italy in taking up the cause of France in the matter of indemnity and asking Britain to forgo a part of the loan payable to it by the Allies. In view of the fact that none is siding with Great Britain, the latter will have to undergo some sacrifice to save Western and Central Europe from economic ruin. The *Al Bureed* opines that the Turkish peace has failed to change the general political situation in Europe and has not averted the danger of a great war. The *Vartman* says that there is no doubt that the French policy towards Germany is extremely menacing to the peace of the world, but it is also equally indisputable that Britain is not opposing France with absolutely pious and selfless motives. Up till now Britain has been the leading and the foremost nation of Europe, but if France succeeds in destroying Germany there is not the least doubt that the political leadership of Europe will pass over to France, which will then become a source of constant danger to England. In another article the same paper holds that Mr. Baldwin's assertion that the obduracy of France in the matter of the destruction of Germany was causing a great injury to the Indian trade does not represent his real feelings towards India, but is due to some ulterior purpose. He is trying to gain the sympathy of India and the whole world to further his ends. In the event of a rupture between France and Britain, it is likely that the poor Indian soldiers will be asked to fight against France and sacrifice themselves for the peace of the world and in the interests of the British Empire.

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The Turkish peace.

The *Leader* hails with satisfaction the election of Mustafa Kemal Pasha as President of the Angora National Assembly which is a fitting recognition of the manifold services of the great Turkish soldier and patriot in the emancipation of his country. The Turkish treaty will ever remain a standing tribute to the valour and patriotism of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Commenting on Mustafa Kemal Pasha's address the

Pioneer says that Turkey has embarked on a great experiment, the outcome of which will be watched with interest by the world at large. The paper is apprehensive of Turkey's Chauvinist spirit in dealing with foreigners and advises its new rulers to exercise moderation. The *Zulqarnain* describes the Turkish peace as an epoch-making event in the history of the Turks and hopes that the Indian Musalmans will not injure the Turkish peace by crossing the limit of moderation in their struggle for the emancipation of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The *Al Bashir* adversely criticises Mr. Lloyd George for interpreting the Turkish peace as a humiliation for England and remarks that this kind of treatment is alone responsible for lowering the prestige of England in the eyes of the world. The *Naved* exhorts the Musalmans not to relax their efforts for eliminating the Christian influence from the Holy Places and hopes that Great Britain will justify the sincerity of her desire of friendship with the Muslim world by withdrawing herself from the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*.

The Kenya settlement.

The Indian papers continue to condemn the Kenya settlement. The *Hamdam* exhorts the Indians to persist in their efforts till the decision is revised and the rights of their brethren in Kenya are conceded to them and remarks that if India had enjoyed the Dominion status, the Government of India would not have so abjectly bowed down before the unjust decision of the Imperial Government. Apparently Lord Reading and the members of his Government are too enamoured of their posts to side with the Indians in this matter. The *Medina* remarks that the Kenya settlement is distasteful to Indians of all shades of opinion and exhorts the Congress Working Committee to arrive at a final decision in order to prepare the country for launching a struggle for the emancipation of Indians abroad who are groaning under the tyrannies of the Whites. The *Al Khalil* says that the unjust decision has opened the eyes of even the Liberals who have hitherto been advocating cooperation with the Government. Had they not supported the latter against the movement of Mahatma Gandhi India must have gained something by this time. But now when the movement is dead and the Hindu-Muslim unity shattered to pieces they cannot influence the Government by adopting the creed of non-cooperation. The *Naved* remarks that the Kenya settlement has heaped upon the Indians all the humiliation deserved by a subject nation. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that if Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Hasan Imam return to India without joining the Imperial Conference and the League of Nations, if the Indian members in the Government of India resign their offices, and if the Indians of all parties join their forces for a fight against the Kenya settlement, we are convinced of an early success. The *Vikram* condemns Lord Curzon and Mr. Baldwin for their support of the Kenya decision and suggests that as a protest against the decision the Indians should not participate in the Empire Exhibition, the Imperial Conference and the Empire Day celebrations and that the people should observe a *hartal* throughout the country on the 26th August as recommended by the Congress. The *Jhansi Samachar* remarks that the Kenya decision indicates the bankruptcy of justice in the British Government. It is to be hoped that the Government of India will do their best to get the decision materially altered, otherwise Indians would not willingly like to remain within the Empire. The *Surya* says that Indians should now demonstrate to the British Empire that they do not want to live as slaves within the Empire. All the political leaders should unite to start a vigorous constitutional agitation to secure the equality of citizenship. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that so long as Indians are not free in their own country, they cannot expect to be respected abroad. If they want to get justice in other lands they should first attain *swaraj* in their own country. If the Moderates have no longer faith in constitutional agitation they should unite the whole country in a general movement for the freedom of the country. The *Vikram* heartily commends the resolution of the Benares Liberal League exhorting the Indian members of the Governor General's Executive Council to resign as a protest against the Kenya decision. The *Lakshman* opines that the Liberals cannot create a constitutional deadlock in the councils over the Kenya question, seeing that the Viceroy is armed with all the necessary powers to carry on administration without the councils and that laws can be enacted or twisted to declare anything as unconstitutional. If the Liberals are really anxious to achieve something, they should have it out with the Government of India and the British Government. They cannot retaliate against the Colonies so long as India is weak and utterly at the mercy of a foreign Government. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: We believe, or pretend to believe, that the British were sincere when they spoke of Indians being

equal partners of the Empire. Even those who, like Mr. Sastri, had occasion to see from within the *sanctum sanctorum* of Imperial Conference, did not know, until the Whites unfurled the flag of revolt and the Parliament upheld the Whites, that the Imperial idea was a dream and a snare.

The Anglo-Hedjaz agreement.

The *Medina*, *Al Bashir* and other Muslim papers reprint from the Egyptian paper *Al Akhbar* the views of Kemal Pasha on the Hedjaz agreement that every word of the agreement is clearly proclaiming the fact that the Holy Places have been placed under the British control. The Arabs have fallen into the clutches of Great Britain whose rights have been recognised in Iraq, Palestine, etc. The Sherif has proved himself an absolutely incompetent ruler and has failed to discharge the trust placed in his hands and therefore a Muslim Conference will be convened to take back the trust from him. The time will come when the Turks will show to the world how the rights of the Musalmans can be protected. The *Medina* condemns Sherif Husain and accuses Great Britain of planning the ruin of Islam. The agreement is a mere scrap of paper and any slight deviation of the Sherif therefrom will entail the bombardment of Jedda by British ships. The paper also publishes the views of Rashid Raza, editor of the Egyptian paper *Al Manar*, who describes Sherif Husain as the usurper of the Hedjaz and remarks that he has placed Arabia under the control of Great Britain. In another article the same paper remarks that the Hedjaz agreement affords a good opportunity for the Khilafat propaganda and hopes that Drs. Ansari and Mahmud will turn their attention to this important matter.

The Hindu-Muslim relations.

The papers continue to devote considerable attention to the strained relations between the two communities. The *Leader* gives prominence to an article by Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore on the question of Hindu-Muslim unity and advises Hindus and Muhammadans to rise above sectarian and communal feeling in the search for truth and accept it from whatever source it comes in order to solve the problem of Hindu-Muslim unity. The only way to bring about the unity of the two communities is to keep religion in its proper place and not to allow it to encroach upon mundane affairs. Commenting upon the disturbances in the Rae Bareli district the *Mansur* asks whether only those cows are sacred that are sacrificed on the occasion of *Bakr Id* and not those which are slaughtered in thousands every day. This is obviously an excuse for fighting with the Musalmans who are likely to be terrorised still further when the Hindu *Sangathan* movement is completed. The *Medina* regrets the economic boycott of the Musalmans by the Hindus and exhorts the former to open their own shops. In another article the paper suggests the formation of local committees consisting of sober-minded Hindus and Musalmans irrespective of their political views and establishment of joint news agencies as a safeguard against any misstatement of facts. The Hindus are bent upon ruining the Muslims who should now unite among themselves. The *Dilchasp* regrets that in certain local bodies the Hindus are taking advantage of their majority and ignoring the rights of Muslims whose voice in these bodies is ineffective, and remarks that it is best for India to be ruled by the foreigners. The *Pratap* condemns the Musalmans of Ajmer for attacking a Hindu temple and destroying an image and says that they have caused irretrievable injury to the best interests of the country by crushing the delicate plant of Hindu-Muslim unity. In the first place the educated, thoughtful and patriotic Musalmans should get them adequately punished and secondly the Hindus should abandon their cowardliness and impotency and make themselves so strong that these *badmashes* may not dare to oppress them.

The Hindu organisation.

While the Hindu papers in general are full of exhortation to the Hindus to attend the forthcoming session of the Hindu *Maha Sabha*, the Muslim papers sound a note of alarm with regard to the activities of their Hindu compatriots. The *Hindustani* is the only exception which remarks that the Muhammadans are sadly unreasonable in their attitude towards Hindu organisation. The paper holds that the movement is in no way anti-Muslim. The *Al Bureed* opines that Hindu *Sangathan* will bring about the fall of the *Sanatan Dharma*. The high caste *Sanatanists* by joining hands with the *Aryas* will lose their religious virtue and nobility. They have nothing to gain and everything to lose by joining this movement. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that if Hindus fail to take advantage of the present opportunity and achieve something they will not be able to succeed in any work for another generation. If the *Maha Sabha* succeeds in its object and

if it is able to weld together all the heterogeneous elements, including Sikhs and Jains and the untouchables into one homogeneous whole, the Hindu community will once again be able to raise its head before the world. The *Lakshman* justifies the need of the Hindus organising themselves through the Hindu *Maha Sabha*. The weakness of the Hindus is a stumbling-block in the way of the Hindu-Muslim unity and a bait for the evilly-disposed to attack them. In view of the separate organisations of Christians and Muhammadans it is absolutely necessary for the Hindus to have their own communal organisation not only for the protection of their political interests but also for the social and religious uplift of their community. In supporting the All-India *Maha Sabha* the *Leader* remarks that the fact that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose sturdy patriotism is unquestioned and whose anxiety for the promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity is no whit less than that of any other Indian patriot, is one of the most prominent leaders of the movement, ought to dispel all doubts as to the beneficent nature of the movement from the national point of view and should tend to enlist the support of all sections of Hindus. On the other hand, Pandit Kapil Deva Malaviya contributes a long letter to the press in which he deprecates the efforts which are being made by Hindu leaders, including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, to organise the Hindus, against the Musalmans, who in their turn will take counter measures and thus weaken and endanger the cause of the liberty of India. Similarly one Mr. Krishna Vinayak, M.A., writing in the *Vikram* fervently appeals to the Hindus to suspend the *Sangathan* and *Shuddhi* movements for the present in the interests of the Hindu-Muslim unity which is indispensable for the attainment of *swaraj*.

The Khilafat affairs.

Sheikh Mushir Hosain contributes another article to the *Hamdam* in which he remarks that he does not care for the favourable comments of the Anglo-Indian Press and is not inclined to change his opinion simply on account of their support. It would have been much better if the Khilafat workers had taken advantage of their hostility and not wasted the public funds. The paper takes exception to Kidwai's views and remarks that the activities of the Khilafat Committees should be directed towards the emancipation of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and for the solution of internal problems the Muslim League should be revived. The *Rahnuma* agrees with Sheikh Mushir Hosain as to the abolition of the Khilafat Committees as a great section of the community has become suspicious of them and suggests that the Muslim League should be revived in order to protect the rights of Musalmans and that the *Khuddam-i-Ka'aba* association should take the place of the Khilafat Committees. The *Medina* deplores the silence and inactivity of the Khilafat Committees at a time when even the *Ulema* of Egypt and Palestine are condemning the Shah of Hedjaz.

The banishment of Shia divines from Mesopotamia.

The *Hamdam*, which gives publicity to the proceedings of an important meeting of the Shias in Lucknow, regrets that the British Government by banishing the Shia divines has incurred the indignation of the Muslim world and remarks that none is prepared to hold the Iraq Government responsible for the banishment. On the other hand, it is a common belief that the British are alone responsible for it. The *Aligarh Gazette*, on the other hand, deprecates the efforts of the non-cooperating papers in laying the blame of the banishment of the Shia divines at the door of the British Government.

Congress politics.

The *Vikram* commends the proposal of Mr. Asif Ali to introduce the system of departments in the Congress organisation, i.e., to bring all those parties, irrespective of their methods, within the Congress, whose ultimate object is the attainment of *swaraj*. This proposal, if acted upon, is sure to remove the existing cleavage and dissensions. The *Aj* deplores the existing dissensions in the Congress camp and remarks that the political leaders who pose as patriots have caused the people far greater injury than the bureaucracy. Similarly the *Vartman* takes a pessimistic view of the political situation in the country and says that the dissensions among the political leaders have afforded an excellent opportunity to the bureaucracy to fulfil its object. The Nabha tragedy, the Kenya decision, and the insult offered to the national flag, which are calculated to destroy the very birthrights of the Indians, are all the indirect outcome of the treachery of the political leaders. The *Aj* congratulates Mr. Sheshgiri Aiyar on his frank confession that the British Government and the Government of India have gained courage as a result of the split in the Congress camp. The Government respected and honoured the

Liberals so long as the non-cooperators were powerful, but ceased to do so when the division in the ranks of the non-cooperators weakened their hold on the country. It also approves of his suggestion for all parties working unitedly for the protection of the honour of India but says that such a course is impossible until the Liberals abandon their method of constitutional agitation. The *Shakti* says that the proposal of Babu Rajendra Prasad to declare the independence of India is premature, as the country is altogether unprepared for it.

The national flag agitation.

Referring to the proceedings of the Central Provinces Council the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that, for the first time since the inauguration of the Councils, the debate will rouse an answering echo in the country. That a schoolboy affair should have been magnified into such proportions by foolish notions of the rights of minority will certainly not redound to British statesmanship in India. The *Arya Varta* regrets that a national colour has been given to the movement, which even if it succeeds is of no benefit to the country. The movement is not worth wasting national money and energy on and spoiling the lives of so many men. The Government should give up its obstinate attitude and try to effect a reconciliation. The *Vartman* thinks that the success of the national flag agitation at Nagpur has become an established fact. The bureaucracy is at last finding itself constrained to yield before the unprecedented sacrifices and grim determination of Indian patriots. This victory of the votaries of the national flag will no doubt be grand and glorious. The bureaucracy should have realised at the very beginning that Nagpur is not Kenya and that its obduracy and crookedness will not be able to withstand the force of awakened public opinion and of a vigorous campaign of civil disobedience.

The Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Lakshman* welcomes the determination of the *Khalsas* to remove the injustice done to the Maharaja of Nabha and says that this means that another Guru-ka-Bagh affair is soon going to be re-enacted on a larger scale. It is to be hoped that the pride of the bureaucracy will now be crushed and the soul force of the unarmed Indians will triumph over the greatest Power of the world. The *Anand*, on the other hand, says that if the *Gurdwara Prabandhak* Committee has any misgivings regarding the abdication of the Maharaja of Nabha it should appoint a special committee to inquire into the matter to ascertain facts, otherwise no thinking section of the population will support its agitation. The *Bharat Jiwan* remarks that the Government of India have taken a very serious step in trifling with the liberty of an Indian Chief and should issue a detailed *communiqué* to set at rest all the misgivings in the public mind. The *Vartman* refers to the excitement among the Sikhs and says that whether the Maharaja wishes it or not the Akalis will fight a non-violent struggle against the Government to get his deposition annulled. It also insinuates that the Maharaja may have been persuaded or forced by the authorities to issue the message expressing his disapproval of the agitation of the Akalis on his behalf. The *Hamdam* remarks that in order to appease the Sikhs the Government will be well advised to grant the request of the Maharani and entrust the administration of the State in her hands.

The police excesses at Aligarh.

The *Medina* remarks that the statement issued to the press by the District Magistrate was not only wrong and groundless but also betrayed the feelings of hatred and prejudice harboured by him. The pathetic utterance of the Vice-Chancellor that the blood of the innocent students will have its effect, reminds us of the fountain of blood of the innocent martyrs of Smyrna. In those days when the Muslims were shedding the tears of blood no such pathetic and affectionate speeches were made in the Strachey Hall. The *Al Bashir* says that the Government version is always coloured when the officials or the police are at fault and this is why the official *communiqués* fail to command public credence. The *Mashriq* throws the entire responsibility on the police and remarks that the punishment inflicted is very light. They ought to have been not only dismissed but sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. The Government is incurring the ridicule of its enemies by showing leniency to the police. The *Zulqarnain* is not satisfied with the very light punishment inflicted upon the head constable who started the *fracas*.

United Provinces Municipalities.

Referring to the election of Dr. Murari Lal as chairman of the Cawnpore Municipality, *Free India* says that the Cawnpore Board is a non-cooperators' Board only in name, as has been proved by its action in presenting an address to the Governor. It calls upon the people of Cawnpore to organise a powerful agitation and drive out all

such members who do not go with the public. Commenting on the Governor's speech in regard to municipal addresses, the same paper says that the belated explanation does not carry conviction to the heart that the decision had not a motive other than what the Governor represents it to be. People are too shrewd to believe at this late hour of the day that the Government is always guided by the highest economic principles whenever it deals with any item of expenditure.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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European situation.

THE press continues to be apprehensive of the situation in Europe. Commenting on France's reply to the British note the *Pioneer* says that the impression produced by the French note is that of utter inability on the part of France to distinguish between what is and what is not practical politics. The situation calls for prompt and decisive action if Germany is to be saved from a catastrophe which would react unfavourably on the rest of the civilised world. The *Hindustani* describes the British note as very outspoken and asks France not to forget that it was Great Britain alone which saved her during the Great War. The *Hamdam* remarks that if there was anything wanting to complete the rupture of relations between France and England then the recent British note will do it. The *Medina* says that the ruin of Germany will also recoil on France and that the latter will be well advised to put a stop to its excesses and thus save both Germany and herself from Bolshevism which menaces to engulf the world. The *Oudh Akhbar* interprets the British note as betraying the growing weakness of the Anglo-French alliance.

The Kenya settlement.

The publication of the White Paper on the Kenya question has not allayed the indignation of the Indian press in respect of the settlement. The *Leader* is disappointed with the Government of India resolution accompanying the White Paper. It says that the anti-Indian nature of the decision is obvious and that a more complete surrender cannot be thought of. It fears that the decision itself would be further whittled down in being carried out by the Government of Kenya. Even the most liberal interpretation that may be placed upon this decision in actual practice would not reconcile India to this shame of Kenya. The Government having at last failed us, the people must take the matter in their own hands and ceaselessly work to have it reversed at the earliest possible date. We must neither rest nor let others rest until our honour is vindicated. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* sees nothing in the White Paper to soften the feeling against the Empire that has treated this country as a helotland. There is nothing in it to assuage Indian feelings. It reveals, on the other hand, the cloven feet behind Kenya and Natal and every place where the false idea of Imperial citizenship was hitherto maintained. The *Oudh Akhbar* opines that the retaliatory measures advocated in India will all the more aggravate the difficulties of the Indians in South Africa, and instead of having any effect on the white settlers, will rather provoke them against the Indians. All the political parties in India should, however, try their best to get the decision rescinded. The *Najat* exhorts Indians to observe complete *hartal* on the 27th August, as a protest against the Kenya settlement. The leaders should now realise their duties and form an association composed of young men to strengthen the ties between the Indians and their brethren abroad. The *Surya* exhorts the people, irrespective of party divisions, to start a mightier constitutional agitation than that against the Rowlatt Act to get the Kenya decision rescinded and to show to the British Government that they can by no means put up with this indignity. The *Kartavya* thinks that Mr. Sastri's advice regarding the boycott of imperial functions and institutions as a protest against the Kenya decision is in effect nothing but non-cooperation. The paper asks whether the Moderates will now join the non-cooperators and the Congress and help in the attainment of *swaraj*, which alone will put an end to India's wrongs in the Colonies. The *Aj* strongly disapproves of the decision of the Congress to observe a general strike as a protest against the Kenya decision. If it is the desire of the Congress to protest against such things, it should give up the speedy establishment of *swaraj* as its goal and agitate for gradual reforms leading ultimately to *swaraj*.

Hedjaz affairs.

The *Hamdam* and other Muslim papers publish indignant protests against the treatment of pilgrims by the King of Hedjaz and many *Hajis* who have recently returned from the pilgrimage have written to the press complaining of the hardship and indignities

imposed by King Husain on Indian pilgrims. While complaining of the action of the Hedjaz Government several papers have emphasised the necessity of concerted action against the Sharif. The *Hamdam* deplores the inhumane treatment meted out to the *Hajis* by the Sharif and reprints from the *Al Wahid* of Sindh the tales of misery and hardship related by the *Hajis*. The Anglo-Hedjaz agreement continues to be severely criticised by Muslim papers. The *Medina* remarks that by the Anglo-Hedjaz agreement the British Government wants to take out the Khilafat from the hands of the Turks with a view to setting up a rival Near Eastern Empire under its own control and to take possession of Turkish territory. In another article the same paper condemns Shah Husain and his son for colluding with Great Britain in expelling the Shia divines from Mesopotamia and thereby alienating the sympathies of the Persians. It exhorts the Muslim world to save Islam from ruin at the hands of the Sharif and his sons. The *Al Khalil* quotes from the Turkish paper *Al Adl* that the Turks are now directing their attention towards the emancipation of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* and are trying to convene a conference of the learned men of the Muslim world to select a suitable person as Sharif of Mecca. As it is a religious question the Western Powers shall have to bow down before the decision of the Muslim world. The *Mansur* reprints from some Turkish papers the views of Syed Husain Ali-ul-Ani that Shah Husain is dragging the Arab nation into the abyss of degradation and has quite forgotten the favours showered upon him by the Turks. He has proved himself very ungrateful and up to this time has done nothing for the benefit of the Arab people. He has sided with the enemies of Islam and opposed the well-wishers of Arabia.

The Hindu organisation.

While the *Leader* applauds the efforts of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in organising the *Hindu Mahasabha*, which it describes as a necessity for the uplift of the Hindus, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* is sceptical as to the result of the movement. Commenting on the proceedings of the *Mahasabha* at Benares it says that except as a purely academic discussion, no useful purpose will be served by this Conference. It is not without significance that prominent Congress leaders have stood out of this movement. They know that it will bear no good effect; it will undoubtedly bear immediate harm by estranging the relations between Hindus and Muslims. We had a right to expect something more useful from our leaders just after the Kenya betrayal, than adding to the meaningless and purposeless literature on the organisation of Hinduism. The *Nizam-i-Alam* exhorts the Musalmans to unite and prepare for fighting the Hindu *Sangathan* movement which is a menace to their very existence. The *Azad*, on the other hand, holds that the Hindu *Sangathan* movement is in no way anti-Muslim and the Musalmans have nothing to complain of if the Malkana Rajputs are being brought back to the Hindu fold. The Hindi papers continue to exhort the Hindus to support the *Hindu Mahasabha* and to emphasise the need of their organisation. The *Arya Patra* hails with delight the suggestion of a certain section of the Muslim press that the Musalmans should resort to a boycott of the Hindus and open their own shops and remarks that the Hindus will then be obliged to adopt those professions which are now exclusively in the hands of the Musalmans. The *Swadesh* says that if they miss this opportunity to organise themselves, Hindu culture will become extinct. Their organisation is also absolutely necessary for their fight against the bureaucracy for the attainment of *swaraj*. The Hindu *Sangathan* should be conducted in a way as to embrace all the Hindu sects and which may not give cause to the Muhammadans to entertain hostile suspicions against it. The *Kartavya* opines that if the Hindus want real Hindu-Muslim unity and *swaraj*, they should not fail to consider and devise means at the *Hindu Mahasabha* at Benares to organise themselves into a powerful body. The *Vartman* says that if the Hindus do not take early steps to improve their condition they will one day be effaced from the world. The *Aj* says that if there is any probability or even apprehension of the *Hindu Mahasabha* throwing impediments in the way of national unity it will think it to be its duty to oppose it. The *Gorakshan* points out that if the Hindus are still deluded with the false cry of unity it is certain that cows will be sacrificed in their very temples. It is only through their organisation in the name of cow-protection that the Hindus can save themselves. The *Lakshman* urges that if the Hindu community is to be kept alive the *Hindu Mahasabha* at Benares should devise means to strengthen the communal feeling among its members and to establish harmonious relations between the higher castes and the untouchables. The *Bharat Jiwan* emphasises that the Hindu organisation is necessary not only for strengthening Hindu-Muslim unity but also for the early attainment of *swaraj*.

The *Arya Mitra* condemns those Hindu Congress men who oppose the organisation of Hindus for fear of weakening the Hindu-Muslim unity and says that such men can never be the leaders of Hindus when in the face of repeated outrages upon their women, children and temples they counsel the Hindus to remain quiet and not to set their own house in order.

The Liberal party.

The *Leader* calls Mr. Sen's address at the Liberal Conference an excellent one, but it regrets the omission of a discussion on the doings of the United Provinces Government. It emphasises the necessity of coalition of all progressive parties and says that every class and section of the Indian public who are eager for a constitutional advance should seek to act together as often as possible in all great questions on which there is agreement. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks: The address is marked by clear thinking and a fine literary style which are not always the traits of professional politicians. The *Hamdam* advises Mr. Chintamani to act with courage like the Nationalists and to give up the extreme constitutionalism of the Liberal party. If Mr. Chintamani adopts the same policy which Mr. Sastri has adopted after being rebuked by the Under Secretary of State, then no Nationalist will support his candidature for the Assembly, in spite of his abilities and extensive experience. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the Liberal party is composed of only a handful of Hindus and does not command a large following.

Congress politics.

The *Advocate* emphasises the necessity of concerted action and urges the coalition of the *Swaraj* and the Liberal parties. It looks to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and other leaders to make an earnest effort to bring the Liberals back to the Congress fold. The *Oudh Akhbar* advises the electors to vote for those candidates only who can courageously support the Congress demands in the councils. The council boycott has not been in any way beneficial to the country and it is now necessary that the Nationalists should be in a majority. The *Hamdam* says that in case the Delhi session accepts Mr. Das' resolution regarding the council entry, then there will be an end of non-cooperation on the Congress platform. The *Haqiqat* says that the non-cooperation movement is practically dead and it can no longer be revived by courting imprisonment at Nagpur or capturing the councils. The rupture between the contending parties in the Congress will go on increasing and the greatest national organisation will become an arena of competition between the diverse political parties. In reply to Pandit Moti Lal's speech at Lucknow the *Hamdam* publishes a letter of Maulana Abdul Bari addressed to the *Ulema* asking them to unite in order to keep up the prestige of Islam. The *Ulema* are the backbone of the Khilafat which has infused a new life into the Congress, so that even at this critical period the Congress has been obliged to seek the aid and advice of a Muslim divine. The *Aj* supports the appeal of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru to the various provinces to send in the ablest persons as their representatives to the special session of the Congress, and remarks that both the parties should realise that *swaraj* cannot be attained by indulging in mutual bickerings and should agree to place a suitable programme before the country in order to rouse the enthusiasm of the nation. The *Vikram* says that in order to coalesce the Congress parties it is imperative that liberal-minded and thoughtful representatives should be sent to the special session of the Congress who should demonstrate to the bureaucracy that Indians are united in their pledge to win freedom. All should abide implicitly by the decision of the Delhi Congress. The *Vartman* opines that the apprehension that the Delhi session of the Congress will witness the death of non-cooperation is altogether ill-founded and baseless. The *Pratap* is sure that at Delhi the existing dissensions will be removed and a compromise arrived at.

The national flag agitation.

The *Pioneer* is dissatisfied with the Government of the Central Provinces in permitting revolutionaries to go in procession through the civil station of Nagpur and says that its explanation will be read with mixed feelings. In a leading article headed "Government—or what!" the paper says that in the absence of information regarding the negotiations which preceded the incursion of the bearers of the revolutionary flag, under the escort of the police, into the civil station at Nagpur this statement is bald and unsatisfactory. The situation created by the action of the Provincial Government is an impossible one. It will encourage the non-cooperators in their campaign; and it will discourage the law-abiding community, which has the right to look to Government to maintain order and uphold justice, and, above all things, to stand by its spoken or written word. The *Leader* says

that no large questions of principle were involved in the affair and that consideration of prestige on both sides prolonged a meaningless struggle. In view of the official statement the paper says that the *satyagrahis* cannot claim a victory for themselves. If anything, they have made an ill-disguised surrender. The statement is not calculated to enhance the prestige of the no-changers and will drive the last nail into the coffin of the non-cooperation programme. It urges the release without delay of the prisoners in commemoration of the futility of the flag *satyagraha*. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* in an article headed "The end of non-cooperation" says that the news of flag *satyagraha* will be received with surprise and a sense of humiliation by the public. It is tragic that the proclaimed professors of Gandhi-ism should have given indecent burial to the movement which was initiated with great force and faith. It rebukes the leaders for the settlement and says that an era of uncertainty and disappointment is looming before the Congress workers because they feel the leaders have betrayed them. The *Medina* praises the members of the Central Provinces Legislative Council for their bold stand and is gratified at their success which it interprets as a defeat of the bureaucracy. The humiliation suffered by Mr. Joshi, the Home Member, on account of his double-sided policy was enough to make him resign his post. The *Vikram* says that the passage of the resolution urging the withdrawal of the order against the national flag procession and the release of the *satyagrahi* prisoners is a diplomatic move on the part of the bureaucracy and is indicative of its discomfiture. The passage of the resolution marks the glorious victory of the *satyagrahis* and the ignominous failure of the bureaucracy.

Political propaganda.

The *Pratap* remarks: We do not want *swaraj* within the British Empire nor do we want dominion self-government. We want genuine and unadulterated *swaraj*, i.e., we want our own rule, nothing less and nothing more. We do wish, however, that if we are not compelled to sever our connection with it and if we can live within it honourably then after the establishment of *swaraj* we may live within the Commonwealth of nations called the British Empire. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the existing councils having proved extremely harmful to the country owing to the weakness of their members it is imperatively necessary that independent-minded non-cooperators should enter the next councils in as large numbers as possible in order to minimise the baneful character of these public bodies and thereby bring the country nearer to *swaraj*.

Political prisoners.

The *Hamdam* is gratified at the release of Lala Lajpat Rai and Dr. Kitchlew at a time when India is passing through the most critical period and the best brains are required to guide it and save it from the undesirable situation and hopes that Dr. Kitchlew who sowed the seed of Hindu-Muslim unity in the Punjab will try again to restore that unity. The *Oudh Akhbar* hails with delight the release of Lala Lajpat Rai and remarks that if the Government had released him at the very commencement of the agitation in this connection it would have very favourably impressed a large section of the public. It urges him to exert himself in uniting the Hindus and Musalmans at Lahore. The *Aj* describes what it calls the inhuman treatment of Indian prisoners in the Bisapur jail. Their hands and feet are not only handcuffed and fettered but they are fastened with a long rope on account of which they cannot walk for more than a few yards. We want to ask those of our brethren who cooperate with the present system of administration whether the atrocities in the Bisapur jail are human or monstrous.

The Maharaja of Nabha.

The *Aj* says that the Government is not content with the dethronement of the Maharaja of Nabha but is also seeking to cast a slur on his name through a few dismissed servants and selfish officials of the State. The object of the establishment of the *Praja Rakshni Sabha* appears to be to spread false stories about the Maharaja. The efforts of such Sabhas cannot conceal the injustice done to him. The *Kartavya* advises the Government of India to admit their mistake with regard to the abdication of the Maharaja so as to avoid a disastrous collision with the Akalis who are determined to stake their all at the command of the *Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandhak* Committee.

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European situation.

WHILE the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne is received with general satisfaction, the press views with concern the European situation created by French action in the Ruhr. The *Azad* remarks that the occupation of the Ruhr smacks of tyranny, vindictiveness and greed on the part of France, and if she continues to occupy the fertile tracts of Germany, not only will the progress of the latter be jeopardised but international peace will also be endangered. The *Medina* opines that the obstinate attitude of France is sure to spread Bolshevism in Germany, which will humble the capitalistic pride and imperialism of Europe, and that Europe will succumb to the poisonous effects of those very fatal germs from which it has tried to keep itself safe. The *Haqiqat* remarks that only two courses are open to Great Britain; it will either sacrifice European peace and tranquillity for the sake of French friendship or, disregarding that alliance, save the Continent from ruin and destruction. Referring to the divided opinion in the British Cabinet on the question of Germany, the *Leader* says that never before perhaps in European affairs was British impotence more in evidence than it is at present. The paper accuses the British Premier of weakness and says: If France wins there is little doubt that the position of Britain will be shaken not only in Europe but also in other parts of the world.

The Kenya settlement.

The indignation over the Kenya settlement continues. The *Leader* characterises Mr. Andrews' charges against the Government of India as a grave indictment which cannot fail to bring home to the meanest intelligence the true inwardness of this episode in the history of the Empire. The "ignominious surrender" of Lord Peel to the truculence of the Kenya Whites stands in marked contrast to the firm stand taken by Mr. Montagu over the question of Indians overseas. In conclusion the paper angrily remarks: While the Union Premier, General Smuts, has been hitting the Indian Government and the people right and left and loudly proclaiming his desire to aid the White settlers of Kenya in all possible ways, neither the Government of India nor any member of it has the courage to speak out a word of protest in public. The need for rescuing the Government of India from the octopus of Whitehall was never more urgent. The *Vartman* thinks that the Kenya decision is the forerunner of that terrible war which will soon take place between the brown and white nations of the world in the east and the west and all over Asia and Europe. The capitalist and commercial nations of the west have leagued themselves and are framing schemes for sucking the weak nations of Asia. Will Asia still remain idle and inactive? The Indians should realise that the white nations of the world want to crush their honour and national life and they should return a suitable answer and retaliate against them in a practical manner. The *Aj* urges that instead of observing a general strike on the 27th August, as a protest against the Kenya betrayal, all the Congress leaders should sink their differences and declare all the British institutions and organisations in India to be untouchable. This indeed would be a more suitable step against those who have made the Indians untouchables within the British Empire. The *Vikram* supports the general strike on the 27th August as it will proclaim with one united voice that Indians view the decision of the British Empire with scorn, contempt and indignation, that they are determined to retaliate against the insult offered to them and that their blood is boiling at this palpable betrayal. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the Nationalists and the Liberals are equally indignant at the Kenya settlement, which has failed to please even the Viceroy. Under such circumstances we cannot be unjustified in protesting against it. But to give vent to our feelings of resentment and anger by observing *hartals* is absurd and useless. The Englishmen against whom this indignation is usually expressed are the least affected by them and have now come to regard them as mere fictitious demonstrations.

The Hedjaz affairs.

The *Al Khalil* protests against the treatment meted out to the Hedjaz pilgrims by Sharif Husain and remarks that the present state of affairs in Arabia sets in clear relief the past good administration of the Turks. If Great Britain takes up the administration in its own hands for the convenience of its Muslim subjects, the Sharif will then lose his so-called independence in which he prides himself.

Banishment of Shia divines from Mesopotamia.

The *Najat* remarks that the banishment of Shia divines has dealt a heavy blow to the prestige of the British in Persia. The British Foreign Office will be well advised to forbid its agents from interfering with the affairs of the country and to point out to Amir Feisal that his safety lies in calling back the banished divines.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Moharram* riots in various parts of the country have directed considerable attention to the question of Hindu-Muslim relations. The *Pioneer* says that the riots serve to draw attention to the hollowness of the pretence of the Hindu-Muslim unity which has been so sedulously advertised by interested persons who are unwilling to face the facts of the situation. The *Advocate* says that the riots give a grave warning to our national leaders that the foundation of *swaraj* has not as yet been truly laid. It urges all true patriots—Hindus and Musalmans—to devise means for cultivating unity between the two communities. Commenting on the Saharanpur disturbances the *Leader* is in no doubt as to the heavy loss suffered by the Hindus. It demands an independent inquiry into the whole affair. In its latest issue the *Leader* expresses dissatisfaction with the official *communiqué* relating to the Saharanpur riots as it gives little information on certain material points and concludes its comments by saying: The outbreak of violence in so many places in the Province perhaps shows that the screw is loose somewhere. All the intensive preaching of non-violence has gone for nothing and the spirit of anarchy in a more sinister form is raising its head. It matters not whether the causes are religious or political or economic. Such violent outbreaks, while they are a grave reproach to the people, also cast a serious reflection on the administration. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* deplores the communal riots and says: If Multans and Saharanpurs should indicate the normal relations between the two communities, there is an end of all political advancement. It asks as to what is going to be the next move. More Mahasabhas and Shraddhanand appeals for conversions or a cry of halt until the feelings have subsided a little and the true perspective is restored? Or more emphatic assertions that the only solution to Muslim riots is organised Hinduism? The *Hamdam* in a leading article says that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand deserve congratulations from their friends inasmuch as within a few months their activities in respect of the Hindu organisation have succeeded in sowing the seed of hatred among the Hindus against their Muslim compatriots. The *Moharram* riots indicate the strength of passions in Hindu hearts created by the activities of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* resents the mean attacks against the Hindus by a section of the Muslim press and remarks that the childish and fictitious Hindu-Muslim unity was simply a farce and had a sandy foundation. There can be no unity unless both the communities strictly follow the injunctions of their respective religions. The *Oudh Akhbar* points out that without Hindu-Muslim unity there can be no real progress or reform in the country in spite of the strenuous efforts of the leaders. If the relations between the two communities remain estranged all efforts to achieve *swaraj* will prove futile and all schemes of opposing the Government and protesting against the Kenya settlement will be of no avail. In a communicated article on the *Moharram* disturbances at Gonda the *Hamdam* regrets that the structure of Hindu-Muslim unity which was raised with such difficulty and labour is now being speedily demolished. Thanks to the efforts of Pandit Malaviya, the greatest disturbances took place in the United Provinces where the relations between the two communities have been ever happy and where both used to participate in each other's festivals. The *Al Khalil* is grieved at the excesses committed by the Hindus at Saharanpur and remarks that the Musalmans did not remain safe from the onslaughts of the Hindus in spite of the District Magistrate and the Kotwal being Musalmans. Being a Musalman Sheikh Habib-ullah could not dare to disperse the Hindus who took unlawful advantage of his position.

The Hindu organisation.

The Hindu press has watched with keen interest the proceedings of the *Hindu Mahasabha* at Benares and with the exception of the *Vartman* and the *Aj* have commented favourably on

them. The *Aj* remarks that it may be hoped that all those Hindus who aspire to the freedom of India will not follow the evasive tactics of the *Hindu Mahasabha* but will fraternise with every son of India regarding him as their brother. Commenting on the presidential speech of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya at the *Hindu Mahasabha* the same paper remarks that his views with regard to untouchability were inflexibly orthodox and they pierced the hearts of the listeners. What is proper and desirable is that all those who are going to perpetuate the evil of untouchability in this country and thereby ruin the Hindu religion should themselves be regarded as untouchables. The *Sabha* was more inclined to indulge in an academic discussion than take practical action. It takes the *Hindu Mahasabha* to task for merely expressing regret at the ill treatment of the Maharaja of Nabha by the Government of India and not condemning it in the severest terms possible as the most reprehensible example of the worst abuse of autocratic powers. The *Vartman* regrets that not a single resolution passed in the *Hindu Sabha* was such as would infuse that strength into the *Sanatan Dharmists* which is found in the Akalis. Nor was any proposal made by which the entire *Sanatan Dharmist* community or any portion of it could be bound together in one thread like the Akalis, its physical strength could be increased and a militant spirit inculcated into it. The paper, however, opines that the apprehension that the organisation of the Hindus at the present juncture will injure the national cause is ill-founded. The organisation of the Hindus and the Musalmans respectively is as indispensable for Hindu-Muslim unity as the latter is for nationalism. We can never attain true freedom by establishing artificial nationalism on the basis of false unity. The *Hindi Kesari* observes that the proceedings of the *Hindu Mahasabha* at Benares show that the Hindus will surely become organised in no distant future and will add bright chapters to the history of India. The participation of untouchables in the *Sabha* indicates that the Hindus have fully awakened and that fresh life has been infused into them. A correspondent writing in the *Vikram* says that it is folly to leave the Hindu community weak, divided, and unorganised because of the apprehension of the Hindu *Sangathan* movement alienating the Musalmans and maintains that the apprehension is baseless in view of the enormous help given by the Hindus towards the settlement of the *Khilafat* question. The *Anand* and the *Lakshman* express disagreement with the views of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru against the Hindu organisation expressed in a recent speech at Lucknow. The former remarks that in view of the facts that the Muhammadans have never lost sight of their individuality, despite their participation in the Congress, and that their sympathies with foreign Muhammadan States have prevented them from cultivating the spirit of Indian nationalism, the Hindus have done well to consider the desirability of organising themselves separately and not to hazard them all for the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity which is always disregarded by Muhammadans when their communal interests are concerned. The *Lakshman* says that if the Pandit is opposed to the separate communal organisation of the Hindus for political purposes he should first try to keep the separate Muhammadan communal organisations like the Muslim League, the Khilafat Committee and the *Jamait-ul-Ulema* aloof from political matters. It is only the false fear of offending the Muhammadans that encourages them to demand all sacrifices on the part of Hindus, while they themselves are not prepared to yield to them on a single point. The *Hamdam* remarks that the exciting and inflammatory speech of Pandit Malaviya at the *Mahasabha* has naturally made the Musalmans anxious to prepare themselves for safeguarding their interest against the violent attacks of a large section of Hindus under the guidance of bigoted and narrow-minded leaders. It has now become imperative for the Musalmans to form a separate association to counteract the evil effects of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements. Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand have thrown out a challenge to the Musalmans and it will be great cowardice and weakness on their part not to accept it. The Muslim League should be revived to safeguard the particular interests of the Muslim community, to counteract the adverse activities of Malaviyaji and Swamiji and to successfully combat the *Mahasabha Sangathan*. In a communicated article the same paper remarks that the Hindus though far advanced in wealth and education are deficient in courage and valour and consequently they wanted the support of the Musalmans, who do not fear risking their lives even to strengthen the political agitation. The *Zulqarnain* describes the *Sangathan* movement as menacing to the Musalmans and injurious to the unity and remarks that to achieve any freedom is impossible unless the two communities advance shoulder to shoulder on the path of progress. The *Medina* points out that the sole object of bringing together the diversified castes

and creeds of the Hindus under one banner is to annihilate Islam from India. The presidential address of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was replete with bigotry and hatred and sordid attacks against the Musalmans. If the Musalmans do not wake up and realise their position they will meet the fate of the Buddhists in India and the Moors in Spain.

The Liberal party.

Commenting on the manifesto recently issued by the Liberal party the *Leader* says that their solid record of work is the best possible reply to those who have been preaching the futility of constitutional action and who want the country to believe that the goal can be quickly achieved by direct action of a non-violent variety. Its programme deserves the support of every patriotic and progressive Indian. There is nothing unpractical or revolutionary about the programme outlined and we doubt if it can be improved upon by any other similar document drawn up in a responsible spirit. The publication of Pandit Jagat Narayan's reply to Pandit Moti Lal Nehru's criticism of the Liberal Ministers has given a fillip to the controversy in respect of the merits of the Liberal party. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the gagging order in respect of the Municipalities by itself does not seem to have been so bad as the letter of explanation from its unrepentant author. Pandit Jagat Narayan must lie in the bed he has prepared for himself in the evening of his life. And another eminent colleague of his who desires to go to the Legislative Assembly must clear his position before he goes to Gorakhpur again. The *Leader* is glad that Pandit Moti Lal Nehru is anxious to set up a common platform and united front and is prepared to accept compromise with the Liberal party with a view to have a common programme. The *Hamdam* congratulates Mr. A. P. Sen for his vey learned presidential address which to a great extent voices the sentiments of his countrymen regarding the current questions and especially that of Kenya. The effective and forcible way in which he has supported the rights of the Indians abroad goes a long way to make amends for the past blunders and shortcomings of the Liberal party. The *Shakti* says that the insult offered to Mr. Sastri by the Secretary of State and his assistant by their refusal to see him is nothing short of non-cooperation on the part of these high authorities with the Liberals and that if the latter have any sense of self-respect left in them they should non-cooperate with the bureaucracy and join the Nationalists. The same paper points out that the Moderates, despite their loud professions of patriotism, have always sided with the Government on being offered offices by it and warns the voters not to vote in their favour in the next elections if they want to prevent further injury being done to the country. The *Brahmarshi*, on the other hand, exhorts the Hindu voters not to give their votes to Hindu congressmen, as they are opposed to their organisation for self-preservation and never come to their rescue when oppressed by Muhammadans.

Congress politics.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the only way to save the Congress is to make an effort to keep within its fold the illustrious rebels and thus save the institution; else it perishes. It does not approve of Lala Lajpat Rai's working outside the Congress and says that going out of the Congress and working from outside can only mean digging the grave of the Congress. The *Parivartan* urges the various political parties to make up their differences at the special session of the Congress at Delhi, otherwise far from attaining *swaraj* they will perpetuate the subjection of India. The *Lakshman* says that the appeals of Mr. Das and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru to be delegates to the special Congress to effect a compromise between the Congress parties can have no effect unless the *Swaraj* party is prepared to bow to the decision of the majority. In another article it suggests that in order to remove revolt and anarchy in the Congress the special Congress at Delhi should provide a rule laying down that no person can be a member of the Congress who does not obey the decision of the majority. If this be impossible such members should be deprived of the right of voting, so that they may not impose their will upon others when they are not prepared to accept the decision of the majority. The *Vikram* commends the resolution passed by the Bombay Congress Committee regarding council entry and says that if in the Delhi session the Congress gives a mandate in favour of council entry and if all the parties combine together and attack the councils from within, the bureaucracy will once more be shaken and it will have to bend on its knees before our united strength. The *Partap* remarks that as a result of the sharp dissensions in the Congress camp and the inflexible obduracy both on the part of the no-changers and the pro-changers the national forces have been scattered and the national agitation has practically stopped. The prestige of the Congress has suffered a severe blow

and the Congress committees and village associations are disappearing one by one. The enemies have been filled with great hopes and have been encouraged to act most autocratically.

The national flag agitation.

Press opinion is divided as to the end of the national flag agitation. The *Leader* belittles the so-called "triumph" of the non-cooperators at Nagpur and says that the result of the series of 'victories' they have won during the last three years is that the non-cooperation movement has now only a nominal existence and has ceased to inspire enthusiasm and confidence. One or two more triumphs of the Nagpur variety will make the position of the no-changers more untenable than it is. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the anger of the Anglo-Indian press against the Government of the Central Provinces indicates that the humiliation is not entirely on the part of the popular leaders. The settlement of the flag question is interpreted by the *Hamdam* as a victory of the *satyagrahis* and the realisation of its blunders by the Government. It was the courage and firm determination of the former alone that achieved a victory against the forces of repression and coercion. The release of the prisoners should form an important term of the settlement. If the victory means no more than the carrying of the national flag through certain areas under police escort, then the question arises how far it was expedient to continue the struggle for months and cause the imprisonment of about two thousand persons. The *Oudh Akhbar* is gratified at the settlement of the flag agitation and remarks that both the Government and the *satyagrahis* were at fault and that both should take a lesson for the future. The *Vartman* says that the victory of the Nagpur *satyagrahis* has proved once more that the only means of extricating the country from the bonds of slavery and injustice is non-cooperation or *satyagraha*. It has also removed all possible doubts as to whether the people will lag behind or will not rise equal to the occasion if true leaders would be forthcoming to lead the country in its struggle for freedom. The *Aj* remarks that the Nagpur compromise symbolises the victory of the national flag agitation and congratulates those engaged in it on their record. The *Vikram*, on the other hand, holds that the sort of compromise accepted by the leaders casts a slur on the high and sacred ideal for which the *satyagraha* was started and lowers it in the estimation of the country. The bureaucracy must have surrendered sooner or later and the leaders acted with undue haste in the matter of the compromise. The *Lakshman* opines that the end of the *satyagraha* struggle at Nagpur does not redound to the credit of the non-cooperators. The official diplomacy has triumphed and one has to admit that the *satyagrahis* have sustained an ignominious defeat in accepting the compromise, especially when the prisoners were not simultaneously released. The sacrifices of the volunteers have been nullified by the indecent haste of the leaders. The *Hindi Kesari* remarks that though the *satyagrahis* scored a victory they had to win it at the sacrifice of some of their principles.

Political prisoners.

In a leading article the *Indian Daily Telegraph* refers to the statement of the Governor of Bengal with regard to the recrudescence of political crimes and says: If there are indubitable proofs that anarchy is settling itself in the minds of young India in Bengal, the most effective remedy, in our opinion, would be to release Gandhi. And the Government will not have a more sincere and whole-hearted supporter in its fight against revolution that revels in blood than Gandhi. The *Hamdam* is gratified at the release of Maulana Mohammad Ali and remarks that at a time when the Hindu-Muslim disturbances have after crossing the five rivers of the Punjab reached the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, the patriots are looking up to him to restore the happy relations between the two communities and to remove the undesirable and injurious effects of these disturbances. The confidence which the people of all classes repose in him has been practically proved by his election as President of the next Congress. The *Haqiqat* regrets that Maulana Shaukat Ali has not yet been released and remarks that though the treatment meted out to him by the jail authorities is not yet known to the public, yet it is an admitted fact that his detention in jail even after August is entirely the result of the bad and vindictive attitude of the jail authorities themselves. The press in general has welcomed the release of Lala Lajpat Rai and expressed the hope that it will have a good effect on the existing political situation in the country.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 8th September, 1923.

European situation.

THE press in general is apprehensive of a conflagration in Europe on account of the quarrel between Italy and Greece. The *Pioneer* deprecates the hasty action of the Italian Government and says that by sending Greece an ultimatum and professing to find the Greek reply unsatisfactory, Italy has cr. ed a situation which bears an ominous resemblance to that which arose out of the Serajevo murders. Unless Italy accepts the League as a competent authority to settle the dispute on terms honourable to both parties, she will be putting herself hopelessly in the wrong with public opinion throughout the world. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the new drama, which threatens to be the Italian Ruhr, has suddenly developed in the Balkans. It condemns the Italian action by saying: heroic indeed of the nation of cowards that licked the feet of Napoleon, now valiantly dealing with Greece, tired and fagged from an Asiatic adventure and excitement of executing the traitor statesmen who led her to the war and defeat. The one result of the Italian adventure may be to throw England into solitary nakedness amidst the armed European camp that France has made of Europe.

The Kenya settlement.

Referring to Dr. Gour's Retaliation Bill the *Pioneer* says that whereas India can do little or nothing to injure the Colonies or Dominions, they can one and all do a great deal to injure India; and if a policy of reprisals is seriously embarked upon, it is India that will suffer. Commenting on Mr. Sastri's statement the paper says: Responsible government will never be achieved by wholesale attacks on other parts of the British Empire. If India suddenly had the misfortune to find herself outside the British Empire it would not be voluble *doctrinaires* who would rule this country. The Indian papers continue to condemn the Kenya settlement. The *Hamdam* describes the decision of the British Cabinet as altogether unjust and one-sided and remarks that Kenya was at first a desolate country and that it was the Indians who through their labour converted the land into a comfortable abode for thousands of Europeans who have now no sense of gratitude left in them and are planning to drive out the Indians. The *Haqiqat* opines that the Liberal agitation in this connection will be of no avail and exhorts the Congress to adopt more effective measures to insure the freedom of Indians abroad and put a stop to the hardships which they have been enduring with extraordinary patience for years. The *Abhyudaya* says that the only manly answer to the unjust decision of the British Cabinet regarding the Kenya questions can be that every Municipality in India should double its taxes on Englishmen and Colonials residing within its limits and should specify a particular locality for their residence, taking care that this locality is not the best part of the town. Indians should also declare in clear and unequivocal terms that they have no love for and do not want to live within that Empire which treats them as inferiors. The *Anand* remarks that Mr. Andrews' statement on the Kenya question, making out that the Government of India and the Secretary of State failed to exert themselves to their utmost to protect the Indian interests, makes it quite plain how absolutely necessary it is to free the Government of India from the control of the British Government.

The Hedjaz affairs.

The hardships endured by the *hajis* continue to engage the attention of the Muslim press which is unanimous in condemning the Sharif for maltreating the pilgrims. The *Naiyar-i-Azam* points out that it is the moral duty of the British Government to protect its subjects in foreign lands, and that if it fails to make proper arrangement for the convenience and comfort of the pilgrims, it will be understood that it is itself indirectly responsible for all this trouble. The *Rahnuma* condemns the maltreatment of the pilgrims and the avarice of the Sharif and remarks that if the people cease to go on pilgrimage the Sharif will starve as it is the only source of his income. The *Medina* remarks that practical steps should be taken against the mean doings of the Sharif, and the sacred soil of Hedjaz being the common property of all the Musalmans should be freed from the clutches of this usurper. The *Mashriq* remarks that Sharif Husain acted quite in accordance

with the wishes of the Musalmans in not allowing the European doctors to enter the holy places.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The press continues to point out the seriousness of the Indian situation created by the communal riots. According to the *Pioneer* the lesson to be learnt from these riots is that the myth of Hindu-Muslim unity, which was so sedulously exploited by the non-cooperators, has been effectually exploded. A unity that is merely based on a common antipathy and not on mutual esteem is likely to be superficial, and to prove unable to withstand any strain. Another point to be borne in mind, says the paper, is the futility of pressing for greater speed in Indianisation of the services when outbreaks of this kind are perpetually occurring to demonstrate beyond the possibility of doubt the necessity of the continued presence of the British official to hold the balance even. Even the *Leader*, which has been publishing long accounts of the riots, is alarmed and says that the disturbances cannot but arouse deep feelings of sorrow among true nationalists in the country. If the two communities carry on a senseless strife among themselves and break each other's head and make the cow, the *pipal* tree and such other non-essentials of religion the arbiters of their fate, they will be deserving only of ridicule and no power on earth can make them free. Both will remain in perpetual serfdom. In another article the paper mildly rebukes Swami Shraddhanand for having asked for a European Collector at Saharanpur, as indiscreet utterances of this kind strengthen the hands of our opponents. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* deprecates the publication of accounts sent by partisans and says: It is a pity that Hindus and Musalmans must now think and speak apart. Once this new vision spreads, and instead of speaking of love and friendship, we accustom ourselves to revelling in speaking of the differences between the two communities, the gulf must widen and widen until one shudders to think of the consequences. The Muslim press is unanimous in throwing the entire responsibility of the *Muharram* disturbances on the Hindus. The *Al Bashir* remarks that Malaviyaji's expression of regret regarding the Katarpur disturbances and his sympathy for the Musalmans is a white lie on his part. It is to be regretted that he has nothing to say regarding the atrocities of the most brutal type perpetrated by the Hindus at Arrah, Shahabad and Ajodhia. By professing himself a sympathiser of the Musalmans he is only deceiving himself for the Musalmans are not such fools as to be duped by his flattery. The *Haqiqat* regrets that Swami Shraddhanand and Pandit Malaviya left no stone unturned to fan the embers of communal hatred the consequences of which are now plainly visible at Saharanpur, Agra and Gonda. If the leaders take no steps to combat the poisonous effect of these mischievous movements collision between the two communities on every occasion will be inevitable. The *Mashriq* sarcastically remarks that the nationalist Musalmans should now be thankful to the Hindus and hopes that they will give full help to their Hindu brethren in eliminating Islam from India. The *Mukhbir-i-Alam* says that the *Muharram* disturbances are the direct consequences of the Hindu communal movements which incited the Hindus against the Musalmans. It advises the Musalmans to prepare themselves for self-defence by organising 'Ali Ghols,' as suggested by Abdul Baqi Khan of Allahabad. The *Al Bureed* writing in a similar strain throws the entire responsibility of these riots on Swami Shraddhanand and Pandit Malaviya and exhorts all thoughtful Hindus to rise and counteract the sentiments of hatred with which the Hindu community has been infected. The *Hamdam* asks Swami Shraddhanand to realise his grave responsibility and not to make the task of restoring peace and order in the affected areas subservient to his communal interests. The *Aj* points out that the Hindu-Muslim disturbances on the occasion of the *Muharram* festival when the two communities should have fraternised with each other and promoted their mutual love and sympathy reflect a gloomy picture of the national life and augur ill to the country. The *Anand* deplores that some lawless Muhammadans on every occasion attack Hindu temples to trample upon the religious feelings of Hindus and that no steps are taken to prevent it. The *Lakshman* regrets the *Muharram* disturbances and says that they afford an opportunity to the enemies of *swaraj* to make excuses to put off the grant of *swaraj*. These disturbances only serve to prolong the life of the bureaucracy and render immeasurable support to the alien rule. The *Shuddhi* and the *Hindu Sangathan* movements have so upset the Muhammadans that they would fain convert all Hindus to Islam and destroy all emblems of their religion if they could help it. They vent their spleen by indulging in riots on the most trifling grounds. It is nothing but a misfortune of the country that the Muhammadan leaders add fuel to the fire by condoning

the excesses of the ignorant Muhammadans by declaring the *Shuddhi* movement to be inopportune and to be the cause of the communal strifes. The Hindus would give up the *Shuddhi* movement to conciliate the Muhammadans and to make the path to *swaraj* easy, but this would be misinterpreted by Muhammadans as weakness on the part of Hindus. The Hindus cannot always yield to the Muhammadan demand of constant sacrifices exclusively on their part and must organise themselves into a solid body specially in view of the growing pan-Islamic tendencies of the Muhammadans which have been particularly stimulated by the Turkish victory and the Khilafat agitation.

The Hindu organisation.

The *Leader* continues to advocate the necessity for organising the Hindus and says that the idea that the Hindus as a community are trying to reform their institutions with a view to injure the Musalmans is so atrocious that it is surprised that it is being seriously entertained in certain quarters. M. Abdul Baqi Khan of Allahabad in a signed article contributed to the *Hamdam* exhorts the Musalmans to organise 'Ali Ghols' for self-defence and advises them not to be duped by and become inactive on account of the ostentatious opposition of a certain section of the Hindus to the *Sangathan* movement. The *Al Bashir* welcomes the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements as a blessing for the Musalmans who had been careless enough to leave their community in a state of degradation and ignorance. These movements will open the eyes of the Musalmans who will now direct their attention towards the improvement of their brethren. The *Rahnuma* remarks that Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand have given a death blow to the national cause, impeded the progress of the country, nullified all the sacrifices undergone by the sons of the motherland for breaking the chains of slavery and demolished the structure of unity raised by the united blood of both the communities. The *Medina* exhorts the Musalmans to sink all their sectarian differences and to unite in order to combat the evil effects of the *Sangathan* and *Shuddhi* movements. The *Bharat Jiwan* holds that the success of the *Hindu Mahasabha* at Benares shows that the Hindu community is still a living community and that the resolutions on the *Shuddhi* movement and untouchability make it quite plain that the Hindus are ready to march with the times. It says that no community need be disconcerted at the organisation of the Hindus which has for its object the protection of all communities living in India. The *Lakshman* expresses gratification at the success of the *Sabha* and hopes that it will do its best to convert the Hindu community into a powerful body. Thousands of Hindu youths should be forthcoming to give effect to its resolutions. The resolutions of the *Sabha* must completely satisfy those which smell danger in the Hindu organisation—that the *Hindu Sabha* professes to do nothing which may stand in the way of the *swaraj* movement. The *Aj* also emphasises that the proceedings of the *Sabha* make it clear that it is in no way opposed to the followers of other religions and particularly to the Musalmans and says that the Muhammadans will be quite unjustified if they still entertain suspicions against the Hindu organisation. In another article the same paper condemns the action of the *Mahasabha* in prohibiting an Akali representative from speaking at one of its meetings and says that by its decision regarding the Nabha affair and this uncivil behaviour it has displeased a living community which can | sacrifice itself cheerfully for the sake of the country.

The Liberal party.

The *Anand* considers as most important the resolutions of the Provincial Liberal Conference regarding the Reforms and the Kenya decision and urges that a most vigorous agitation on constitutional lines should be conducted to give effect to them. The *Shakti* sees in the presidential address at the Conference a desire on the part of the Liberals to join the movement which they at one time tried to crush and is discouraged by the facts that the advocates of that movement are divided amongst themselves and that the Leaders who would have welcomed them most gladly are in jail. Referring to Mr. Chintamani's statement in Madras that there was no prospect of a Liberal understanding with the *Swarajists*, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: We can shake hands with even O'Dwyer, for he was as honestly serving his country as the Indian nationalists are serving theirs. But when the political history of India comes to be written, the Liberals would be execrated.

Congress politics.

Speculation is rife as to the future of the National Congress. The *Advocate* welcomes the statement of Lala Lajpat Rai whom he describes as the "uncrowned king of the Punjab" and says that at a time when the Congress leaders are fighting among

themselves, the release of Lala Lajpat Rai and the trumpet call of unity sounded by him come as a veritable God-send. With the authoritative manifesto of Lala Lajpat Rai and the presence of Maulana Muhammad Ali in the special Congress, we have no doubt that our national energies will be directed towards fruitful channels instead of towards the Dead Sea of party strife. The *Leader* commenting on Lala Lajpat Rai's statement says that it is not quite clear from it whether he actually believes in the efficacy and superiority of the *Swarajist* programme or whether it is to be merely tolerated as a necessary evil with a view to avoid a split in the Congress. It does not agree with Lala Lajpat Rai that creating a deadlock in the Councils will bend the Government and says that such calculated obstruction, irrespective of the merits of questions under discussion, will only strengthen the hands of the Government and set in an era of still greater reaction than stalks the land today. It does not believe that the people are prepared to support a policy of unmitigated obstruction. With regard to Muhammad Ali's views the paper says: Whether he would side with the central party or the orthodox no-changers still remains to be seen, but it is obvious that he will not fall in with the Das-Nehru group. Appeals for unity in the Congress ranks continue to appear in the nationalist press. The *Vikram* urges the leaders of the different parties within the Congress to make it a point to sink their mutual differences and decide upon a common programme at the Delhi session of the Congress and warns them that if they are not united in their opposition to the bureaucracy the remaining prestige of the Congress will also disappear and the attainment of *swaraj* will be unnecessarily delayed. The same paper holds that failure is writ large on the activities of the no-change party for the last eight months and says that it will be following a will-o'-the-wisp if it still persists in those activities despite successive failures and the change in the political situation of the country. The *Vartman* remarks that the decision of the special session of the Congress must be held as mandatory. If it is in favour of Council entry it should be the duty of the no-change party to help the *Swarajists* whole-heartedly in securing their election to the Councils and after that to carry on the non-cooperation programme with the object of forcing the bureaucracy to effect a compromise. If the decision is against Council entry the *swaraj* party should with equal alacrity once more concentrate the united energies of the nation on the fulfilment of the non-cooperation programme. If only both the parties within the Congress are united either of these methods can bring us victory and compel the bureaucracy to release Mahatma Gandhi. The *Anand* regards the general strike ordered by the Congress as a protest against the Kenya decision to be more or less a failure and argues that it is an unmistakable indication of the decline of the prestige of the Congress. The *Hamdam* says that the *Swaraj* party will be disappointed to find that the views of Maulana Muhammad Ali have undergone absolutely no change. His attitude in this respect is quite justified and according to expectations a staunch religious man like him can never shirk the path of duty which he considers to have been enjoined upon him by religion.

The national flag agitation.

The *Pioneer* deprecates the wholesale release of *satyagraha* prisoners at Nagpur and says that it does seem deplorable that clemency should be extended to the leaders and organisers of one of the most discreditable and protracted ebullitions of organised disorder that have been witnessed in India for a long time past. On the other hand, the *Leader* says that the Central Provinces Government has acted wisely in ordering the release of the prisoners. With regard to the flag question, the paper still differs as to the winning party and thinks that an explanation from the Government is needed in view of Mr. Patel's statement claiming the victory. The *Jain Kesari* characterises the end of the national flag agitation at Nagpur as a splendid victory for the *satyagrahis* and thinks that it must suffice to convince the bureaucracy that even the most terrible repression cannot crush popular feelings. The *Pratap* says that the Nagpur compromise signalises an ignominous defeat of the bureaucracy which should realise that the days are gone by when Government orders, whether just or unjust, could be submissively obeyed. We hope that the victory of the *satyagraha* will prove a lasting eye-opener to the inebriated authorities. The *Medina* does not believe that the settlement of the flag affair was in any way humiliating to the nation or was a victory of the Government and remarks that no better results could have been obtained during these days of disunion and disintegration. The *Mashriq* interprets the settlement of the flag affair as the death of non-cooperation. The agitation was started to keep alive the enthusiasm of the people and to fan

the smouldering fire of anarchy. The non-cooperators by entering into a compromise with the Government have buried the non-cooperation at Nagpur.

Political propaganda.

According to the *Independence*, the newly started nationalist paper from Lucknow, India is aspiring after freedom today because she feels that so long as she remains a dependency of England there can be no solution of her difficulties. Whichever side she turns she is confronted with the same problem. At home her sons and daughters feel the weight of her chains. Abroad, whether it be in the outlying parts of the British Empire or elsewhere, the very hall-mark of subjection prevents her getting the treatment that can only be accorded to a free and self-respecting people. Several of the Hindi nationalist papers have seized upon the *Krishna Janamashtmi* day (the birthday of Shri Krishna) as an occasion to harp upon the political, social and general sufferings of the Hindus at the present day and to invoke Shri Krishna to re-incarnate himself in India in accordance with a promise in *Gita*.

Political prisoners.

Referring to the imprisonment of the Secretary of the Congress Committee, Lucknow, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: While His Excellency Sir William Marris is playing the statesman, the military authorities have displayed the Kenya spirit by imprisoning a prominent Congressman in the heart of these provinces. If there is the Nagpur spirit in Lucknow, the Lucknow cantonment area may soon develop into Nagpur civil lines, and instead of the flag we shall have the poster. The *Hamdam* strongly protests against the sentence and deplores the Cantonment Magistrate's interpretation of the law. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* remarks that the prosecution of Maulana Hasrat in jail will cause unrest in the country and will create a suspicion in the minds of the public that the Government is placing obstacles in the way of the Maulana's release. He has already suffered to the extreme and the Government will be well advised not to add to the restrictions already imposed upon him.

Release of Muhammad Ali.

The Indian press is jubilant over the release of Maulana Muhammad Ali. The *Vartman* says that it has infused fresh life into the drooping hearts of the people and expresses the hope that under his leadership *satyagraha* will be practised in every nook and corner of the country and the people of India will be able to win back their freedom. The *Vikram* remarks that the immediate task before the Maulana is to remove the dissensions within the Congress camp and the prevailing tension between the Hindus and the Musalmans. The *Advocate* extends its hearty congratulations to Maulana Muhammad Ali and hopes that he will lend the weight of his great influence on the side of an amicable settlement of the differences that have arisen in the Congress camp and will work out a practicable plan for Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that with the release of Maulana Muhammad Ali public life in India receives an accession which the earnest workers do feel. Muhammad Ali has given the right lead when he directly places in the forefront the question of the release of Gandhi. That must appeal to the masses much more than the programme of the *Swarajists*. A powerful figure, with a massive intellect and a commanding personality, Muhammad Ali walks the past scenes of his "larger jail" as he calls India bereft of Gandhi. No tears nor pious wishes do we expect from the powerful leader of India, but a wise, persistent and unerring lead. The *Hamdam* remarks that in the present critical time Maulana Muhammad Ali is the only man who can by intensive agitation compel the Government to release Mahatma Gandhi.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 15th September, 1923.

European situation.

THE Indian press continues to regard the European situation as alarming. The *Bharat Jiwan* infers from the vacciliating policy of England towards France that either England expects some secretadvantage from the French occupation of the Ruhr or that her usually keen sense of statesmanship has become blunt. The *Abhyudaya* thinks that a war is inevitable in Europe in the near future owing to international complications and urges that India should be prepared for it, as she is bound to take a prominent part in it. The *Hamdam* views with indignation and disgust the Italian excesses in the island of Corfu and remarks that if the dispute is not amicably settled Europe will be involved in a fresh bloody war and all efforts on the part of Great Britain, America and France will be of no avail. The *Oudh Akhbar* apprehends that Bolshevik intrigues are gaining strength in Europe, and if Italy's aggressive policy causes a conflagration in the Balkans, no European Power will be able to avert the disaster.

The Hedjaz affairs.

In a signed letter to the *Hamdam* Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk regrets that the Musalmans of India, being ignorant of the true facts, have thrown the entire blame for the return of the Egyptian Mission carrying the holy carpet on the head of the Sharif, and remarks that the Arab alliance with the British Government has now practically terminated. Though there is no open hostility between the late Allies, they distrust each other. The British Government is anxious to interfere in the Hedjaz affairs in the name of the Muslims of India but it fails to succeed in its designs owing to the sagacity and shrewdness of the Sharif. The new Egyptian Government was now made to serve the purpose of a tool in its hands; but one must be thankful that the holy places were saved from its intrigues though the return of the Egyptian Mission has made the Sharif somewhat unpopular. The *Mashriq* deplores the wholesale condemnation of the Sharif by a certain section of the press which is giving publicity to false and baseless news.

Banishment of Shia divines from Mesopotamia.

The *Al Bashir* remarks that the Shia *Mujtahids* had nothing to say when the holy places of Iraq were made the target of bullets and the notable *Mujtahids* of that place were much oppressed. On the other hand they issued *fatwas* against the protest meetings held by Indian Muslims and sent a deputation to express loyalty to the Government. There is still time that the *Mujtahids* jointly with the other Musalmans should try for the emancipation of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The Shias should exert themselves for the freedom of their co-religionists in Iraq who are being oppressed simply because they do not like Amir Feisal's Government.

The disaster in Japan.

The press in general has expressed sympathy with the Japanese in the disaster which has befallen them and appeals have been made to the Indian public to extend a helping hand to them. The *Aj* urges the Congress to seize this opportunity to draw Japan closer to India and thereby enhance her international importance. Active help to Japan on the part of the Indian National Congress on the present occasion will also greatly facilitate the establishment of the Asiatic Federation.

The Kenya settlement.

The *Vikram* remarks that the Kenya decision has afforded a fresh ground for the continuance of the non-cooperation movement against the British who deny equality of treatment to Indians. It adds that the Indians should make it a point to refrain from participation in the Empire Exhibition and appeals to them to boycott it. The *Aj* ridicules the Liberals for having done nothing to give effect to their decision regarding the boycott of the Empire Exhibition and congratulates the Indian Merchants' Chamber on the patriotism and political sensitiveness, which made them withdraw their cooperation from the Exhibition despite the fact that they stood to profit by it.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Moharram* disturbances continue to be the chief topic in the press. Commenting on the appeal issued by the Saharanpur Musalmans to their co-religionists the *Leader* says that the Musalmans have shown great courage in issuing the appeal. They deserve every appreciation for their honesty and noble-mindedness. They have set an example to the leaders of both the communities to follow. The *Hamdam* also welcomes the manifesto and eulogises the spirit of conciliation and sincerity displayed therein and remarks that the influential Hindus will do well to emulate the example. In another article the paper remarks that communal disputes will disappear when both communities exert themselves to achieve one common object, i.e., their emancipation. The Government cannot be exonerated from the responsibility for failing to educate the people to realise their interests and refrain from shedding the blood of their countrymen. The *Al Bashir* points out that the disunion between the two communities was at first confined to educated classes only, but the disunity which now prevails is of a quite different type. There is every apprehension that the present hostility will seriously affect the peace and order of the country. The Muslim leaders should keep a control over the mob so that even under greatest provocation they may be stopped from doing anything unlawful. But at the same time it is necessary that cowardliness and disappointment may not be allowed to creep into them. In another article the same paper accuses the Hindus of promoting pan-Hinduism and remarks that there being no independent Hindu Empire, our far-sighted friends have begun regarding the Buddhists as Hindus and are now looking towards Japan to help them. The *Al Khalil*, while admitting that a third party tries to set the two communities against each other, remarks that the present tension has not been created by a third party but by the communities themselves. No one with the least wisdom in him can admit the assertion of Maulana Azad Subhani that the Hindus and the Muhammadans are as united as before. The *Naved* remarks that the Hindus at first supported the Muslim demands regarding Khilafat, thinking that it would bring about their emanicipation, but now they are afraid of increasing the strength of the Musalmans and are entertaining the false pride that they can achieve *swaraj* unaided. The *Azad* remarks that the District Officers are also to a great extent responsible for so much loss of life and property at Saharanpur. If they had taken adequate precautions beforehand such a horrible disturbance could not have taken place. Open inquiries should be instituted and those responsible for the breach of peace should be thoroughly dealt with. The *Aligarh Gazette* regrets that the Musalmans are still in a sad plight in the affected areas though the disturbances have quieted down. The *Oudh Akhbar* takes to task the Muslim and the Hindu press for exciting communal animosity by publishing exaggerated and alarming accounts of the disturbances and remarks that if the present state of affairs is allowed to continue both the communities will go on fighting for ever. The *Al Khalil* remarks that some English officer should be sent to Saharanpur so that the Hindus and Musalmans may have no chance of accusing the authorities of unlawfully siding with one party. It will be no good to the Government if the Musalmans are persecuted in order to clear Shaikh Habibullah of suspicions entertained by the Hindus. The *Medina* asserts that the Hindus started the disturbance at Saharanpur and a general fight, pillage and loot that ensued subsequently was the result of connivance on the part of Government officers. The Hindu papers in general made it a point to throw all the responsibility of the disturbances on the shoulders of the Muhammadans. The *Vartman* remarks: The fact that in all the Hindu-Muslim riots the Hindus have been the chief sufferers does not grieve us. Neither are we grieved by the fact that the Hindus do not retaliate even on being thrashed by the Musalmans. But what grieves us and makes us shudder is the thought as to how will the Hindus be able to defend their big country when India gets *swaraj*. It is impossible that seven crores of Musalmans who are stronger than the Hindus will serve them or remain subservient to them. "Might is right" is the order of the day, and it is necessary that the Hindus should become a living nation and not remain a mass of living carcasses. The *Aj* deplores the present tension and remarks that there is no true Hindu or true Musalman in India, because slaves have no religion. If they are true Hindus or true Muhammadans it is their foremost duty to devote all their energy to the attainment of India's freedom. They should realise that they cannot gain anything by fighting against each other. The *Pratap* says that the Hindu-Muslim riots frequently occurring in the country are incontrovertible evidence of the fact that the foundation of the Hindu-Muslim unity was very weak. These riots also show that the Hindus are weak, impotent and unorganised and that they cannot even protect their

lives and property. It is also clear that a section of the Musalmans is bent upon mischief and the enemies of the country, in order to serve their selfish ends, make it their tool in creating disturbances. The *Sudharak* holds that the Hindus have been the chief sufferers in the *Moharram* disturbances at the various places and calls upon them to take precautionary measures against similar future calamities, otherwise the Muhammadans, it says, will perpetrate atrocities on Hindus on behalf of the Government and drive them out of India. The *Shakti* opines that the negligence of the district authorities is responsible for the disturbance at Saharanpur and urges that the matter should be inquired into through an independent committee and the sufferers compensated. The *Lakshman* says that the *Morarram* disturbances have betrayed the culpable ferocity of a section of the Muhammadans and its antipathy to the sentiments of Nationalism as well as the equally culpable cowardliness of the Hindus. The Muhammadans were aggressors in all places. Those Muhammadans are in the wrong who think that Hindus would be frightened into giving up the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements by such thrashing and spoliation. If these Aurangzebian tactics can lead to anything they will only promote the growth of anti-Muslim feeling among the Hindus. If the Hindu-Muslim unity is to be re-established the perpetrators of these atrocities should be openly and unreservedly condemned. The Hindus should be ashamed of their cowardliness and should concert proper measures for self-defence in future. Muhammadans will do well to give up their overbearing haughtiness and learn that only a spirit of compromise on their part can secure them concessions from the Hindus. In the opinion of the *Anand* the Hindu-Muslim disturbances can be stopped only if the Musalmans appreciate the value of religious toleration and to respect the religious feelings of the followers of other faiths. The *Nyaya* wonders, in view of the communal outbursts, whether both Hindus and Muhammadans have made up their minds to live in perpetual slavery. The *Gayan Shakti* points out that it is because of the communal weakness of the Hindus that the Muhammadans are encouraged to do violence to them and that if the Hindus will organise themselves and be prepared to return blow for blow in self-defence the Muhammadans will learn to respect their rights and seek their friendship. It takes those Hindu leaders to task who shut their eyes to the communal aggressiveness of the Muhammadans for the sake of the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Abhyudaya* urges that if the Hindus do not like to be beaten, it is their duty to strengthen themselves and make themselves fit for self-protection.

The Hindu organisation.

The *Garhwali* says that the resolutions passed by the *Hindu Mahasabha* show that the Hindu community has at last awakened after bitter experience and is now earnestly determined to set its house in order. If the Hindu leaders are able to give effect to these resolutions the Hindu community will surely see better days once again and will hold its head high at least in its own country. Raja Moti Chand's and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's addresses must convince all that the *Hindu Mahasabha* does not aim at placing obstacles in the way of the Hindu-Muslim unity but wants to rejuvenate and strengthen the Hindu community and then make it cooperate efficiently with other Indian communities for the promotion of national interests. The *Shakti* asserts that the proceedings of the *Hindu Mahasabha* must convince even the most confirmed sceptic that the Hindu organisation is not being undertaken to injure the Muhammadans nor is it likely to stand in the way of the *swaraj* movement. If the Hindus take measures for self-defence against the attacks of low-class Muhammadan ruffians who are ever ready to beat and plunder them the high-class Muhammadans need not be disconcerted at those measures. The *Aj* holds that if the Hindu community does not take early steps to prevent its decadence its future will become very dark and dismal. The removal of untouchability and the protection of the Hindu widows are the two most important problems before the Hindu community, the solution of which will decide whether India is to progress or recede. The *Al Khalil* remarks that the speeches of the Hindus at certain places and the recent disturbances go a long way to prove that *Sangathan* movement is anti-Muslim. The Hindus want to throw dust in the eyes of the world and there is no help against it if the Muslim leaders still remain under a delusion. The *Mansur* points out that Pandit Malaviya's activities are goading the Musalmans to organise "Ali Ghols" and he is thereby creating an atmosphere of civil strifes throughout the country. The *Al Bashir* remarks that it is idle to expect that the resolution of the *Mahasabha* will be carried into effect and Hindu Rajputs will receive the Malkanas into their brotherhood. The Hindus simply want to increase their seats in the Councils and local bodies with no desire to improve the condition

of those whom they want to take in their fold. It is a policy of great selfishness that for the personal interests of the educated and respectable Hindus whose number is very small, millions of people are kept in a state of degradation. If the respectable Hindus cannot admit them into their brotherhood they should be allowed to become Musalmans or Christians. The *Naved* describes Pandit Malaviya as a synonym of subjugation and slavery and holds him responsible for the failure of non-cooperation movement and for breaking the Hindu-Muslim unity. He has rendered greater service to the Government than Lord Reading as the latter in spite of all his resources could not stop the activities of the Indians for their emancipation.

Congress politics.

With the approach of the special session of the Congress appeals for unity in the Congress camp have become more insistent in the Nationalist press. The *Independence* says that without unity no work is possible in a slave country struggling to throw off its slave mentality. Unity should be the watchward of every one who goes to Delhi. After quoting Lenin's opinion on using or boycotting the country's legislatures the paper says that there is nothing immoral in the Bolshevik boycott from within of bureaucratic legislatures. The *Advocate* is hopeful that the time, energy and money spent on the special Congress will not be allowed to go to waste but utilised in giving the country a definite lead in the right direction. The *Leader* complacently remarks that months of ceaseless discussion have failed to secure harmony. The Congress and the country have been steadily falling a victim to the very spirit of non-cooperation which was aroused to destroy the bureaucratic Government. It does not think the chance of a lasting settlement at Delhi is possible. The utmost the Congressmen may achieve is a patched up peace of only a temporary nature. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is doubtful whether the leaders will give a better account of their political responsibility under the grave crises at Delhi than they did at Bombay or Nagpur. In another place it says if Muhammad Ali will raise his fist on the Congress table and say that there shall be no Council entry, we shall see in Delhi a repetition of Gaya. The *Aj* says that the key to the Yarvada jail which Maulana Muhammad Ali is searching for lies in the solidarity of the Congress and the Hindu-Muslim unity. It is the paramount and imperative duty of the leaders to restore and maintain the unity or the solidarity of the Congress in order to save it from destruction. The no-change party will do well to yield to the *Swaraj* party in the national interests. The *Lakshman* remarks that as no leader is now prepared to shoulder the responsibility of initiating the *satyagraha* campaign the best course for the no-change party to adopt is to yield to the *Swaraj* party on the question of Council entry, otherwise the Congress is sure to suffer a fatal blow. It is for the special session of the Congress to decide whether the elected Congressmen are to accept seats in the Councils and present their united demand for *swaraj* from within them or from without or whether they are to establish rival councils of their own. The *Vikram* holds that as long as a compromise is not arrived at in the special session of the Congress which will coalesce the various parties within the Congress against the common enemy, the future of India will continue to remain dark. The *Bharat Jiwan* points out that the Congress has not yet fully recovered from the injury caused to it by the secession of the Moderates, and if the no-change party does not adopt a conciliatory attitude towards the Congress, it will surely dig the grave of the Congress. The *Lakshman* remarks that the Congressmen have no definite chances of securing their majority in the Councils and appeals to all the Congress leaders to sink their differences at the special session of the Congress and decide upon the inauguration of mass civil disobedience. It asserts that a sufficiently large number of people will be forthcoming to start and maintain the struggle provided the leaders compose their differences and give them the lead by their own example. The *Nyaya* urges the Congress leaders to proclaim the boycott of all British goods and institutions at the Delhi session of the Congress as a protest against the inhuman treatment of Indians in the Colonies. The *Haqiqat* dwells upon the importance of the special session of the Congress and remarks that if it fails to give a true lead India will be pushed back to the conditions prevailing eight years ago. The decision of the Congress should be held binding on the nation and the *Swaraj* party should be dissolved after that. The *Rohilkhand Gazette*, which is in favour of Council entry with a view to prevent the adoption of repressive measures, remarks that the programme of the *Swaraj* party is to some extent beneficial to the country. The *Hamdam* regrets the *Ulema's fatwa* in favour of Council boycott and remarks that the Muslim

public still attaches greater value to the *fatwa* of the *Ulema* than to the decision of the Congress. Under such circumstances it will not be easy for the Muslim candidates of the *Swaraj* party to enlist the sympathy of the Muslim voters. The *Aligarh Gazette* remarks that the *fatwa* has no value in the eyes of the public. It has no religious significance if it can be discarded like a suit of clothes.

The National flag agitation.

The *Leader* holds that there was no victory for *satyagraha* and the truth cannot be hidden in spite of the clever manner in which Mr. Patel managed to bring about a settlement which terminated a senseless conflict. The *Kartavya* says that the triumph of *satyagraha* at Nagpur should open the eyes of even sceptics and should suffice to convince them that even the most tyrannical ruler can be made to yield to *satyagraha* provided sufficient self-sacrifices and sufferings are undergone for it. Indian leaders of all parties should take a lesson from this victory and once more consider the desirability of preparing the people for mass civil disobedience. The *Aj* remarks that in the Nagpur *satyagraha* the Central Provinces Government had to undergo humiliation in all matters. If the Government had in compliance with the decision of the Central Provinces Legislative Council withdrawn the magisterial order and released the *satyagraha* prisoners the faith of the public in constitutional methods would have been confirmed and the party advocating constitutional agitation would have gained strength, but the Government would not do it and had to accept an ignominous defeat in the end. The paper hopes that the country will profit by this *satyagraha* battle and try to understand the real meaning of civil disobedience. The *Vikram* welcomes the *satyagraha* prisoners on their release and says that they are the true sons of India, the pride of the country and the very life of the nation. The *Aligarh Gazette* disagrees with those who regard the Nagpur settlement as a victory of the non-cooperators. The *Hamdam* describes the settlement as a victory for the *satyagrahists* inasmuch as the Government had to yield.

Political propaganda.

The *Dehati* gives a brief sketch of the life of Shri Krishna, taking particular care to point out that it was the chief object of his life to destroy unjust Government and to raise the standard of revolt against wicked and despotic tyrants. It was his motto that unjust kings and oppressive Governments should either be mended or ended. The same paper publishes a poem in which the following lines among others occur: "We shall shed our blood and save the honour of the country . . . Our hearts will be satisfied only that day when we will make the enemies of the country cry. They will refrain from their misdeeds only when we give them slap for slap."

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Hedjaz affairs.

As a result of complaints by *haj* pilgrims, Muslim feeling against the King of Hedjaz is growing more bitter. The *Medina* is fully confident that after the death of the treacherous Sharif his supporters will join the Nationalist Turks who will again bring the holy places of the Musalmans under the direct control of the great Khilafat. It welcomes the conference of representatives of the Muslim world shortly to be convened at Constantinople to decide the question of Khilafat, and suggests that proper punishment should be inflicted upon the Sharif for his treachery and misdeeds.

The Kenya settlement.

The Indian press continues to express indignation at the treatment of Indians in the Colonies in spite of its preoccupation in connection with the special session of the Congress and the Hindu-Muslim controversy. Commenting on the Congress resolution on Kenya the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that every Indian has felt the insult behind the Kenya decision. Britain and the Dominions can only be roused by our power to do harm. Justice and fairplay can no more be associated with a Government that has made itself responsible for the Kenya decision. As selfishness is behind the Kenya decision, selfishness can alone be the effective remedy. The *Anand* says that Indians will do well not to be taken in by the sophistry of the *Pioneer* in making out that the translation into action of their threat of retaliation as a protest against the Kenya settlement would render the position of Indian residents in the Colonies all the more unbearable, but to continue their agitation with redoubled vigour and to adopt such measures as they may be able to carry out to a successful end. This alone will make the British Government alter their decision and bring the Colonials to their knees before the Indians.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on the action taken by the special session of the Congress to improve communal relations, the *Leader* is extremely doubtful if the method proposed for checking mischievous communal propaganda will be at all effective or have a salutary effect. It particularly disapproves of the action the Congress proposes to take with regard to newspapers as it would be regarded as a gratuitous and presumptuous attempt to interfere with the liberty of the press. It is ill-advised and calculated to defeat its own end. The real solution of the problem lies in a fundamental change in the outlook of the two communities towards national problems. Shah Itrat Husain, vakil of Benares, in an open letter addressed to Maulana Muhammad Ali and published in the *Hamdam*, requests the Maulana not to shed Muslim blood for the sake of *swaraj* which is in fact a Hindu *raj*. The sacrifices which the Hindu leaders are undergoing are for their own community. They participated in the Khilafat movement simply to win the Muslim public on their side to be able to oppose the Government vigorously. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the committee appointed by the Congress to remove the present tension between the two communities can be useful only in case of actual riots, whereas the necessity of the time demands that all possibility of the recurrence of such disturbances should be for ever removed. The *Hamdam* supports the suggestion of the Raja of Dalippur of establishing Hindu-Muslim Union Boards all over the country to improve the relations between the two communities and remarks that the communal disturbances which break out on trifling grounds will be prevented by this means. The *Al Bashir* complains that the Hindu press is publishing exaggerated account of the disturbances, though the Hindus started the disturbance at every place. The number of casualties suffered by the Musalmans is much greater than those suffered by the Hindus, which alone shows that it were the Musalmans who were oppressed. The *Mashriq* says that the Musalmans will be the losers in the *swaraj* movement and that under cover of unity preparations are being made to annihilate them. The Musalmans should now wake up as their very existence is in danger. The *Naved* remarks that the root cause of all the evil is the *Sangathan* movement which is an

open challenge to the Musalmans. The paper holds the editors of the vernacular press responsible for breaking the unity. In a letter published in the *Al Khalil* Maulana Abdul Bari writes that the Hindus always cooperated with the powerful. At one time the Government, to serve its own purpose, sided with the Musalmans, but the situation is changed and it now wants to crush them. It is the most critical time for the Musalmans as the Hindus have united against them. Commenting upon the letter the paper remarks that after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Malaviya found a good opportunity of creating a split in the Congress camp and launching an attack upon the Musalmans with the help of Swami Shraddhanand. It is possible that the Government may have encouraged him as it cannot rule successfully unless there is disunion between the two communities. The *Mansur* is gratified that the activities of the enemies of Islam have opened the eyes of the Musalmans who have now become alive to their interests and are realising their weakness. The *Jhansi Samachar* deplores the *Moharram* disturbances and says that they only embitter the feelings between the Hindus and the Muhammadans which can in no way benefit the country. It adds that the Muhammadans are in the wrong if they are offended at the *Shuddhi* and the *Sangathan* movements seeing that if Hindus become strong and organised, the united demand of the Hindus and Muhammadans will bring the country nearer to *swaraj*. If the Muhammadans are anxious to establish their relations with their co-religionists in all parts of the world, they can surely have no objection to the Hindus organising themselves in their own country. The *Aj* says that it is natural for the third party which sets the Hindus and the Muhammadans against each other to be delighted at the Hindu-Muslim riots and to wish for the dissolution of the Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Kartavya* remarks that the *Moharram* disturbances have fully exposed the hollowness of the Hindu-Muslim unity and asks whether the Hindus will continue to sleep even after the Agra and the Saharanpur disturbances. It asks the Hindus to adopt practical measures for organising and strengthening themselves so as to chastise those who make bold to attack their women and temples. The *Prem* holds that these disturbances are highly injurious to the interests of the nation and the country and deplores the fact that though the Hindus are severely thrashed they do not wake up yet. The *Arya Mitra* says that the disturbances on the part of Muhammadans cannot frighten the Hindus into giving up the *Shuddhi* movement. The days are gone by when the Hindus tamely allowed their rights to be trampled upon. The *Bharat Jiwan* ascribes the *Moharram* disturbances to the senseless obstinacy of both Hindus and Muhammadans and suggests that a Round-table Conference should be arranged to decide the measures to be taken in case of a religious conflict arising between Hindus and Muhammadans. It remarks that, unless stopped, these disturbances can only end in the extinction of the two communities. On the other hand, if they unite in mutual love and friendship, there is no power on earth which can withhold *swaraj* from them much longer. The *Anand* urges the Government to show firmness in dealing with the delinquents in the Saharanpur riot and thereby prove its love of impartial administration. The same paper takes to task those English journals which to serve their own purpose ascribe the Hindu-Muslim riots to the increasing Indianisation of the Civil Service and points out that their contention cannot hold water seeing that no such riots take place in Indian States where there are no European officers. In another article the same paper views with disfavour the efforts of Hindu and Muslim leaders at Delhi for a Hindu-Muslim compromise on the ground that it will put a stop to the Hindu organisation movement. The *Desh Bhakta* says that the Government is to a great extent responsible for the prolongation of the disturbance at Agra and the consequent sufferings of the Hindus and urges that an independent committee should be appointed to inquire into and report on the whole affair so as to ensure due punishment of the guilty and proper compensation to the sufferers. The *Vartman* remarks that the atrocities of the Muslim ruffians on the Hindus unmistakably demonstrate that the latter cannot protect themselves without organisation.

Special session of the Congress.

The press in general hails with satisfaction the compromise effected at Delhi between the no-changers and the advocates of Council entry. In this connection the Indian press praises Mr. Muhammad Ali's statesmanship and earnestness. Even the *Leader*, which "profoundly differed" from him now considers it its "pleasant duty to offer its meed of praise to him for the quality of leadership he displayed at Delhi and for the valuable part he played in evolving harmony out of chaos."

Presidential address.

Commenting on the presidential address the *Leader* says that it ought to satisfy all sections in the Congress. It does not, however, agree with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that Hindus are wanting in patriotism and says that the Muhammadans have never evinced half as much zeal in national affairs as they have done in the Khilafat affair. The Hindu *Sangathan* is the result of the reaction caused by the aggressive activities of the Muslims against the Hindus. It emphatically denies that there has been any retrogression in the broad outlook of the Hindus. They place in the forefront the interests of the country and are not prepared to subordinate them to the interests of other countries. They have no divided allegiance like the Musalmans. The *Anand* disagrees with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's opinion that a small organised body of non-cooperators is sufficient for the success of the non-cooperation movement and points out that no big movement can succeed unless it carries the majority of the people with it and unless they are prepared to undergo sufferings in its cause. The *Hamdam* remarks that the presidential address betrays a partiality to the *Swaraj* party. The *Oudh Akhbar* congratulates the country upon the compromise arrived at the Congress and remarks that the presidential address was tiresome and lengthy and an unduly great portion was devoted to Turkish affairs. The *Advocate* says that the President's address is at once a sober and puissant pronouncement on the present situation.

Compromise resolution.

The *Advocate* heartily congratulates the Congressmen on effecting the much-desired unity in the Congress ranks by lifting the ban on Council entry and giving the right lead to the country. In another article the paper says that it considers it a happy augury that compromise has been reached at Delhi. It agrees with Maulana Muhammad Ali that the question of Hindu-Muslim unity is the question of the hour. The *Independence* says that the entire country will hail with joy and relief the news of a compromise having been arrived at. It does not hide the fact that the compromise is not enthusiastic, not unanimous, and that there are still burning embers all round. Unless there is sincerity behind the present patch-up, the situation will deceive no one. If there is no union in the Congress there can be no union anywhere else, and if the two parties had to separate then it is safe to say that the Indian National Congress would have died at Delhi, Muhammad Ali only presiding at the funeral of the great institution at Cocanada. This has fortunately been averted. In another article the paper says that the belated compromise may not be able to achieve a miracle in the forthcoming elections, but if it has killed that monstrous enemy of the Congress, namely, mutual suspicion among fellow-workers in a great cause, the special Congress has not met in vain. The *Leader* is doubtful if the compromise will restore unity in the Congress, but congratulates the *Swarajists* on their success and condoles with the die-hards who have been asked to accept a compromise which marks a fundamental departure from the revolutionary ideals of the Congress. The *Pratap* says that the only way to bring about the desired unity between the conflicting Congress parties is to effect such a compromise as will leave no room for any party to claim victory. The *Vikram* warns the no-changers that the assumption of an uncompromising attitude on their part will result in the secession of able and experienced leaders like Mr. Das and Pandit Moti Lal Nehru from the Congress which will mean not only its destruction but also the growth of the enemy's strength. The *Aj* remarks that the question should not be whether Council entry is opposed to non-cooperation or not but whether it will facilitate the attainment of *swaraj* or not. If there be any doubt about the latter preposition, let us actually try it, and if there be some difference of opinion among us let each of us work according to his own views and convictions. The *Vartman* expresses surprise that the *Swaraj* party which has caused terrible dissensions in the Congress and impeded the progress of the national movement by its mad obduracy over a trifling matter like the Council entry has not as yet decided as to what it will do in the Councils. The inevitable result of this uncertain programme will be that the Congress will be discredited for the failure of the *Swarajists*. The *Hamdam* doubts the success of the *Swarajists* in the coming elections and remarks that if they fail to secure a majority in the Council all their activities will prove fruitless. The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses its gratification at the compromise arrived at between the contending Congress parties and congratulates Maulana Muhammad Ali and the other members of the no-change party for maintaining a conciliatory attitude and thus saving the Congress from a great danger.

Civil disobedience.

The *Leader* is dissatisfied with the civil disobedience resolution passed at the special Congress and says that the lessons of the recent past seem to have been wasted upon the leaders of the Congress. They are trying to overcome the effects of the reaction caused by the collapse of the non-cooperation movement by prescribing the administration of stimulants to a lifeless corpse. It may temporarily divert attention, but the paper fears that the spirit of lawlessness aroused by the campaign of civil disobedience is likely to cause more injury to the community than to the bureaucracy. To launch upon such a campaign in the existing conditions would be an act of extreme short-sightedness. It will strengthen the hands of the reactionaries and will not promote the cause of self-government. The *Advocate* thinks that the civil disobedience resolution will revive the non-cooperation movement which has been in a state of suspended animation for some time, carrying the nation towards the goal of *swaraj* at an accelerated pace. The *Pioneer* sees in the civil disobedience resolution the proof of the fact that the Congress movement is now in the hands of the extremist section of the revolutionary party. It refers to the activities of Mr. Muhammad Ali in connection with the last Afghan War and the differences between the Hindu and the Muslim communities and says that they are likely to become worse if a new campaign of lawlessness is inaugurated. It sums up the article by saying that the proceedings have a moral for every man in India who has a stake in the country and desires that order shall be maintained and property protected. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* welcomes the resolution of civil disobedience and says: Delhi has helped most to revive the conditions on the eve of Bardoli. Muhammad Ali smashing the system of "Satanic Government" from outside and Das, with the brave followers pulling down the "fraud," as he called the Councils, the Indian political atmosphere promises to be as exciting all over India as it was before the Chauri Chaura and the Bardoli call for retreat. If a handful of determined Sikhs can create at Jaiton a situation that thrills every political-minded Indian with patriotic fervour, there is no reason why the Indian National Congress, now emerging united from internecine quarrels, should not once again rouse into being an India that will respond to the touch of patriots.

Indian independence.

Referring to the Independence resolution the *Pioneer* says that the revolutionaries who talk so fluently of India becoming independent of the British Empire could no more govern this country than they could level the Himalayas or control the monsoon. The evil projects of the revolutionaries may possibly lead to the destruction of the Constitutional Reforms; they may cause strikes, disturbances, and bloodshed. But they will never succeed in overthrowing the existing *régime* in India or in establishing the reign of anarchy which, in the absence of a powerful Government, would be the inevitable outcome of the sinister movement which has been set on foot. Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, the editor of *Independence*, writing before the Independence resolution was discussed in the open Congress said that the Delhi Congress has spoken out in a voice of thunder which must be heard and that nothing on earth can stand between India and her God-given right to complete unmitigated sovereign independence. He characterised the passage of the resolution in the Subjects Committee as the key to Yervada jail and said that the eternal spirit of the Mahatma's chainless mind will yet work a wonder not dreamt of in the philosophy of pinchbeck Imperialists. But the rejection of the resolution in the open Congress has exasperated Mr. Ranga Iyer who in a long article calls the result of the voting as a menace to Indian independence. Muhammad Ali's part in opposing the resolution is displayed in bold headlines as "Staggering moderation" and "Muhammad Ali's betrayal" and he is asked to resign the presidentship of the next Congress. The writer denounces the quality of Indian leadership and says that the Maulana has won his battle against India's independence by a narrow majority. He places Mr. Muhammad Ali on par with the Moderates and in the course of an emotional article he says: The Congress has failed to fix so far complete freedom as the goal of India, because it is dominated by educated classes consisting for the most part of halting apes of Europe. The educated agitator and not the bureaucracy has proved an obstacle almost insuperable in the way of India's deliverance. And so long as the English-educated politician dominates the Congress, so long as its discussions are conducted in faultless foreign language, the Congress also is an obstacle in the path of independence. The Congress has to be purged and purified of politicians, diplomats and statesmen if it is to represent the genius of a simple-hearted people of ancient descent who are not afraid of calling a spade a spade. The writer deplores that the very

enthusiasts who carried the resolution of civil disobedience have choked away independence. Without a definite goal, civil disobedience will only prove as hitherto a mere phantom of the wilderness. Those who long to see the motherland crowned with independence must not be afraid to say so. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the defeat of the Independence resolution shows that Indian politicians realise that behind the Empire idea is the British soldier and British cannon. The paper does not attach much value to the amended resolution as passed by the Congress, but says that it describes as nothing else can describe the utter disgust of the people at the attitude of Britain with regard to Indians in Kenya. The *Shakti* says that as Indians can never expect to be treated honourably within the British Empire they should adopt complete independence as the goal of their national struggle and try to attain it by means of soul force. The thirty crores of Indians have but to combine and make a united demand and they are sure to obtain it.

Boycott of British goods.

In an article headed "The Gospel of hate" the *Pioneer* condemns the Congress resolution in respect of the boycott of British goods and says that it has no doubt whatever that the Government of India and the Provincial Governments are prepared to take all the necessary measures to protect Indian traders in the exercise of their legitimate rights as citizens. It denounces the politicians who supported the boycott resolution and says that hatred is the basis of their creed. The *Oudh Akhbar* is not sanguine that the boycott of British goods will make Englishmen realise the sentiments of Indians or pay any regard to their aspirations. The British capitalists patiently bore all the losses when the boycott was in full swing in connection with the non-cooperation movement and in the end it was the Indians who suffered. At a time when the Hindus and the Musalmans are prepared to break each other's head it is absurd to talk about such movements. The *Hindustani* advocates the boycott of British goods to safeguard Indian interests, but is doubtful as to the practical success of the scheme. The boycott may open the eyes of Great Britain and compel it to revise its policy but is doubtful if the Indians who have neither sufficient money nor trade will be able to supply the country with necessities. The *Aj* urges that as the boycott of British goods has the support of the leaders of all shades of opinion it should be acted upon by all the various political parties in the country. The *Anand* remarks that as the boycott of British goods is not practicable, its failure will only discredit the Indian agitation.

Release of Mahatma Gandhi.

The *Vartman* opines that the only way of removing the ever-increasing helplessness and lethargy in the people is to suspend all other activities and concentrate the entire resources of the country on securing the release of Mahatma Gandhi. It suggests that the national *satyagrahis* should sit *dharna* at the Yervada jail and secure the Mahatma's release by virtue of their penance and soul force. In another article the same paper says that *satyagraha* alone should constitute now the entire national programme. The *satyagraha* of the Akalis inflicted an ignominous defeat upon the irresponsible bureaucracy of the Punjab and now the Nagpur *satyagraha* has shaken the very foundation of the Indian bureaucracy. It is gratifying to note that our valiant commanders, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Seth Jamnalal and Mr. Rajgopalacharya have begun to make preparations for starting *satyagraha* at the Yervada jail which will establish that cannons and swords cannot withstand its might. The *Lakshman* urges that instead of conducting *satyagraha* at the Yervada jail we should conduct it at the Viceroy's and Governors' residences to paralyse the administrative machinery. The *Oudh Akhbar* heartily supports the Congress leaders in the matter of Mahatma Gandhi's release and remarks that the improvement of the present deplorable condition of the country depends upon his release.

Liberals and zamindars.

The *Anand* urges that as the political programme of the zamindars as laid down in the election manifesto of the United Provinces Ministers is almost identical to that of the Liberals they will do well to join the Liberals so as to increase the chances of the success of constitutional agitation through the Councils.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 29th September, 1923.

Situation in Europe.

THE *Oudh Akhbar* regards Italy as a source of danger to Europe and accuses it of pursuing a policy of militarism and political aggrandisement. The *Kartavya* infers from the international complications in Europe that a war is imminent in the near future and that India will have to take a prominent part in it. It urges the Indians to be prepared for it and bear in mind Raja Mahendra Pratap's words that they are not only to ply the *charkha* quietly but to take a prominent part in the coming war.

The Kenya settlement.

The *Surya* says that there is yet time for the British Government to allay the unrest caused among Indians by the Kenya settlement, otherwise it shall have to face an agitation similar to the one brought about by the Rowlatt Act, as Indians of all shades of opinion are determined to oppose this unjust decision. The *Pratap* remarks that not only from the view-point of the non-cooperators but also from that of the Moderates it is insulting and humiliating for India to participate in the Imperial Conference after the Kenya decision and that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's stereotyped speeches in the Conference will not produce that effect which his vacant seat will do. One Babu Ram Nath Seth, writing in the *Swadesh*, points out that it is because of their weakness that the Kenya question has been decided adversely against the Indians; when thirty crores of Indians are not strong enough to prevent their rights being wrested from them, it is but fit and proper that they should be kicked everywhere. If they are not roused despite such kicks they will surely be swept out of existence at an early date. All political parties should sink their differences and combine to boycott British goods completely with a view to secure a satisfactory solution of the Kenya question.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Tohfa-i-Hind* remarks that the question of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements are beyond the jurisdiction of the Congress and that it will be another Himalayan mistake after the Bardoli blunder if these questions are decided against the Hindus. The *Al Bureed* remarks that the Arya Press does not regard the decision as binding upon the Hindus and that if it persists in its attitude the difficulties of the Congress will be increased. Unless these movements are discontinued, the Congress will never be able to unite the two communities. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Arya Press is determined to disobey the Congress decision and that a large section of the Musalmans is also dissatisfied with it. The *Arya Varta* opines that the unity brought about by the Congress will prove as unstable and weak as it was before. The Hindus in the matter of *Shuddhi* do not care for the protests of the Musalmans and the Congress and are ready to oppose both with utter disregard of consequences. The *Haqiqat* says that the country has no interest left in the civil disobedience and Council entry questions. Its sole anxiety is the prevention of disturbances and maintenance of peace and order. If the present state of affairs is allowed to exist the country can achieve no political progress. The *Al Bashir* holds that at each place the disturbance was started by the Hindus. In the presence of such anarchy and disturbance no country can achieve progress and freedom. The *Mansur* observes that Swami Shraddhanand by publishing an exaggerated account of the Saharanpur disturbances has two purposes to serve, first to enlist the sympathy of the Government for the oppressed Hindus and secondly to strengthen the *Sangathan* movement. The *Gorakshan* sneers at the Hindus for the cowardice displayed by them on the occasion of the recent communal disturbances which resulted even in the disgrace of their women and the desecration of their temples and calls upon them to become self-reliant and fit themselves for self-protection, if they do not want to be swept out of existence. The *Jhansi Samachar* says that when the Muhammadans are not prepared to respect the right of the Hindus to reclaim their brethren, and perpetrate atrocities on them because of the *Shuddhi* movement, they cannot expect that the British Government will meet their demand for the right of self-government. It urges the

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Muhammadan leaders to issue a manifesto to restrain their co-religionists from attacking the Hindus on the excuse of the *Shuddhi* movement. If they fail to do so the Hindus will be justified in entertaining the belief that the Muhammadan public support the Muhammadan ruffians in their nefarious practices and that they will have to organise themselves for self-protection. A correspondent writing in the *Prem* urges the Hindus to give a crushing reply to the Muhammadan atrocities by organising and strengthening themselves to such an extent as to be able to proclaim to the Muhammadans that if they want to live in India they should learn to remain at peaceful terms with the Hindus. Before seeking the attainment of *swaraj* the Hindus should first settle their domestic differences with the Muhammadans. The *Arya Mitra* asks the Hindus not to abandon the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements, which are absolutely necessary for their self-preservation, for the sake of the so-called Hindu-Muslim unity and even to disown their leaders if they persist in this course of self-destruction. The *Lakshman* urges that in order to save their lives, property, women and temples from Muhammadan ruffians the Hindus should develop among themselves the sense of self-respect and of communal sympathy, encourage their youths to cultivate physical strength, organise themselves into a solid body and at once remove the ban of untouchability from the depressed classes. The *Aj* regrets that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the special Congress, indulged in partiality to his co-religionists regarding the recent communal disturbances. The *Vikram* says that despite the excesses perpetrated by Muslims on the Hindus on the occasion of the recent disturbances the Muslim leaders did not display as much moderation as the Hindu leaders did in their mutual deliberations at Delhi to remove the existing Hindu-Muslim tension and urges that for the sake of real unity it is urgently necessary that the excesses of Muslims against Hindus at Agra, Saharanpur and elsewhere should be severely condemned. The *Anand* notes with satisfaction that the resolution regarding Hindu-Muslim unity passed at the special session of the Congress does not interfere with the activities of the Hindu *Mahasabha* and the *Sangathan* movement and urges the Hindu workers to renew their activities to strengthen the Hindu organisation which will surely put a stop to the excesses of ruffians, cement the Hindu-Muslim unity on a secure footing and also help forward the national cause against all odds. One Ravi Dat Kaushik, writing in the same paper, says that the Hindus should realise that the Muhammadans can never be their friends when they cannot tolerate their being organised into a solid body for self-protection and that their well-being and interests are safe only under the protection of the British Government. The *Brahmarishi* urges that in order to prevent Hindu-Muslim riots on *Bakr Id* cow-sacrifices should be allowed to be performed only in slaughter-houses in towns and in compounds near *Idgahs* in villages, out of the sight of Hindus, so as to preclude all possibility of provocation to the Hindus.

Muslim organisations.

The *Medina* publishes a letter from Berlin dwelling upon the necessity of forming Muslim organisations throughout the country for the social and religious progress of the Musalmans. The Prophet's traditions are in favour of such an organisation and with a view to reviving the old traditions an organisation composed of members of 41 different countries has already been established in Berlin. It requests Maulana Muhammad Abdul Ghaffar of Phatak Habash, Delhi, to take up the work of organisation in India and to collect subscriptions for constructing a mosque in Berlin. The *Rahnuma* is not sanguine that the Khuddam-i-Ka'aba Association can protect the Ka'aba from non-Muslim influence inasmuch as even the Turkish Empire failed to do so.

Special session of the Congress.

The *Pioneer* doubts if the Congress sections are once more a happy and united family. The threatened schism has become merely a division of labour, inside as well as outside the Congress. The criminal fatuity of this programme must be apparent even to those who have formulated it. *Free India* says that the special session has faced facts boldly and congratulates the leaders who have worked towards the common goal of unity. It praises Maulana Muhammad Ali who by his give-and-take attitude brought about the much-needed union. The *Leader* says that the smallness of attendance is a sign of the declining influence of the Congress. The resolution passed by the Delhi Congress marks a definite departure from the policy of non-violent non-cooperation laid down by Mr. Gandhi. The Congress has broken the shackless imposed upon it by Mr. Gandhi, shackles against which many of his professed followers strained while he was in power. He refused to remove them. But in his absence in jail, they have been knocked off, and the Congress

is free to adopt modern methods of political warfare unhampered by doctrines of soul force and non-violence in thought, word and act. The attempt to spiritualise politics has failed and the national movement is retracting its course to the point from which it made a sudden departure under the influence of the dominating personality of Mr. Gandhi. This to our mind is the meaning and the indication of the Delhi Congress. It bears relationship not to the Gaya but the Amritsar Congress. The Gandhi Congress is dead. The *Desh Bhakta* says that the special session of the Congress has saved the situation and infused fresh life into the country. The *Vartman* opines that if not in other matters the Delhi Congress succeeded at least in restoring unity in the Congress ranks and in removing those deplorable dissensions which had impeded and brought to a standstill the national activities for the last twelve months or so. The *Garhwali* expresses gratification that the special session of the Congress was successful in the achievement of its object and shattered the hopes of the country's enemies. The *Vikram* holds that the Delhi Congress has been a great success inasmuch as the two most controversial questions of Council entry and Hindu-Muslim relations have been satisfactorily solved. The *Hamdam* congratulates Maulana Muhammad Ali for the quality of leadership displayed by him at the Congress session, though his speeches lacked the moderation of Mahatma Gandhi, and remarks that the resolutions passed in the special session are not decisive and that no vital question has been satisfactorily settled. The *Al Bureed* opines that in view of the critical situation in the country due to diverse causes the special session has achieved a remarkable success.

Presidential address.

The *Abhyudaya* says that although Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's address cannot occupy a place among the first class Congress presidential addresses yet it is most opportune and useful and is good from almost all points of view. The only fault that can be found with the Maulana is that he was partial towards his co-religionists in the matter of the recent communal disturbances. The *Vikram* remarks that the address is not only remarkable from a literary point of view, but is also full of statesmanship. It gives a correct diagnosis of the disease that has afflicted the nation and suggests infallible remedial measures. The *Najat* remarks that the presidential address of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad shows the extent of his knowledge, force of sentiments and independence of thought and fulfills all our hopes and expectations which we could entertain from him at such a critical time. The *Haqiqat* regrets that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad by expressing his views on the question of Council entry has exposed himself as a member of the *Swaraj* party.

Compromise resolution.

The *Garhwali* commends the decision of the Congress on the Council entry question and expresses the hope that it will put an end to the unnecessary controversy over the question in the whole of the country. The *Vikram* welcomes the compromise on the Council entry question as the triumph of the special session of the Congress and attributes it to the efforts of Maulana Muhammad Ali. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* remarks that the Congress has mercilessly sacrificed the *fatwa* for the sake of the Council entry. The sensible Musalmans had already no respect for the *fatwa* and the Jamait-ul-Ulema will be well advised to sever its connection with politics and leave the field for Muhammad Ali and others. The *Haqiqat* says that the wordings of the compromise resolution are so evasive that it can hardly assist the *Swarajists* in their endeavours to enter the Councils and that it has rendered the position of the Musalmans still worse. In the presence of the *fatwa* no true Musalman can venture to disgrace the religious injunctions of the *Ulema* by entering the Councils. The *Hamdam* remarks that the compromise has been effected in such a defective way that it is likely to create great misunderstanding in the minds of the public. The Liberals are sure to profit by the attitude of the no-change party and the *Swarajists* have little chance of success in the presence of the *fatwa* and the Gaya resolution. The *Al Bureed* also writes in a similar strain and warns the Musalmans that Council entry is forbidden by their religion. The *Medina* describes the compromise as the recovery of the lost property and remarks that conscience and faith should not be sacrificed for the sake of uniting the contending parties.

Civil disobedience.

Referring to communal tension in Northern India, the *Pioneer* deplores that in the face of these portents the revolutionaries have announced their intention of launching a campaign of civil disobedience as soon as may be on an unprecedented scale. There is

only one way of dealing with this menace by those responsible for the maintenance of law and order. The *Desh Bhakta* holds that by passing the resolution regarding civil disobedience the Congress has composed the existing differences in the country and prepared the country for the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Vikram* is gratified at the passage of the civil disobedience resolution which, in its opinion, has afforded great facility to the *satyagraha* battle. It says that the personnel of the committee appointed to organise the nation for *satyagraha* inspires the hope that the resolution will be given effect to immediately with the result that the existing slackness in the national movement will vanish and the people will be fired with enthusiasm. The *Abhyudaya* sounds a note of warning against the danger lurking behind the inauguration of civil disobedience, which will at present prove detrimental to the interests of the country. The *Humdam* regrets the civil disobedience resolution and remarks that it is the most dangerous item of the non-cooperation movement and is difficult to be put into practice. The present time is quite inopportune and unsuitable to talk of such movements. If any party can take up this work it is the brave Akalis whose past successes have made them bold. The Congress loses its prestige by passing such resolutions and the public now thinks that the Congress is incapable of doing any constructive work.

Indian independence.

The *Pratap* is indignant at the rejection of the Independence resolution and condemns the Congress for it. It remarks that it is the duty of the Indian people to declare in clear and unequivocal terms that complete independence is their goal. They may not be able to translate into action their feelings but if they fail to change their angle of vision the world will laugh at them.

Boycott of British goods.

The *Pioneer* says that innumerable instances might be cited to prove the truth of its statement that by passing the resolution in favour of boycott of British goods the Congress has abandoned any attempt to camouflage its sentiments and aims, and has shown that hatred culminating in violence is the basis of its creed. The *Independence* says that the boycott by the Congress of British goods indicates a great change in the angle of vision. Any day it is fraught with greater possibilities than the destruction of the Reforms and the paralysing of the Legislature. Remove the Councils and the colossal bureaucracy will have to crawl on its belly even as General Dyer made our people crawl like snakes through a narrow lane of Amritsar. The effort is worth making. But an even greater effort is the enforcement of the boycott of British goods. The English are a commercial people. In their little island they cannot live except as traders. India is England's biggest buyer. If India boycotts English goods, pauperism will prosper in England—a contingency which neither Capital nor Labour is prepared to face. The Congress has attacked England's very existence by passing the boycott resolution. This was not welcome to our Mahatma. He was so good and kind even to his enemies. But the Congress has no kindness for a people or a Government who keep in jail the most illustrious leader of India and humanity. The *Aj* congratulates the Congress on the passage of the resolution regarding the boycott of British goods. We should certainly not have any commercial relations with those who treat us as unequals or untouchables. If the decision to boycott British goods is thought to be opposed to the principle of non-violence, then we do not want such non-violence befitting a coward. The *Vikram* is equally gratified at the passage of this resolution, which, it is convinced, will revive the dormant *swadeshi* agitation and give a fresh impetus to the national movement. It says that the boycott of British goods is in no way opposed to the principle of non-violence and even if it does betray a feeling of hatred there is no harm in adopting it against those who practise injustice upon us. Unless we entertain the feeling of hatred against our oppressors we cannot possibly retaliate against them. In view of the whole country being in favour of the boycott of British goods the *Anand* asks whether British statesmen will rise equal to the occasion and re-establish the prestige of the British Empire in India or persist in the disastrous policy of wrecking it. The *Najat* says that the present is the most opportune time for putting into practice the boycott resolution of the Congress as Great Britain is nowadays confronted with great economic and commercial difficulties. It will inflict an effective punishment on the English and will bring the British statesmen to their senses. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the passage of the boycott resolution in the Congress by an overwhelming majority shows the depth of the Indian feeling against the English for which the statesmen of

Great Britain are alone responsible. The tradesmen and their customers should be no more molested by the volunteers and the *swadeshi* propaganda should be carried on in a peaceful and effective manner.

The Nabha agitation.

The *Vartman* remarks that the feelings of the Akalis are being deliberately hurt. If the *communiqué* of the Shiromani Gurdwara Committee as published in the *Nation* is correct, it may be asserted without the least hesitation that Government is deliberately plotting the suppression of the Akalis. The Sikh community is a living one and cannot tolerate any encroachments upon its rights. The Akalis are out in the field again and have sounded a note of warning to the agents of the bureaucracy that if they offend them or interfere with their religion or oppress them, they will meet the same consequences as they did in the Guru-ka-bagh affair. The *Vikram* says that the Jaiton atrocities have created a great sensation among the Akalis. If the Viceroy does not interfere in time and if the atrocities continue unrestricted the Nabha agitation will assume a terrible form and it is difficult to forecast what turn it may take. The *Hamdam* remarks that the facts hitherto published go to verify the grievances of the Akalis that the Maharaja was forced to abdicate and that if the Government does not take any reasonable and proper steps to satisfy the Sikhs then Jaiton will shortly become another Guru-ka-bagh. The position of the Shiromani Committee is, however, stronger and it is certain that the Committee will come out successful in this struggle. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that political India, closely knit to Akali agitation, would present a living spectacle of civil disobedience such as the world would never have seen.

Arrest of the Congress leaders at Nabha.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that a dramatic touch is given to the Nabha agitation by the arrest of the Congress leaders which on the eve of their launching into civil disobedience would have only one result: to hasten the movement for civil disobedience. It suggests that the Indian National Congress should take up the challenge and send forth its bands of volunteers to the Nabha front just as the volunteers went in hundreds to Nagpur. The *Independence* in an article headed "The Small Cloud" compares the arrest of the Congress leaders to the proverbial small cloud no bigger than a man's hand, pregnant with possibilities. It hints at Nabha being in an alarming condition and says that the matter will not and cannot be allowed to lie where it is and concludes: Verily it is no more a Punjab question: it is an all-India question now. It is a matter in which every true-born Indian is interested and by which he is intimately affected. The liberty of every Indian, the safety of every legitimate, hereditary and natural right is being ruthlessly attacked. No more can any one of us—however cold-blooded we might be—sit or sleep in comfort. Let us rally to our latest battle front: let us cry in deed and not in word, the immortal words of the great Sikh Gurus of old. The *Oudh Akhbar* regrets that the commendable quality of statesmanship which marked the British officials of the days of the advent of British rule in India is disappearing and that the officials now themselves accentuate the political agitation in India. The arrest of Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru is anything but statesmanlike and will result in spreading the agitation through the country.

Political propaganda.

Commenting on Professor Rushbrook Williams' publication "India in 1922-23" the *Leader* says that it cannot be denied that Mr. Gandhi's teaching has created a spirit of fearlessness and defiance of authority which has been holding forth a challenge to the existing order. But the reactionary policy which is being pursued by Government has been working a great change in the minds of the Moderates also. Unless the Government changes its policy and accelerates the pace of progress the paper fears it will have hardly any friends left in the country to rely upon in case of emergency. It has been of late playing the game of non-cooperation. The *Aj* remarks that the bureaucracy has made the Indian Chiefs its slaves and that the Residents and the Political Agents have become the real rulers of their States. The only means of escaping this injustice is for the Indian Chiefs to try to please their subjects and entrust the administration of their States as far as possible to the representatives of the people.

NAINI TAL:
The 29th September, 1923.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED AT THE GOVERNMENT BRANCH PRESS, NAINI TAL.

NOTICE.

As the Publicity Office closes in Naini Tal on October 9th and reopens at Lucknow on the 15th, Press Note for the week ending 13th October will not be issued.

1923. AL REC... 30 ...

ZAFAR OMAR,

The 6th October, 1923. *Publicity Officer.*

The Hedjaz affairs.

THE *Hamdam* regards the Sharif's claim for Khilafat as the chief cause of rebellion in trans-Jordon territories and remarks that even if Great Britain succeeds in forming an Arab Federation it will not last beyond the rule of Sharif Husain and his two sons as the alliance of Ibn-i-Masud with the dynasty of the Sharif is impossible. Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk in a signed article contributed to the same paper remarks that the alliance between Great Britain and Hedjaz exists on paper only and that the Musalmans should be glad that Sharif Husain, whatever his motives may be, does not like alien interference in the internal affairs of the holy land. The satisfactory solution of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* question rests to a great extent with the Musalmans themselves.

The League of Nations.

The *Pioneer* welcomes Mr. Baldwin's speech at the opening session of the Imperial Conference and says that his tribute to the minor League of Nations which constitutes the British Commonwealth was a singularly happy one. Mr. Baldwin's reference to India should strike a responsive echo in the heart of every Indian who is capable of facing facts and working patiently for the progressive development of self-government institutions instead of indulging in vain dreams of an immediate leap forward to Dominion status for which India is as yet unfitted. The *Leader* sees nothing new or striking in Mr. Baldwin's speech. It does not agree with the Premier that the Turkish Treaty safeguards the essential interest of the British Empire and the British prestige. The claim cannot be sustained, because Turkey secured what it wanted by a judicious rattling of the sabre and behaving as if it were the victor. As to the prestige one should ask Mr. Lloyd George what he thinks of the whole humiliating business. With regard to the complex nature of the question relating to the status of Indians in the Colonies, the paper says that this was entirely due to the exclusive, selfish, unjust and arrogant policy of the Dominions and the White settlers in the Colonies. Almost everywhere Indians are being treated as pariahs and denied the rights of equal British citizenship. Indians refuse to reconcile themselves to such a position of inferiority. It may please Mr. Baldwin to think that the British Commonwealth is like a network of steel embedded in concrete which is holding more than itself together, but he ought to know that so long as India is rankling under a sense of grievous injustice and is denied equal rights in the Empire and the freedom to manage her own affairs, she will be an increasing source of weakness to the Empire and may become a positive danger in the hour of grave emergency.

The Kenya settlement.

The Indian press continues to protest against the Kenya settlement. The *Leader* says that the Kenya decision with regard to Indians has proclaimed Britain's impotence to all the world against a handful of Whites whose leaders declared that rebellion under arms against the Government did not involve disloyalty to the Crown. With regard to the intentions of the White Colonists concerning the native population in Kenya, the paper asks whether the British Government has the strength and the courage to reverse this 'immoral and disastrous policy' in regard to millions of people for whom it has declared itself to be the trustee. It has little doubt that the rights of the natives will not be respected and the theory of trusteeship will be no more than a pious declaration never to be translated into practice. The *Nyaya* says that the reprehensible deeds of the bureaucracy, like the Kenya decision, have opened the eyes of even Moderates and awakened in them the sense of self-respect. It is to be hoped that after this disillusionment they will cooperate with other political bodies of the country and give effect to their high-sounding resolutions. The *Anand* remarks that the Independence resolution in the Congress shows the depth of Indian feeling with regard to Kenya and asks whether the British Government does not realise that the spread of such feelings does not augur well for the British Empire and whether it will not even now display enough statesmanship to prevent the fall of the Empire.

CONFIDENTIAL.] No. 39 of 1923.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 6th October, 1923.

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THE *Hamdam* regards the Sharif's claim for Khilafat as the chief cause of rebellion in trans-Jordon territories and remarks that even if Great Britain succeeds in forming an Arab Federation it will not last beyond the rule of Sharif Husain and his two sons as the alliance of Ibn-i-Masud with the dynasty of the Sharif is impossible. Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk in a signed article contributed to the same paper remarks that the alliance between Great Britain and Hedjaz exists on paper only and that the Musalmans should be glad that Sharif Husain, whatever his motives may be, does not like alien interference in the internal affairs of the holy land. The satisfactory solution of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* question rests to a great extent with the Musalmans themselves.

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Hindu-Muslim relations.

The question of communal relations continues to be hotly discussed. The *Leader* comments on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's statement with regard to Hindu-Muslim unity and says that to deserve genuine Muslim friendship and respect the Hindus must become strong and self-reliant as a community and democratise their customs and institutions. The higher ideals of Islam and Hinduism are not antagonistic and it is by pursuing these and eliminating the lower ones which alone divide that the gulf between the two religions can be bridged. The paper criticises the report issued by the Muslim Enquiry Committee as biassed and unfair and says that such a whitewashing, one-sided and misleading report, which has converted the oppressors into the oppressed and made the victims the culprits, cannot promote mutual solidarity. It has added insult to injury. The *Rahnuma* is not sanguine that the Congress settlement will restore happy relations between the two communities and maintains that the present situation in the country cannot be improved unless *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements are discontinued. The *Mansur* apprehends that Pandit Malaviya will not abide by the decision of the Congress and remarks that in the presence of these movements which are a direct challenge to the Musalmans no unity can be established between the two communities. The *Al Bashir* takes to task Hakim Ajmal Khan for electing Swami Shraddhanand as the president of the meeting convened to welcome the released leaders and remarks that it had a touch of cowardice, weakness and flattery in it. If the Musalmans of Delhi had any sense of shame left in them they ought to have withdrawn themselves from the meeting as a protest. In another article the same paper expresses its surprise that the committee appointed by the Congress to bring about unity between the two communities is composed of Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand—the very persons who are accused of creating discord and destroying the work which cost three years' persistent labour and sacrifice and remarks that the resolutions passed in this connection though good in themselves are impracticable. In another article the same paper deplores that Swami Shraddhanand's demand for a European magistrate for Saharanpur has put a weapon into the hands of the Anglo-Indian press and that by his religious bigotry he has caused a great loss to the cause of India's freedom and the just aspirations of the Indians to secure high posts. The *Medina* remarks that so far as Hindu-Muslim relations are concerned the Congress has discharged its duty on paper only and failed to produce any good result. Its advice in this respect will never be followed by Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand nor even by a section of the *Ulema*. In another article the same paper deplores the indiscriminate arrest of the Musalmans of Saharanpur by the officers of the 'cruel and unjust' Government and remarks that they cannot wipe away Islam from India by arresting six hundred Musalmans. The power of God is much more stronger and He can destroy their pride and power just as He has destroyed Japan with an earthquake. The *Kartavya* points out that the Muhammadan leaders have not yet expressed any regret for the Muslim atrocities at Agra and Saharanpur, but on the contrary some of them have tried to conceal the misdeeds of their co-religionists and to throw the whole blame on the shoulders of Hindus and their leaders like Swami Shraddhanand and Pandit Malaviya. In these circumstances, the paper remarks, it is impossible to restore the unity between Hindus and Muhammadans. One Nand Ram Agarwala, writing in the same paper, says that it is Muslim papers like the *Al Bashir* which encourage the Muhammadans in their nefarious practices by condoning the excesses of their co-religionists against the Hindus and by throwing all the blame for communal disturbances on the shoulders of the latter. It has no justification to decry against Hindu organisation when it never raised its voice against Muhammadan organisation but on the contrary always strongly supported and advocated it. The *Anand* remarks that despite their indignation at the *Shuddhi* movement the Muhammadans have no justification to indulge in violence against the Hindus on its basis and the Hindus should consider it their supreme duty to solve the question of their self-protection before any other question. One Devi Prasad, writing in the *Nyaya*, says that if the Hindus have become so cowardly as not to be able to protect even their women and temples from the attacks of Muhammadan ruffians, it is better that they should be swept out of existence. He maintains that the Muhammadan attacks on Hindus at Ajmer and Saharanpur were pre-arranged and that the Muhammadan leaders were to a large extent responsible for them inasmuch as they had failed to take any steps to prevent them. In these circumstances the Hindus should not fail to strengthen and

organise themselves into a living community for their self-preservation. The *Vikram* holds that of all the resolutions passed at the special session of the Congress the one relating to the Hindu-Muslim relations is by far the most important and if it is acted upon not only the Hindu-Muslim unity will be restored, but it will be further strengthened and established on a permanent footing. The *Gyan Shakti* points out that the views of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements as expressed in his presidential address at the special session of the Congress are very wide of the truth and are the outcome of religious prejudice, partiality and bigotry. The Hindus have every justification to continue these movements, seeing that Muhammadans have always freely exercised the right of proselytism and of having separate communal organisations. The *Gorakshan* opines that the chief cause of the communal disturbances is cow-sacrifice and the poverty and lawlessness of the Muhammadans who are consequently ever ready to risk their lives.

Special session of the Congress.

The *Azad* apprehends that the special session of the Congress has upset the policy of non-violent non-cooperation. The speeches of the leaders show that the non-violent aspect of the movement now remains only in name and that the principle of Mr. Tilak has completely triumphed over that of Mr. Gandhi. The *Hindustani* is gratified at the success of the special session of the Congress, for which it gives credit to Maulana Muhammad Ali and remarks that it has proved the baselessness of the official belief that the non-cooperation movement was dead. The *Hamdam* sounds a discordant note and regrets that the special Congress achieved little success in uniting the contending parties and totally failed to solve the most important question of the day—the restoration of happy relations between the two communities. The *Medina* remarks that the special Congress has only applied ointment to the ulcer and suggested no cure for the malady which is telling upon the deep wound inside. The *Al Bashir* says that it is shameful that the Congress while condemning the press for creating hatred between the two communities had nothing to say against the bigotted activities of Swami Shraddhanand and Pandit Malaviya. How can it control the press when it cannot even check its own leaders from making inflammatory speeches. The *Kartavya* is gratified that the object for which the special session of the Congress had been convened was achieved and the unity and harmony in the Congress ranks restored. It appeals to the no-changers to accept the mandate of the Congress and to throw no obstacles in the way of the *Swarajists* to obtain entry into the Councils. The *Lakshman* is also satisfied with almost all the resolutions passed in the Congress and says that they have had a very good effect on the country and that the enemies of India's freedom must have been seriously disappointed at this sudden brightening up of its prospects.

Presidential address.

The *Kartavya* holds that the presidential address was excellent so far as political questions were concerned but it failed to do justice in the discussion of communal questions. Indeed, it is remarkable that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had not a single word to utter in condemnation of the Muhammadan atrocities at Saharanpur. The *Lakshman* thinks that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's presidential address ranks among the first class Congress presidential addresses. His exposition of the non-cooperation movement and its programme is very complete and remarkable. If his views regarding *satyagraha* commend themselves to the leaders, civil disobedience will no longer remain an impracticable scheme. His views on the communal disturbances and the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements, however, lack in that breadth of outlook, highmindedness and gravity which characterise his opinion on political questions, and are very wide of the truth and plain-speaking. He appears to have been unconsciously influenced by religious prejudices in discussing Hindu-Muslim relations. The *Gorakshan* is the only paper which has disparaging remarks to offer on the presidential address, which, in its opinion, was of a very low order and betrayed shortsightedness at almost every line. The president was utterly in the wrong in ascribing the communal disturbances to the *Shuddhi* movement.

The compromise resolution.

The *Rahnuma* remarks that the Congress decision has made it difficult for the *Swarajists* to score success against the Liberals in the Council. Shah Itrat Husain, in a signed article contributed to the *Hamdam*, describes the compromise as an insult to the *Ulema* whose *fatwa* has been totally disregarded and remarks that a time will come when the *Swarajists* and the Liberals will unite in cooperating with the Government

and the question of non-cooperation will be consigned to oblivion. If the *Jamait-ul-Ulema* does not change its attitude and makes itself subservient to the Hindu leaders, it will have to dig its own grave. The *Shakti* welcomes the compromise resolution and urges that all political parties should obey the mandate of the Congress if victory is to be achieved.

Civil disobedience.

The *Mansur* opines that the passage of the civil disobedience resolution in the Congress shows that the leaders have not yet been able to understand the psychology of their countrymen. No one can be overawed by mere threats of persons who are unable to put them into action. The *Medina* is at a loss to understand what will be the next move of the Congress after the passage of this resolution. Whether the Nabha affair will be sufficient incentive to launch the movement or will it be the repetition of the flag agitation and the Lawrence statue controversy. The *Hindustani* says that the leaders should prescribe some limit to which the tyrannies and oppressions are to be silently borne by the persons offering civil disobedience. It is too much to expect from human beings that they will go on suffering hardships and undergoing sacrifices for ever. The *Rahnuma* regards the resolution as ridiculous and impracticable and is at a loss to understand how a country of diversified caste and creeds can be prepared for civil disobedience when difference of opinion regarding the question prevails among the Congress leaders themselves. The *Lakshman* says that civil disobedience is the only means of the emancipation of the country and that the launching of it will be the best preparation for it, will re-inspire enthusiasm into the people and will remove the existing differences among the leaders. The readiness of one or two hundred thousand of persons to go to jail will paralyse the bureaucracy. If Government were to kill *satyagrahis* instead of sending them to jail this will all the more ensure the success of the movement. This should spread a conflagration in the country which would eventually consume the bureaucracy. The *Vartman* urges that the Congress should start civil disobedience in Bengal in reply to the bureaucratic challenge conveyed through the re-enforcement of Regulation III of 1818 under which some of the twelve Bengalis have already been arrested.

Indian independence.

The *Vartman* remarks that the leaders of India do not want to keep their political goal undefined. They want to make it abundantly clear that their goal is complete independence. It says that the Labour and the *Kisan* party of India will represent the Socialist party in the country and its advent should be welcomed in the battlefield of freedom. The *Aj* says that the Independence resolution though rejected in the Congress unmistakably demonstrates that in the Indian political field a party is gaining in strength which wants to make an open announcement that Indians no longer desire to remain within the British Empire. The despicable policy of the Dominions with regard to the domiciled Indians and the determination of England to perpetuate the slavery of India have made Indian youths to pine for complete independence. The excesses perpetrated by England on India have proceeded to such an extent that the very name of the British Empire causes a repulsion in the Indian heart and the idea of remaining within the British Empire appears to be insupportable to the Indian youths. The *Shakti* remarks that the goal of complete independence should be fixed only when the country has been fully organised and expresses the opinion that such a time will surely arrive when Mahatma Gandhi is released.

The boycott of British goods.

The *Kartavya* approves of the Congress resolution regarding the boycott of British goods, but points out that it will be very difficult to give effect to it unless all the political parties unite at least over this question. The *Aj* says that the most important resolution passed in the Congress is the one relating to boycott of British goods and remarks that the translation into action of this resolution will vitally affect Britain and bring India very near to *swaraj*. The present time is most opportune for it because of the unemployment problem of England.

Akali agitation.

In an article headed "The Cry for Blood" the *Independence* protests against the *Pioneer's* suggestion to Government to firmly cope with the situation. The paper says that the Anglo-Indian press is goading Government to resort to unprecedented repression and warns them that the movement cannot be defeated by the might of materialistic Governments. "We stand on the strength of India's spirituality. We walk in the footsteps of India's great giant, Mahatma Gandhi. Aye! the

star of hope shines through the mask of despair. Arise and awake and stop not till the desired goal is reached. To be weak is miserable. Shake off the weakness, put aside fear and you are free. It is this spirit of fearlessness, which animated the Sikh Gurus, that finds expression in the Nabha front. It is presumptuous for an Anglo-Indian newspaper to attempt to crush it." The *Kartavya* says that all the Indian leaders sympathise with the Akalis in their present agitation which threatens to be a more serious affair than the Guru-ka-bagh agitation. If the Sikhs will need it, the whole country will join them in their struggle against the bureaucracy.

Arrest of the Congress leaders at Nabha.

In publishing the statement of Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru before the Nabha court the *Independence* says that the Administrator cannot take shelter under the fact that the ways of the Nabha Government are different from those of the British Government. The Government of India having undertaken the administration are responsible for just administration of the law. They cannot seek refuge under the *camouflage* that they stick to old ways. In case they do, their Government is no better than the one which they have displaced. The people of India are watching with considerable interest the developments on the Nabha front since the Administration laid its hands on Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru and other Congress men. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* criticises the administration of justice in Nabha and says that for three days the Congress representatives should have gone without bath and change of clothes, that for twenty hours they have had no facilities for answering calls of nature, recall the martial law days of Frank Johnson of which we take it Mr. Ogilivie will be proud in after-life as evidence of his strong rule. The *Vartman* remarks that the Sikhs are a militant and courageous community and those who stand in its way cannot hope to escape unscathed. If the other communities of India want to learn the lesson of manliness they should help the Sikhs by participating in the *satyagraha* campaign started by them at Jaiton. By arresting Pandit Jawahir Lal and Messrs. Gidwani and Sanatanam the bureaucracy has challenged the Congress also which will surely and gladly accept this challenge and inflict an ignominous defeat upon the bureaucracy. The *Aj* remarks that after the arrest of the Congress leaders we cannot sit idle. By handcuffing these leaders the bureaucracy has not only insulted them but it has handcuffed and insulted the entire Indian nation. The Nabha agitation is no longer confined to the subjects of the Nabha State or to the Akalis or to the Punjab only but embraces the whole of India. Let us hope that the entire country will concentrate its forces at the Nabha front.

Political propaganda.

The *Vikram* says that at present the bureaucracy is making vigorous efforts to deprive certain States of their freedom and urges that the only way to save these States is to awaken the people in order that they may take up the question of the protection of the Indian Chiefs or the States in their hands.

Bolshevism.

The *Al Khalil* doubts the veracity of Reuter's reports regarding the Bolshevik menace to India and remarks that these reports are manufactured for propaganda purposes. The object is to deal a severe blow to the Indian national movement so that the Government which is entangled in difficulties at present may make capital out of the Hindu-Muslim disunion.

NAINI TAL:
The 6th October, 1923.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the fortnight ending the 20th October, 1923.

The situation in Europe.

THE *Vikram* says that every sympathetic-minded person will be grieved at the suspension of civil disobedience in Germany, for that was the only weapon which could protect the Germans from the French high-handedness. It is deplorable that though France is most callously enforcing the reparation demand, the League of Nations should treat the matter with indifference and allow the annihilation of a weak nation by a strong one.

The Imperial Conference.

There appears to be little enthusiasm over the proceedings of the Imperial Conference. The *Pioneer* is dissatisfied with Lord Curzon's speech at the Imperial Conference which it thinks has done little to relieve the atmosphere of secrecy which has been sedulously preserved regarding the recent conversation between the British and French Premiers. The *Independence* belittles Dr. Sapru's efforts in bringing the question of Indians in the Colonies before the Imperial Conference and asks if Dr. Sapru hopes to get *swaraj* by making a speech in the Conference of the White diplomates. The very fact that this Indian Liberal had not the decency, the courage, or the sense of responsibility to withdraw from that Conference, according to Mr. Sastri's advice, as a protest against the Kenya wrong, proves that Dr. Sapru is the most undependable and the least straightforward politician in the Moderate camp. Dr. Sapru is no better than a prize-boy of the Bureaucracy. On the other hand the *Leader* which deprecates the denunciation of Dr. Sapru in certain quarters, has no doubt that he will never agree to surrender India's honour and will remain firm as steel. There is probably more beyond his guarded expression of doubt than he has thought it necessary to give out. It urges that his hands should be strengthened by the strongest possible support from this country. The *Utsah* remarks that after the unjust Kenya decision the proceedings of the Imperial Conference can only be described as meaningless and valueless. Mr. Baldwin's remarks at the Conference regarding India clearly show that the Whites do not want to grant equality of treatment to Indians. In these circumstances it is impossible that Indians would listen to the Premier's call for cooperation.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Pioneer* finds it difficult to understand the point of view of those who attempt to descriminate between the disabilities of Indians in certain British Colonies and Dominions and the disabilities imposed on Indians of the lower castes by their own countrymen in India, and says that when members of the depressed classes are no longer excluded from even walking through streets, the use of which is deemed to be the prerogative of the higher castes, it will be time enough to talk about the exclusion of Indians from the Kenya Highlands. The *Leader* says: Whatever the domestic differences, religious and political, of the Indian communities may be they are absolutely united on the question of Indians overseas, as has been made abundantly clear by the resolutions passed at their meetings.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Pioneer* praises Swami Shraddhanand for administering another cold douche to those who think that they have only to mutter the phrase "Hindu-Muslim unity" for it to become a fact, and says that a great deal of earnest and laborious spade-work will have to be done by the leaders of both communities before this end can be achieved, and those who have at heart the friendly and harmonious cooperation of Hindus and Muslims in political and social life would do better to devote some practical attention to inculcating sentiments of mutual toleration among the masses instead of fatuously proclaiming a unity which does not exist. The *Independence* is grieved to notice a high tension of feeling between the different communities, specially between the Hindus and Musalmans in India, at this hour when unity and amity are urgently needed for a national self-determination. It advises the Muslim Ulema and Hindu divines to bring home to every one the community of ideals and explain that which we quarrel for in religious matters

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is only the outer crust and not the substance. In another article, explaining the basic principles of Hinduism, the paper says that the tension of the religious atmosphere of India will vanish to a great extent if the preachers of the Hindu religion try to understand the wonderful spirit of toleration and liberality of their forefathers who by silent influence of the practical life demonstrated the greatness of their faith. The *Al Khalil* asks the Congress Muslims to realise the sufferings of their co-religionists at Saharanpur before preaching Hindu-Muslim unity from public platforms. One Permendra Varma, writing in the *Desh-Bhakta*, says that it is Muslim papers like the *Agra Akbar* which by means of a campaign of falsehood have done their best to create racial hatred and by making false accusations against Hindus want to incite Muhammadans to boycott them. The *Iqdam* remarks that the social and religious differences between the two communities and the anti-Muslim attitude of the Hindus render unity impossible and urges that the Musalmans should work single-handed for their own good. The *Hamdam* wants the Muhammadans, in view of Swami Shraddhanand's announcement regarding the continuance of the *Shuddhi* movement, to redouble their efforts and prevent further renegation of Muslims.

Civil disobedience.

The *Vartman* condemns the atrocities alleged to be perpetrated by the Government upon the Akalis in the Punjab and also the official high-handedness in Bengal and remarks that those days are gone by when apprehensions of a re-occurrence of Chauri Chaura would come between the people and their desire to advance. The nation will not repeat the Bardoli blunder again. The *Guru-ka-Bagh* and the Nagpur affairs are living examples of the country's preparedness to launch out *satyagraha* successfully even against overwhelming odds. The *Najat* says that Government by coercing the people and ignoring their just grievances promotes the cause of civil disobedience.

Boycott of British goods.

The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the boycott of British goods will not only succeed in setting right the wrongs perpetrated in connection with the Kenya question and the Nabha affair but will also help in the attainment of *swaraj*. Besides, if the Liberals and non-cooperators work together in this matter, it is most likely that they may learn to cooperate in other matters also. The *Prem* remarks that when the British Colonial policy is based on racial hatred and discrimination the Congress is fully justified in wielding the weapon of boycott. In adopting the boycott resolution the Congress has shown itself to be the cognisation of a living nation and to be ready to take retaliatory measures in self-defence. The paper urges the people to give effect to the resolution in right earnest, if it is not to be a mere idle threat. The *Kartavya* says that if all the Indian leaders fully exert themselves the boycott agitation will have a very serious effect on England and bring the country nearer to *swaraj*. The boycott of British goods at the present time when British trade is already very slack and when the unemployment problem in England is very acute, is sure to compel Britain to pay heed to our grievances and to come to an understanding with us.

Indian independence.

Commenting on Mr. Muhammad Ali's speech in Lucknow, in which he explained his reason for opposing the Independence resolution in the special session of the Congress, the *Independence* says: We may respect the Maulana personally, we can have no sympathy for the views of those who fix the destiny of their Motherland within the four corners of a foreign federation; we are dreaming of freedom such as is enjoyed by any free country in the world. In our opinion, a self-governing India will be a powerful ally of Britain, but India in bondage will be a perpetual menace. Under *swaraj* within the Empire, India will be but an appendage of England. Concluding, the paper says that loyalty to the Mahatma demands that we must dismiss the idea of servility to the British Empire. British Imperialism is responsible for the continuing incarceration of Mahatma Gandhi. It does not agree with Muhammad Ali to make another bid for self-government within the Empire and says: We, who are in no mood to flirt with Imperialism, have to bid adieu to the pleasant and rather optimistic enterprise of the President-elect of the Cocanada Congress—until such time, which we believe is not far off, when he will be— "a wiser and a sadder man."

Akali agitation.

While the *Pioneer* supports the action of the Punjab Government in arresting the Akali leaders, the *Leader* says that force and violence have been on the side of the Government. The Criminal Law Amendment Act was not passed for dealing with non-violent

movements and there is no doubt that the Akalis in their fight with the Government have shown exemplary self-restraint. The whole of India will be watching further developments with keen interest. The only fear is that the action the Government has taken may not drive the movement under ground. It thinks that the Akali movement is likely to meet with very stiff resistance and may lead to undesirable developments. The *Independence* does not agree with the *Leader* that "undesirable developments" are likely; if there have been any, says the paper, these are on the side of the Government—the most undesirable being the Punjab Government's declaration of war on a body of non-violent religious-minded people who constituted the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee. The Punjab Government's official *communiqué* is an indisputable victory for the Akalis. They have induced the Bureaucracy to throw off its mask and stand in all its nakedness to suppress their activities. The *Desh Bhakta* remarks that as the result of the proclamation of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and other Akali organisations as unlawful associations at least fifteen lakhs of Sikhs will fill the jails of the Punjab. This will surely rouse India and help in her early emancipation. The *Aj* says that the Akali struggle has now assumed an all-India aspect. The Indians should accept the challenge which has been offered to them. They cannot sit idle in the present time of stress and difficulty. The Akalis are their own brethren and their miseries are the miseries of the entire Indian nation. The *Utsah* says that the trial of the Congress leaders in Nabha exposed the injustice and autocracy of the Bureaucracy. It appears that the preparations for civil disobedience, the unanimous opposition of the press and the dread of widespread unrest in the country terrified the Viceroy and he thought it advisable to order the release of these national leaders. This is indeed a remarkable triumph of public opinion against the Bureaucracy. The *Anand* remarks that as the Congress can conceivably have no concern with the Nabha agitation, the Congress leaders will do well not to embroil themselves in it. If they do so they will only court suffering without in any way to helping forward the cause of the Akalis.

The Viceroy's speech.

The Vernacular press has not yet commented upon the Viceroy's speech at the Chelmsford Club dinner. The *Pioneer* styles the speech as frank and statesmanlike and hopes that it will have a sobering influence on Indian politics. It holds that India's political advance stands in no danger whatever from the machinations of "Die Hards" in England. The real menace to progress lies in India itself. It is deplorable from the point of view of those who honestly desire India's constitutional advancement that at this juncture Moderate politicians should have taken a leaf out of the Extremists' book. It urges Government that it should not fail to recognise the existence of a body of patriotic opinion in India which though unorganised is of undoubted importance; and which recognises to the full that the advocacy of boycott and exclusive dealing is inimical to India's highest interests. Government should endeavour to afford it every legitimate encouragement and support. The *Leader* is disappointed at the Viceroy's statement with regard to further progress of Reforms. If India has to wait till 1929 before a further step is taken and in the meantime the present negative policy is to be continued, then it does not require much political foresight to prophesy that by that time there would be much less cooperation between the Government and the people than now. It asserts that there is a growing section of the population which has absolutely lost faith in British statesmanship. Everywhere there are signs of dissatisfaction and it is a question of time only when the discontented elements will again coalesce in a more mighty combination than was witnessed recently. As the stronger party a genuine gesture of cooperation should come from the side of Government which has of late been practising non-cooperation with the people. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* has no doubt that the Viceroy's speech would rouse in the Nationalist press a chorus of condemnation and anger. There is in it nothing which a third-rate bureaucrat might not have uttered: the cheap sneer, the hasty alarm, the feigned sympathy are all there. The significance of the speech lies in the undoubted glimpse it gives to the strength of Government today. The Hindu-Muslim unity itself, with the blood of Saharanpur and the echoes of *Shuddhi* have strengthened Lord Reading to speak to India in this strain. Never was political life more demoralised than at present.

The United Provinces Political Conference.

The *Leader* disapproves the resolution passed at the United Provinces Political Conference in respect of local bodies and independence and says: The non-cooperators, where they are in majority in local bodies, have not so far fulfilled the expectations formed of them by their admirers and the old evils continue in the areas within their

jurisdiction. As regards independence, the Conference might as well have passed a resolution that all its delegates should go to heaven. At a time when political life is at its lowest ebb, when the non-cooperation programme has collapsed, when disunion stalks the land, when a large and influential section of Congressmen is seeking entry into the Councils, when, in fact, the entire fabric of political life is in the melting pot and no political party knows exactly where it stands, to have passed such a resolution is to invite nothing but ridicule on one's head. Those who supported it made politics a farce. The Conference has committed the United Provinces Congressmen to the goal of independence. The resolution does not, we dare say, represent the considered opinion of the Conference.

Next elections.

Supporting the manifesto of the *Swàraj* party the *Independence* takes the Liberals severely to task and says that they are the notorious enemies of the Congress. They were the unashamed supporters of the Bureaucracy all through the last two or three years of non-cooperation. The Liberal League in which the so-called Liberals live and move is only a magnificent fraud and the career of the Liberal leaders in office has convinced an innocent people that a brown bureaucrat is invariably worse than a white one. The *Leader* suggests that the best men should be sent to the Council and the Assembly whether they be *Swarajists*, Liberals or Independents. It does not like the uncompromising attitude of the *Swarajists*, which cannot make for unity among progressive politicians and can only promote the objects of the Bureaucracy. The *Azad* is afraid that the *Swarajists* are making a mistake in putting up third-rate men for election who only care for their own aggrandisement and have little idea of patriotism. The non-cooperators have not done anything in the municipalities where they are in a majority and they are not likely to do any better in the Councils. The *Hamdam* styles the candidates up by the *Swaraj* party as unknown horses who have not been prominent in political life during the last two or three years. Such men cannot expect to wreck the Councils. It fears that the *Swarajists* cannot enlist popular sympathy by merely proclaiming that they are Khilafat or Congress workers. It is more likely that their connection with these committees will be detrimental to their success, as the public has lost faith in these institutions. The attitude of the public in respect of the Congress and the Khilafat Committees is mostly due to their office bearers themselves. It does not see any utility in trotting such dark horses who will only bring discredit to the party.

Bolshevism.

The *Najat* says that the Bolshevik menace is aimed at India only. It is better both for the country and the Government that the details of the Bolshevik activities should be promptly published with a view to allay the public anxiety. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the Bolsheviks, after some respite, have again become active and are bent upon creating mischief on all sides. The *Vartman* holds that the preparations of the Government of India on the frontier show that the Soviet Government is determined to spread Bolshevism in Asia.

The Kisan organisation.

The *Vartman* regrets that nothing has yet been done by the leaders in the matter of the organisation of the *kisans* which was decided upon in the Gaya Congress and remarks that if India wants to be free it is indispensable for it to organise the *kisans* without further delay.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The situation in Europe.

THE collapse of Germany is viewed with alarm. The *Pioneer* says that the gravity of the situation in Germany can hardly be over-estimated. Germany is rapidly becoming a house divided against itself. If the labouring classes in the Ruhr are thrown on French hands, France must be held responsible for the catastrophe which is likely to occur. She has been playing with fire and will only have herself to blame if a conflagration ensues. The *Leader* says that the disappearance of the German republic will make the Treaty of Versailles inoperative, for the party against which it is to be executed will have ceased to exist as a legal entity. The paper asks why does Britain to whom France owes huge sums of money continue to look on impotently while France is busy enacting one of the greatest catastrophes in Europe in time of peace. Why has the British Government been feeling squeamish about the affair and not insisted upon its dues being paid without more ado? In another article the paper says that if Germany goes to pieces the British position will be worse than it is at present. Britain's active intervention may come too late. Whatever action is to be taken must be taken promptly and the crumbling German Empire must be rescued if any reparations are to be obtained. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that Europe is now at the feet of France, for Britain is at present engaged in seeking inspiration from her colonial statesmen. British statesmanship at Home is really paralysed, and the consequence is that while France is ready for war, Britain is not. In another article the same paper says that it is not the French aggression alone that constitutes the European menace, although to France must be directly attributed the German dismemberment and the Separatist movement. Unrest, discontent, cynical materialism characterise all the peoples, a quarter of whom are armed to the teeth to hold down the remaining three-quarters. The peace has destroyed man's faith in man. New credit, or a new Napoleon, would seem the issue, or the crash. Both nationally and economically, Europe is a misfit, while financially it is a madhouse.

The Hedjaz affairs.

The Muslim press continues to express resentment against the King of Hedjaz. The *Najat* asserts that the people of Palestine are not prepared to accept the Anglo-Arab agreement and that the policy of Great Britain has been utterly unsuccessful and has entangled her in difficulties. Maulana Abdul Razzak Naqvi in a series of articles contributed to the *Hamdam* throws the entire responsibility for the return of the Egyptian Holy Carpet on the shoulders of the Sharif and characterises the treatment meted out to the Egyptian mission as barbarous and unworthy of any civilised Government. Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk in a signed article to the same paper enumerates the manifold acts of the Sharif's cruelty and condemns him for the atrocities committed upon the Arab people.

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting on the resolution in the United Provinces Legislative Council to boycott the British Empire Exhibition as a protest against the Kenya settlement, the *Pioneer* hopes that the good sense of the majority of the members should lead to the summary rejection of the proposal. The adoption of the resolution to abstain would mean serious financial waste, and as a demonstration against the Kenya settlement it would be worse than futile since it would inflict injury only on India itself. The *Independence* disapproves of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's cable to Dr. Sapru and says that if it is a demand for Dominion status, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya can anticipate the reply after the Viceroy's challenge to the *Swaraj* party. If it is a demand for equal status for Indian colonists in the Empire, there is no chance of its acceptance either, because a nation that is in thraldom at home cannot expect freedom abroad. The participation by the Indians in the British Empire Exhibition was a mockery in the absence of the recognition of Indian rights and liberties. The *Aj* condemns the recruitment of coolies in the United Provinces for emigration to the Dominions and says that it should be our foremost and religious duty to prevent our ignorant and uneducated brethren from going to the Dominions to serve the Whites as their slaves and bear their kicks. Let us therefore suspend all other national activities and concentrate our entire energy on this point in order

to protect the honour of our country. It appeals to the Liberals and other sections of cooperators to work hand in hand with the Congress in thwarting the plans of the bureaucracy in this matter.

Imperial Conference.

The *Medina* complains that India has been very inadequately represented in the Imperial Conference. The *Najat* takes Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to task for not acting on the advice of Mr. Sastri and withdrawing himself from the Conference as a protest against the Kenya decision and remarks that he is a puppet in the hands of the bureaucracy and that India should entertain no hope from him. The *Oudh Akhbar* expresses gratification at Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru's successfully pleading India's cause regarding the Kenya question and exhorts all the political parties in India to sink their differences at this critical time and support Sir Tej Bahadur. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* says that India can derive no benefit from the Imperial Conference and that she can no longer be taken in by the sympathetic words of the Premier. She has learned after the imprisonment of her thirty thousand sons that self-respect cannot be acquired by looking up to others. Any number of conferences may take place in London, India is quite indifferent to them. She is only waiting for one and only one conference, namely, the one in which complete *swaraj* for her will be proclaimed. The *Garhwali* remarks that India will never countenance the policy of imperial preference unless she is granted equality of treatment within the British Empire.

Civil disobedience.

The *Hamdam* urges Congressmen to take a lesson from the failure of passive resistance in Germany and to abandon their scheme of civil disobedience in India which has still less chance of success owing to internal dissensions. They will only inflict untold sufferings on the country without in any way helping forward the cause of *swaraj*.

Indian independence.

The *Pratap* is gratified at the talk of complete independence in the Congress circles and insists that complete independence must be adopted as India's political goal. We should no longer indulge in hypocritical cant but declare our goal in plain and unequivocal language. The *Garhwali*, on the other hand, says that Indians have neither the ability nor the power to attain complete independence. Such irresponsible talk can only injure their interests. For the present the good of the country lies only in obtaining equality of treatment within the British Empire and remaining a part of it.

Akali agitation.

The *Independence* condemns the Punjab Government's action in dealing with the Akalis and says that the declaration of a non-violent organisation as unlawful means its death warrant and that the Government has committed a great blunder. The *Inqilab* remarks that the sentiments of liberty and patriotism among the Akalis can never be crushed. These brave people will soon convince the Government that just rights cannot be suppressed by force. The *Al Khalil* says that the policy of the Government towards the Sikhs is calculated to create serious disaffection and is likely to adversely affect the Sikhs in the army. The *Hamdam* describes the policy of the Government as extremely short-sighted and regrets that the Government has turned a warlike and loyal nation into its enemy. Patriotism demands that the whole country should support the Sikhs in their present struggle. In another article the same paper remarks that the present policy of repression pursued by the Government is fraught with serious consequences and that it is difficult for Government to succeed against the Sikhs. The *Aj* remarks that the proclamation of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akali "dal" as unlawful associations marks the beginning of a new epoch in the British administration of India inasmuch as it is an interference with the religious affairs of the people. This action also shows that the people of an Indian state cannot take any action even if their Chief is oppressed by the bureaucracy and his territory is wrested from him. Does this not show, says the paper, that the bureaucracy has gone mad?

The Viceroy's speech.

The Indian press is dissatisfied with the Viceroy's speech on the present situation. The *Independence* says: On behalf of every Indian Nationalist who holds his country's freedom dear, we accept Lord Reading's challenge. We hope he in his turn will accept the wholesome advice of the notorious enemy of his community and "fight with his back to the wall"—until the wall gives way and the back is broken. The *Hamdam* describes the speech as disappointing and devoid of statesmanship

and farsightedness and remarks that his threat to the *swarajists* is likely to be resented even by the Moderates. The *Al Khalil* interprets the Viceroy's speech as a declaration to set aside the constitutional Reforms and the parliamentary government and to maintain British rule in India by force. The *Inqilab* remarks that the Viceroy's speech betrays his uneasiness of mind over the present tide of Indian thought and that his diplomacy having been exposed more than once it is an idle attempt on his part to try to dupe the Indians. The *Najat* opines that the Viceroy's reference to the Hindu-Muslim disturbances is not a sincere one as the party which is profiting by such disturbances can never be expected to condemn them. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the Viceroy's recent speech clearly shows the attitude the Government will adopt against the *Swaraj* party and that under these circumstances it will not be surprising if the patriots realise the necessity of altering their programme. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* interprets the speech as a challenge to the Swarajists and the Akalis and advises both of them to go on with their work and not to be discouraged by such threats. The *Garhwali* opines that after the Kenya decision and in view of the nature of the policy of Lord Peel, Lord Reading's advice to Indians to keep faith in the honest intentions of British statesmen and in British love of justice can have no weight in their eyes. The *Pioneer* applauds Lord Reading for his Lahore speech and says that he has performed a notable service to India in drawing attention to the need for the exercise by the people themselves of that toleration which they expect and obtain from the Government.

Viceroy in Allahabad.

The *Pioneer* condemns the resolution passed by the Allahabad Municipal Board to boycott the visit and says that this disgraceful action will in no way affect Lord Reading, but it casts a lurid reflection on the mentality and sense of decency of those who took part in it.

The United Provinces Conference.

The *Pratap* holds that the Benares session of the United Provinces Political Conference was a great success inasmuch as many important resolutions were passed in it, the most important being the one requesting the Cocanada Congress to announce complete independence as the goal of the Congress. The *Aj* says that the most important resolution passed at the Conference was the one relating to the Kenya question, but doubts whether the present time is suitable for the proclamation of independence when there are such acute differences among the Indian leaders themselves. It approves of the resolution on the Council entry question and remarks that the opposition of *swaraj* candidates by Congressmen even in their individual capacity goes against the spirit of the compromise resolution of the Delhi Congress. Regarding the presidential address at the Conference the same paper remarks that, unlike the previous presidential addresses, it was not full of unnecessary rhetoric and useless discussion. It was characterised by brevity and lucidity. The language was plain and impressive and the arguments weighty and incontrovertible. The *Vikram* says that the presidential address was remarkable for its lucidity and originality and freedom from prolixity, ornamentation and artificiality and that it was most suitable and opportune. It contained thoughtful effusions of a true and sincere heart which inspires enthusiasm into the people, reassures the sceptic and leads them on to the path of progress.

Congress affairs.

The *Oudh Akhbar* in a communicated article remarks that the Special Congress has achieved nothing beneficial to the country and that all the money and energy spent upon it have been a sheer waste. The *Haqiqat* takes to task the *Jammait-ul-Ulema* for making itself subservient to the Congress and sanctioning Council entry while the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* is still under non-Muslim domination and the *Khilafat* question has not been decided according to the wishes of the Musalmans.

Next elections.

The *Oudh Akhbar* doubts the possibility of a *swarajist* victory in the coming elections and does not think that they will be able to wreck the Reforms and paralyse the Government. It regrets that in spite of the Special Congress the two parties have not yet been reconciled. The *Azad* is not satisfied with the candidates nominated by the *Swaraj* party and remarks that the advocates of non-cooperation have misjudged their own strength and the condition of the country.

Political propaganda.

Several of the Hindi extremist papers took advantage of the *Vijaya Dashmi* festival to dilate upon the social and political miseries of the Indian people under the present régime and invoked Rama to reincarnate himself upon earth and cause a cataclysm

wiping out injustice, oppression and irreligion from the land of India. The *Vartman* publishes an open letter to Lord Reading making out that the Viceroy will go on leave and will not return to India for she has now no temptation to offer. He has already received presents from Indian Princes and all the Indian gold and silver have found their way to England and there is nothing in India now except paper. It refers to his repressive policy and remarks that his successor will curse him for watering the plant of rebellion. The *Nyaya* remarks that though Indian Chiefs outwardly appear to be enjoying every freedom, in reality it is they who are utterly at the mercy of the bureaucracy. There was no justification at all for the Government to interfere in the Nabha-Patiala affair when the Narendra Mandal could easily be utilised to deal with it. Government seems to be afraid of and takes action against those Indian Chiefs only who identify themselves with the people and are independent-minded, otherwise it should have surely paid its attention to those States which have become a byword for injustice and maladministration.

Conviction of Maulana Hasrat Mohani.

The *Inqilab* deplores the recent conviction of Hasrat Mohani and exhorts Indians not to cooperate with the Government and use foreign cloth in future. The Indians should prepare themselves for civil disobedience as this is the only means by which they can upset the satanic Government and get the Maulana, Mahatma Gandhi and other political prisoners released. The *Mansur* remarks that it was not in the interest of the Government to pass such a severe sentence upon the Maulana and that the Government could have suffered no loss of prestige in ignoring a trivial offence. The Government should itself prefer an appeal in his favour and have the sentence set aside if it wants to allay the unrest which is sure to cause injury to it. The *Al Burced* praises the perseverance and the firmness of character of the Maulana and exhorts the Congress and the Khilafat Committees to observe a "perseverance day" just like "Gandhi day" to commemorate his recent conviction.

Bolshevism.

The *Vartman* remarks that by perpetuating the slavery of the Dominions and by depriving India of her right for equality of treatment England is laying an axe at her own feet. The world is a witness to the fact that it is on account of England's folly that a red revolution which threatens to engulf the whole world is coming nearer. England cannot avert this red revolution without the help of Mahatma Gandhi, the votary of peace, whom she has confined within iron bars. The same paper publishes a contributed article in which the writer, Suresh Chandra Bhattacharji, pays a glowing tribute to the services rendered by Lenin towards the uplift of the labourers and *kisans*, remarking that Lenin alone preached the doctrine of equality, effaced Czardom and is now out to destroy Capitalism. Lenin's success has awakened the world and every part of it has been affected by Bolshevism.

Repression in Bengal.

The *Bharatiya Lokmat* infers from the enforcement of Regulation III of 1818 in Bengal and the action against the Akalis at Jaito that repression will once more be practised with full force and wonders whether Government is not yet convinced by its previous experience that repression has altogether failed in removing unrest from the country and whether it will not yet try to establish law and order on the basis of high principles. The *Garhwali* says that all thinking Indians will oppose the recrudescence of the anarchical movement in Bengal which will only retard the progress of the c.. ntry. It remarks that the enforcement of Regulation III of 1818 however in this era of reform is not only characterised by short-sightedness but also betrays the autocracy of the Bengal Government.

Retrenchment in the United Provinces.

The *Hamdam* says that the abolition of districts is not a matter to be silently decided upon without first inviting public opinion thereon. The holding of protest meetings should be postponed for the present and instead of wasting time over such agitations the best minds should devote themselves to enlisting public support. The *Rohilkhand Gazette* remarks that the recommendations of the Economic Committee in this respect are quite justified and hopes that the Governor will pay no heed to such protest and effect retrenchment as soon as possible.

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The Turkish Republic.

WHILE the new régime in Turkey is hailed with satisfaction by the Indian papers, the *Pioneer* characterises it as another definite breach with the traditions of the old Ottoman Empire. Commenting on the resignation of the Turkish Cabinet the paper says that the internal politics of Turkey do not augur well for the rapid advance of the newly constituted State. The election of Mustafa Kemal Pasha to the Presidency of the Turkish Republic arouses interesting speculations regarding the opposition he is likely to encounter in political circles in Turkey. The paper points to a potential source of discord which lies in mutual jealousy of Constantinople and Angora over the question of the transference of the capital. Mustafa Kemal is not likely to have an altogether untroubled reign. The *Leader* which wishes the new Turkish Republic every success in its career hopes that under the new constitution, with sovereignty residing in the people, and freed from the benumbing effect of theocracy, Turkey will rapidly come into line with advanced modern States of the West and set an example to Eastern countries how successfully to conduct a democratic form of government. Let Turkey prove that the East understands the principles of democracy better than the West. The *Hamdam* prays that the new régime in Turkey may be a harbinger of peace and prosperity to it and the means of the realisation of the hopes of other Muslim lands outside Turkey, but it fears that misunderstandings are likely to arise as a result of depriving the Khalifa of temporal power. It advises the Nationalist Turks to lose no time in issuing a proclamation in order to clear their position with regard to the Khilafat. It also urges the *Jammait-ul-Ulema* of India to make a public announcement.

The Hedjaz affairs.

The atrocities of the Sharif and the miseries of the Hedjaz pilgrims still continue to engage the attention of the Muslim press. Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk contributes another article to the *Hamdam* in which he condemns the misdeeds of the Sharif as extremely injurious to the Muslim interests and remarks that he wants to become a despotic ruler and to amass wealth by fair means or foul. The *Mansur* and *Al Khalil* publish letters from pilgrims in which the atrocities of the Sharif, the heavy taxes imposed upon them and the miseries suffered by them have been feelingly described. The *Hamdam* remarks that there is no hope that the participation of the Hedjaz in the League of Nations will improve the Anglo-Muslim relations as the Musalmans are disgusted with the conduct of the Sharif and the British influence over Hedjaz is against Islamic laws. Complete emancipation of *Jazirat-ul-Arab* only can restore happy relations between England and the Muslim world.

The Imperial Conference.

The recent activities of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru appear to have aroused interest in the proceedings of the Imperial Conference. While admitting that the latest speech of Lord Peel on Indian affairs reveals an intimate acquaintance with the Indian mind on Kenya, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* cannot help wondering that he should have wasted so much of his time and the paper's space, because his speech is nothing but an appeal to sentiment. Although it notes that Lord Peel has climbed down a little, so that the big child from India may not weep and fret too much, it does not believe that Lord Peel honestly felt that he knew all about Indian feelings on the Kenya crisis. He would not have been merely content with sentimental appeals: he would have threatened, for selfishness dreads only threat. It feels that Lord Peel was insulting India when he was seriously reminding the Imperial Conference that by her service in the war India had become an equal partner in the Empire. Unless India has a higher political status, she can never be respected by Smuts and those who think with him. The *Medina* remarks that the abject supplication of Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru has at least gained the verbal sympathy of the English people over which the Moderates can well rejoice. The Government is supporting Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru simply to impress upon the Indians that it has every sympathy for them. The *Hamdam* says that the hostile attitude of General Smuts in the Imperial Conference belies the hope of equal treatment being

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accorded to the Indians in South Africa. The *Oudh Akhbar* hopes that the British Government will rectify its past blunder and improve the unhappy position of Indians in the Colonies in spite of the opposition of General Smuts. The *Aj* asks why the statement of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru before the Imperial Conference has been kept confidential and remarks that most probably only those portions of the Colonial representatives' statements will be published which are agreeable to the Indians. Even this Conference will be utilised for propaganda work. Indications are not wanting that Sir Sapru will fail in his efforts and the policy of evasion and deception will continue to be followed in the Conference.

Indians in the Colonies.

Commenting on General Smuts' attitude towards Indians overseas the *Leader* says: India cannot tolerate the present position and all sections of the population are agreed that it must be done away with. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that by the little satisfaction that their great leader has knocked at the doors of the Government and obtained the very important concession of reopening the Kenya decision, the country will not be impressed with the achievement for the very simple reason that there has been no achievement at all. In another article the paper says that while the reopening of the Kenya question would be an interesting instance of a sudden unsettling of a settled fact, it is feared that the proposed committee would not really benefit Indians abroad, although it would undoubtedly help the Liberals and the Government. We are afraid India is too callous to be interested in such political jugglery. The latest news that comes from Fiji serves to hold up before us yet another lurid picture of suffering and oppression, and to prove that Kenya is only one portion of the British globe where equal citizenship is denied us. Referring to the United Provinces Council debate on the question of boycott of the British Empire Exhibition as a protest against the Kenya settlement, the *Leader* says that the Council dismally failed to rise equal to the occasion and while the Government and their supporters may congratulate themselves on the victory scored, it cannot but be a matter for regret that it should have been scored at the cost of national honour and self-respect. On the other hand, the *Pioneer* says that by their summary rejection of the proposal to boycott the British Empire Exhibition the United Provinces Legislative Council showed a true appreciation of the preposterous movement which has been set on foot as a "reprisal" for the Kenya decision. India and India alone would be injured if the movement proved successful, and this fact is realised by all sensible people. Pandit Banarsi Das Chaturvedi writing in the *Vartman* points out that the new scheme for labour emigration to Mauritius is nothing but indentured labour in another form and asks the Congress Committee to warn the people against it so that they may not fall into the hands of unscrupulous recruiting agents.

The Congress.

The *Vikram* says that Pandit Jawahir Lal Nehru has rightly removed the misapprehension that the Council entry was symbolical of the death of the non-cooperation movement. It is convinced that when the no-changers will declare a war against the bureaucracy the *Swarajists* will leave the Councils and join them (the no-changers) in their fight against the bureaucracy. Babu Sampurnanand writing in the *Aj* deplores the procrastinating attitude of the Congress towards the organisation of labour and contends that as *swaraj* cannot be obtained and maintained without the active support of labour, the Congress should openly declare what rights labour will enjoy under *swaraj*. This may alienate a few zamindars but will surely enlist the support of the bulk of the population. He suggests that a conference to deal with this question may precede the Coconada Congress and decide what demands will be placed before the latter in the interests of labour. The *Vartman* exhorts the Congress party not to waste its time in waiting to see how the *Swaraj* party succeeds in getting into the Councils, but to carry out its own programme without further delay. If the Congress party had concentrated its energies on the boycott of British goods and the *khaddar* programme the Viceroy instead of bragging would have bleated like a lamb and bowed down to Indian public opinion. The Congress should no longer delay to make preparations for civil disobedience to shake off the bonds of slavery.

The Akali agitation.

With the exception of the *Chattri*, which regrets that the Akalis are wasting their energy in futile struggle, the Indian press continues to be sympathetic to the Akalis. The *Najat* says that the Akalis are alive to the dangerous consequences of the struggle and will act on the principle of passive resistance. The *Medina* is gratified at the sacrifices of the brave Akalis in the cause of their country and remarks that they

are fighting the battle of the whole country. The *Vikram* says that the bureaucracy could not tolerate the growing strength of the Akalis and the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and has therefore started the campaign of repression in order to crush them. In another article the same paper says that the proclamation of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee as an unlawful association is obviously indicative of the pride that has overtaken the bureaucracy. The courageous acceptance of the bureaucratic challenge by the Akalis will infuse new life into the country. The *Vartman* remarks that as the Akali struggle is an all-India one the youths of every province should be awakened to participate in it. The Congress Committee should allow the *Satyagraha* committee to formulate its scheme of campaign. A retort to Lord Reading's challenge should be given by inaugurating a vigorous campaign of boycott of British goods in every province. This will also create an atmosphere favourable to civil disobedience. The *Kartavya* holds that the declaration of the Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and the Akalis as unlawful organisations means that the entire Sikh community has been put under a ban and that the Government of India is thus bringing the British Empire into collision with a volcanic mountain. It urges the British Government to realise that the Akalis are not to be daunted by the threats of the Government of India and to prevent the latter from digging its own grave in this manner. The *Leader* says: The Sikh situation could have been handled more sympathetically, so as to prevent the alienation of some of the choicest spirits of a community which has been noted for a long, glorious and unbroken record of service to the British in all parts of the world and which was recognised as a bulwark of British rule in India. The whole question deserves to be viewed not in its narrow aspect of an act of lawlessness of the Akalis, but in a broad and liberal spirit.

The Viceroy's tour.

The *Pioneer* and the *Leader* condemn the action of the Allahabad and Lucknow Municipalities in deciding to boycott the visit of His Excellency the Viceroy and are gratified at the welcome accorded to him in spite of the non-cooperators. The *Pioneer* says that the welcome affords a sufficient reply to the disloyal minority who have been endeavouring to arrange hostile demonstrations on the occasion of His Excellency's visit. Referring to the proclamation of a *hartal* in Allahabad the *Leader* says that this form of expressing displeasure or dissatisfaction against any policy or any one responsible for it in an official capacity seems to have become very cheap. It can serve no political purpose beyond causing possibly a little irritation. Its frequency in the past and the knowledge of how it is brought about has deprived it even of the little moral significance that used to be attached to it. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* admits that the reception accorded in Lucknow to His Excellency was one of the grandest ever remembered in the town. Easily the most unique feature of the visit was a happy idea of the officials to concentrate loyalty and infuse awe and respect for the authority of the Government and the entire function was as imposing as the occasion deserved. Referring to his Darbar speech the paper says that his reference to the floods was graceful and would be highly appreciated, but the Viceroy is grievously misinformed if he believes that the sufferings of the people have ended with the distribution of fried gram and the draining of the Gumti from the road and the houses. Commenting on the Viceroy's Darbar speech the *Leader* says that the Darbars are reminiscent of old days of feudalism and are anachronisms at the present day, and regrets that the practice of holding Darbars has been revived and blessed by Lord Reading. Why is not a similar institution established in England to enable good citizens to develop a sense of reverence towards their Government? The Viceroy's reference to the Empire Exhibition resolution in the United Provinces Council is interpreted by the paper as showing a lack of sympathy with the intense feeling of the politically-minded Indians on the Kenya question. Similarly the paper does not agree with the Viceroy as to the adequacy of the constitutional reforms and says : The Viceroy spoke as if he was quite satisfied with the present position and gave no hope of change in the near future. Indians cannot rest content with what has been received, and while retaining a sense of proportion, they must unceasingly exert themselves to widen the bounds of liberty so that they may have the same measure of freedom in their own country as the white colonists have in the self-governing dominions. The *Hamdam* disapproves the Viceroy's visit to Lucknow on considerations of financial difficulties of the Government and the miserable plight of the flood-stricken people of the city and regrets that the Local Government instead of mitigating the sufferings of the people is spending money on fireworks and illuminations. In another article the same paper remarks that the Viceroy's Darbar speech contains nothing which may please the people

and those who were expecting that some important proclamation would be made in the Darbar must have been disappointed. The *Inqilab* writing in a similar strain says that the Viceroy's visit to Lucknow at a time when the people are groaning under sufferings caused by the floods was inopportune.

The Viceroy's speech.

The *Hindustani* says that the views expressed by the Viceroy at the Chelmsford Club dinner are only one-sided inasmuch as they show that the Government is quite innocent and that the Indians are responsible for all agitation. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the Viceroy's speech indicates that the Government is not going to give up its present repressive and ruinous policy, and that in view of the programme of the *Swaraj* party and the prophecy of the Viceroy, the future of the Indian Reforms does not appear hopeful. The *Aj* is convinced that the country will accept the challenge thrown down by the Viceroy whose speech will surely be the cause of the *Swaraj* party's victory. The same paper in another article says that the very tone of the Viceroy's speech shows that he held out the threat and the challenge on the strength of the divisions and dissensions which have only temporarily weakened the people. Time will surely prove the impropriety of the threat for which the bureaucracy will have to rue. The *Sudharak* says that Indians cannot be taken in by the *camouflage* indulged in by the Viceroy in his speech at the Chelmsford Club, regarding the boycott of British goods and the Empire Exhibition. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the speech was unsatisfactory, insipid and unworthy of a Viceroy. It was insulting to the people and calculated to arouse their indignation. The *Swaraj* party will surely attach no value to his threats. The *Vartman* remarks that every word of the speech betrays the fear caused in the official mind by the excitement in the country, and particularly in the Punjab, and contains the impotent threat to resort to brute force in order to suppress it. We wish to see the threat translated into action without delay because India is anxious to see the brute and despicable form of the bureaucracy which is at present hidden under the mask of the Reforms.

The Hindu-Muslim relations.

Welcoming Maulana Shaukat Ali back to political life the *Independence* says: If independence is the ideal Hindu-Muslim unity is the first step in the realisation of that ideal. The ideal first and the first step immediately. We hope the Maulana stands for both. The *Al Khalil* describes the present situation in the country as critical for the Musalmans. The Hindu politicians want to crush the Musalmans and have decided to continue to be slaves rather than to live amicably with them. As this is in no way contrary to the interests of the Government, it will let the Musalmans be trampled upon. While the *Millat* of Meerut takes the Musalmans to task for non-cooperating with the Government and patiently bearing all the miseries and humiliations at the hands of the Hindus, who are trying to eliminate Islam from India, its local contemporary the *Chattri* says that there is no place in India where the Hindus are not being oppressed by the Musalmans. They are making preparations to destroy the Hindu nation. The Musalmans have gained their object by the establishment of the Angora Government and they have now cut off their connection from the Congress.

Bolshevism.

The *Pioneer* in a leading article headed "Bolshevik aims in Asia" describes the horrors perpetrated by Bolsheviks in Bokhara and other Asiatic countries and remarks: It is almost incredible, indeed, that any Indian should find satisfaction in the anti-British propaganda of the Soviet Government, since Great Britain, as we have said, constitutes the main bulwark against Bolshevik aggression. The *Inqilab* insinuates that the English are very much perturbed at the Bolshevik bogey and that British prestige is now on the wane. A time will soon come when there will be no place left throughout the world where they will not be given an ultimatum to evacuate. Returning to the anti-British propaganda of the Bolsheviks in Persia the *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that in view of the indignation of the Persians at the repressions on the Shia divines of Iraq it does not appear unreasonable to suspect that the Bolsheviks have taken advantage of the opportunity and begun to spread poison. The *Hamdam* condemns the Bolsheviks for not abiding by the Anglo-Russian agreement and spreading anti-British propaganda in Central Asia, Persia and Afghanistan, and remarks that the Government of India should ask the Afghan Government to furnish a statement regarding the warlike intentions of the Bolsheviks against Afghanistan and publish it.

The next elections.

The *Leader* in a leading article advises the *Swarajists* to cooperate with other advanced political parties in the country in spite of differences which have so far divided them. It asserts that the policy of the *Swarajists* does not much differ from that of the Constitutionalists. It has, says the paper, injured itself by laying emphasis on its wrecking policy, when its leaders probably know that it is an impossible policy and that there is a large section of the party itself which does not believe either in its wisdom or its efficacy. "Let them give up a false sense of pride or prestige, and show a real spirit of cooperation, toleration and goodwill towards those progressive politicians who, according to their lights, are doing their best to achieve the goal of *swaraj*. In the existing conditions, unity of action, as far as possible, outside and inside the Councils, among these is necessary. Let not the acerbities of political life in the recent past be allowed to poison the mind in the present. Errors and mistakes might have been committed on both sides, but if it be conceded that there were no personal motives behind and that patriotic considerations alone inspired those who worked in the national cause, then a policy of forgive and forget appears to us to be the most desirable at the present juncture." The *Al Khalil* asserts that the Congress nominees are generally those Hindus who have been taking an active part in the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements, and advises the Musalmans to return the very best Muslim candidates to the Council whether they are non-cooperators or otherwise provided they are well-wishers of the country and the community. Referring to the manifesto of the *Swaraj* party the *Hamdam* says that the country has now no faith in high-sounding promises. The very existence of the *Swaraj* party shows that the non-cooperation movement is dead. The *Swarajists* have done little to create happy relations between the two communities.

LUCKNOW:
The 3rd November, 1923.

ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 10*th November*, 1923.

MAILS BRANCH
4 DEC. 1923
INDIA OFFICE

Situation in Europe.

ACCORDING to the *Pioneer* the political situation in Germany appears to be crystallising into a definite struggle between the respective supporters of the Republican and Monarchical forms of government. It remarks that in the event of a Nationalist *coup* proving successful, the logical outcome of the new Government's policy would be the entire repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles and a resumption of a state of war against the Allies. The *Aj* opines that the establishment of the Rhineland Republic shows unmistakably that the object of France is not to realise indemnity but to dismember the German Empire. It warns that the destruction of Germany will result in a revolution of a far-reaching character in the economic situation of Europe, which will incidentally cause injury and suffering to other nations as well and asks the British Government to decline to recognise the Rhineland as an independent State. The *Cudh Akhbar* interprets the recent speech of General Smuts regarding the question of indemnity as a threat to France and opines that he could not have dared to sound a note of warning to France without the support of the British Cabinet and that his speech foreshadows the future policy of Great Britain.

The Imperial Conference.

The publication of the proceedings of the Imperial Conference on the question of the status of Indians in the Empire has attracted considerable attention. The *Pioneer* thinks that the discussion in the Imperial Conference has resulted in an important concession to the Indian standpoint. It pays a tribute to Lord Peel and says that the powerful advocacy of the Indian point of view by the Secretary of State should dissipate once for all the suspicion which has been sedulously fostered that reactionary views prevail at Whitehall regarding India's political aspirations. The opening of the Kenya question is a substantial concession which cannot fail to bear good fruit. But India cannot claim to be heard to the exclusion of other parts of the Empire. They too have an equal right to present their case, and it is the difficult and unenviable task of the British Government to hold the balance even, with due regard to those broader considerations which affect the welfare and the cohesion of the Empire as a whole. In a leading article the paper defends General Smuts and says that however objectionable his speech may appear to India, it will hardly be disputed that the case which he has put forward is the case which commends itself to his constituents. There is nothing in this which could offend the *amour propre* of the most sensitive Indian. It points to the difficult position of the British Cabinet which can no more disregard the South African case put forward by General Smuts than it can disregard the Indian case argued so forcibly by Lord Peel and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. A recognition of this difficulty in India would go a long way towards inducing, at all events, a calmer and more dispassionate view of the grave issues involved. The *Leader* is gratified at the result of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's efforts and says that the need of continuing a vigorous agitation on the Kenya question has not disappeared. The settled fact has not been unsettled, though its foundation has been shaken. Let the Committee mentioned in the formula do its best to obtain amelioration of such conditions as are incompatible with India's national dignity, but the people of India cannot relax their efforts until the Kenya wrong is definitely righted. It hopes that the efforts of the Committee which is to be appointed as a result of the Sapru resolution ought to yield tangible results. In another article the paper criticises General Smuts' attitude on the Indian question and points out that the danger lurking in such an obscurantist policy is clearly perceived by all who have eyes to see. General Smuts seems to be living in a world of his own. He seems to have little realised what grave disservice he has rendered by his obstinate adherence to his anti-Indian policy. Such an unreasoning attitude cannot but accentuate racial bitterness in the Empire and make an equitable readjustment of the rights of the various communities inhabiting it more difficult and remote. All those who are not infatuated with false notions of racial superiority agree in recognising that no Empire of which injustice and inequality

are the hall marks can at all flourish for any length of time. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* praises Lord Peel for his speech and says that he has very fairly described the real Indian mind on the Kenya situation and made a bold presentment of the case. The speech has the ring of Mr. Montagu about it. The paper congratulates Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru on the firm stand he made and the almost uncompromising insistence with which he drove the Duke of Devonshire to promise to open the Kenya decision for discussion, but places no faith in the new Committee. The discussion, says the paper, has not been fruitful of any result. The difficulty would remain so long as Sir Tej Bahadurs are satisfied with being humble advocates before the bar of Imperial opinion instead of being equals in fact as they are in theory. The remedy is in *swaraj*. The *Independence*, on the other hand, sees nothing in the discussion in the Imperial Conference which can be regarded as a matter for gratification as is done in Liberal circles. It insinuates that the Liberals want to improve their position in view of the next elections. Referring to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's tribute to the Civil Service, the paper says that everything that he said qualifying his tribute would soon be forgotten and only his praise remembered next time the need is felt for another increase of salary to these builders of the Indian Empire, in which Saprus and Chintamanis find warmth, while Gandhis and Shaukat Alis have to freeze in prison solitude. The scene is sickening, and the voters in India will show at the polls that they cannot bear such sickening shows again. In another article it remarks that the publicity campaign engineered by Reuter with regard to the Kenya debate will achieve its object, namely, to convince Indian Liberals that the British Empire is a reality and not a mere Smuts' edifice of utter self-aggrandisement. The paper asserts that the sympathy of the Dominion Premiers was absolutely unwanted: it was in some instances, as in Canada, absolutely false. And if the idea behind this acute publicity campaign in India is to make Alwars of the three hundred millions drunk with the grandeur of the Empire idea, it is simple idiocy. Nationalists will only laugh at the trick and swear to boycott British goods. The *Advocate* praises Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru for the lucid manner in which he placed the Indian case before the Conference, but it is not much hopeful as to the result until the people of India in their own country attain the status of self-governing people. The *Hamdam* remarks that the effect produced by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's speech will not last long. The British Government knows well how to please the Indians by coaxing, and if a Committee is appointed to inquire into the matter it will take years to solve the question, and the difficulties of the Indians in the Colonies instead of being abated will rather be aggravated. The *Oudh Akhbar* resents the speech of Maharaja Alwar in the Imperial Conference and remarks that he has sprinkled salt on the wounded hearts of the Indians. The truth is that it is the Indians themselves who are responsible for the ruin of India. The *Pratap* remarks that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru apparently assumed the airs of superior statesmanship in summarily rejecting the advice of his Liberal colleagues to withdraw himself from the Imperial Conference. We consider it our duty to ask Sir Sapru to leave the Imperial Conference after warning the British Government that if it persisted to rule India it must pay the price in the moral corruption of itself.

The Akali agitation.

The Indian press continues to be sympathetic towards the Akalis. Condemning the action of the Punjab Government against the Akalis the *Aj* supports the suggestion of Dr. Kitchlew to hold an emergent meeting of the Congress Working Committee in the Punjab to decide the line of action to be adopted by the Congress in the matter. It exhorts the Indian nation to rally round the Punjab, warning it that India's political emancipation is impossible if other provinces do not stand by the Sikhs in their suffering. Writing in a similar strain the *Abhyudaya* warns the Government against the ruthless repression launched out by it lest it may drive the agitation underground which will prove calamitous both to the Government and the people. Commenting on Sir Edward Maclagan's statement in the Punjab Legislative Council in reference to the Akalis the *Vartman* remarks that it cannot conceive of a more baseless and false allegation against the Akalis. It is incredible that the Akali organisation which is a follower of "Sat Shri Akal" can ever spread hatred against anybody and indeed it has never done so. It is rather Sir Edward Maclagan's Government which has by its conduct created an atmosphere of hatred in the Punjab which is gradually making the administration in that province impossible. In another article the same paper says that the Congress' support of the Akalis means that the whole of India is ready to fight against the bureaucracy and insinuates that it is in grim realisation of the seriousness of the

situation in which it is finding itself that it is trying to negotiate a compromise to the effect that the Government will withdraw its order against the Shiromani Committee if the Akalis give an undertaking that they will now keep themselves aloof from the Nabha affair. But, says that paper, the leaders cannot accept a compromise on the sacrifice of their religious principles and the Akalis cannot rest on their oars until they have gained their object. The *Hamdam* criticises the policy of the Punjab Government in declaring Gurdwara Prabandhak Committees as unlawful associations and remarks that the Punjab Government, which has already tested the power of the Akalis in connection with *Guru-ka-Bagh* agitation, will only aggravate its difficulties by pursuing a policy of repression against the Sikhs.

The Viceroy's tour.

While the *Pioneer* is of opinion that the Viceroy rendered eminent service to India and to the Empire in his short stay in the United Provinces, the *Independence* remarks that Lord Reading has come and gone from the United Provinces leaving no happy legacy or pleasant memories behind him except a few speeches in his usual blustering manner. The paper is dissatisfied with the Viceroy and says that in and out of season he threatens to crush the non-cooperation movement in the blood and slime of a final defeat. The White bureaucrat who talks the language of a patriot but treads in the footsteps of despots has besmirched the fair name of England which has produced a Sidney who fell, a Byron who fought, and a Shelley who wrote in the cause of freedom. By the arrest and incarceration of Mahatmaji, not only has the bureaucracy cut the ground from beneath its own feet, but has driven another nail to the coffin of autocratic rule. The *Leader* remarks that the enthusiastic and spontaneous welcome he received on his arrival and at the public functions he attended showed that though he is identified with a system of government which is predominantly autocratic and for the maintenance of which he has made himself responsible for certain very unpopular acts, there is personally no ill-will against him. That he has a kind heart and is inspired with a desire to do justice is generally recognised, and this largely accounts for the fact of his personal popularity. The *Hindustani* says that the Viceroy's Darbar speech was opposed to the interest of the Indians and he was wrong to suppose that the Darbar consisted of the representatives of the people, as all the Darbaris were title-holders, flatterers and Government officials. The Indians can never endorse the praises which he has showered upon his Government and its actions. Khan Bahadur Qazi Aziz-ud-din Ahmad in a signed letter to the *Oudh Akhbar* regrets the short-sightedness and the mistake of the Government in inviting only a few Darbaris by arbitrary selection and ignoring the claims of others. This has given a cause of grievance to many respectable persons who have been ever loyal to the Government. The *Vikram* congratulates the Allahabad Municipal Board on its decision to boycott the visit and also commends its decision not to purchase articles manufactured in Great Britain or in other parts of the British Empire for municipal consumption and remarks that these decisions of the Board deserve to be followed by other Municipalities.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Pioneer* remarks that feelings between the two communities are running high and attempts of some of the leaders to bring about a compromise have hitherto proved a failure. The paper ridicules Mr. Shaukat Ali's evasive reply at Delhi that he could not make any pronouncement on the question of Hindu-Muslim relations till the country was free and had its own Parliament. The *Al Khalil* deplores that the tension between the two communities has increased to such an extent that no amount of appeal for civil disobedience can keep them from fighting amongst themselves and persuade them to unite under a common political banner. They can never be fit for self-government if they continue to interfere in the religious rites of each other. The *Al Bashir* remarks that there were no disturbances during the *Ram Lila* celebration simply because the Musalmans do not like to interfere with the religious rites of their Hindu brethren and on the other hand participate in all their festivals in large numbers. The Indians do not possess good morals and hence the new powers granted to them in the local Boards are being abused. Muhammad Yakub, vakil, of Moradabad contributes a lengthy article to the *Hamdam* in which he dwells upon the causes of the present communal tension and remarks that it is sheer madness to say that the Musalmans forming a population of only 14 per cent. in the United Provinces, which is the hot bed of dissensions, consider the Hindus to be weak. Political differences should not be based on personal grudge and a meeting of people of every shade of opinion should be convened to discuss the various points of difference and to formulate a complete scheme and ask the

Government to place it on the statute book of the country. The *Medina* accuses the Government for the communal tension and remarks that it never took pains to create cooperation and harmony among the different communities of India but on the other hand ever tried to promote disunion. A Government which can solve the economic and political difficulties of the whole world can certainly make laws to prevent a collision between the two communities. Since the advent of British rule in India the secret of their success always lay in pitching one community against the other and benefiting themselves by such internal strifes.

Release of Maulana Shaukat Ali.

The Indian press is elated at the release of Maulana Shaukat Ali. The *Vikram* remarks that his absence from the political field was being greatly felt at the present critical juncture of Indian affairs. It hopes that his release will infuse new life into the country, frighten the enemy and tend to remove the present slackness in the national agitation. The *Pratap* heartily welcomes the Maulana on his return from jail and hopes that a true and indefatigable worker, as he is, he will remove the present inactivity and resuscitate the national life. It remarks that his statement, soon after his release, that his holiday was over and that he would soon plunge into the political arena with redoubled energy will surely have a magnetic effect in steadying the many waverers and dissemblers. The *Hindustani* hails the release of Maulana Shaukat Ali and strongly hopes that he will try to soon make up the losses sustained by Mr. Gandhi's movement through the activities of a few hypocrites who have created disunion between the two communities. The *Najat* remarks that the entire Muslim world should rejoice over his release and hopes that he will exert himself in consolidating afresh the scattered elements in the country and once more strengthen the national movement. The *Hamdam* hopes that he will push on his work without being discouraged by the present Hindu-Muslim disunion. In these days of civilisation the treatment meted out to the national leaders in jail is a serious blot on the jail administration.

Political propaganda.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer contributes a series of articles to the *Independence* in which he eulogises the part played by the students and young men of Egypt in obtaining independence for their country and says that Young Egypt's achievements in the field of politics drive home to one's mind the stupendous folly of the present system of education in India which substitutes for a passionate yearning for freedom a pathetic acquiescence in subordinate services. Our boys have neither that splendid religious fervour in them which Chirol may condemn as reactionary, nor that forward patriotism which he may depict as revolutionary. Their grave concern at present seems to be how to acquire the faultless foreign accent and phrasing. Several chapters on the splendid doings of Young Egypt can be written, but the writer doubts if they will shame their contemporaries in Indian schools and colleges to do their duty by their country. The sheepish students of today are the cringing cooperators of the morrow. The *Vikram* publishes a letter from Raja Mahendra Pratap, Afghanistan, who warns the Indian Press against reproducing the news and the comments on foreign politics of "interested" British journals as such a practice is calculated to injure the interests of India and of humanity at large. He condemns the endeavours of the British propagandists to misrepresent France and remarks that the British nation which destroyed Germany with the help of America and through cold diplomacy and which is now carrying on a campaign of unscrupulous misrepresentation and calumny to discredit France and Italy is the enemy of the whole of mankind. He also exhorts the Indian people to expose the British nation in its naked form.

Bolshevism.

Dwelling upon the Bolshevik menace to India the *Rahnuma* remarks that in the absence of any Afghan statement in this connection the Indian public will not be unjustified in assuming that the Bolshevik bogey is simply a farce and the Government of India merely want to support its military expenditure and keep back the Indians from demanding its curtailment. The Government have yet taken no measure to dispel this suspicion. In case of any real danger the public should be informed so that it may be prepared beforehand to afford every possible help.

The next elections.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* remarks that the United Provinces have raised themselves in the estimation of Nationalist India by returning Pandit Moti Lal Nehru and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya unopposed. Advocating the cause of the *Swarajists* at the next election the *Independence* says: It is an unique opportunity to these provinces to

mark their sense of not only appreciation of the brave fighters who fought the battle of non-cooperation with Mahatma Gandhi, the greatest man of the age, but even more important still, to express their sense of disgust at those who, born in India and being bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, did not hesitate to earn reward from the hands of the bureaucracy by working against them. It has no doubt that Indians will beat the Liberal and the Aman Sabhaite by voting for the *Swarajist*. The election will show to the world that an Indian has self-respect and is proud to call himself the countryman of Gandhi. The *Leader* says: Let those only be sent up to the provincial and central Legislatures who can fight best the nation's battle, irrespective of caste or communal consideration, for whatever concessions are won will be shared by all the communities. The Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies is bad enough, and it would be very deplorable if in these provinces elections are also run on caste lines among the Hindus. The *Azad* is dissatisfied with the candidates nominated by the *Swaraj* party for the Council and Assembly and remarks that it has put forward obscure persons many of whom do not even belong to non-cooperation or Congress camps to oppose some of the most capable Liberals. The *Swaraj* party is adopting an altogether mistaken and arrogant attitude and is repeating the blunders committed by the Liberals on the occasion of the last general elections.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 17*th November*, 1923.

Situation in Europe.

REFERRING to General Smuts' speech on the European situation the *Leader* says that his analysis of the drift of events may be regarded as accurate. It blames France for her policy which is largely responsible for the temporary establishment of a dictatorship in Germany and unless she radically alters her policy the necessity of self-preservation may compel the patriotic Germans to place the ex-Crown Prince at the head of affairs and revert to the monarchical form of government and scrap its present constitution. This will probably mean another war, and its disastrous consequences can hardly be conceived. Concluding, the paper asks what does Britain propose to do now to avert a calamity which General Smuts declared would be infinitely more dangerous to Europe and the world than was the downfall of Russia six or seven years ago? The *Garhwali*, reviewing the international situation, opines that if France and Italy succeed in their aggressive policies there is sure to be one more conflagration in Europe which will seriously affect the British Empire also. Britain should no longer put faith in French friendship but should concert measures to establish the balance of power in Europe. The *Vikram* says that the flames of a revolution are being fanned in Bulgaria, Ireland and Germany and that the excesses of Capitalism may at any time add fuel to this fire which might consume the capitalists of the whole of Europe.

The Turkish Republic.

The *Vartman* welcomes the establishment of a Republic in Turkey and remarks that it has raised high the head of Asia and infused courage and new inspirations into her subject nations which will learn the lesson that freedom cannot be had without sacrifice. The Turkish Republic will also brighten the future of socialism and democracy in the world.

The Hedjaz affairs.

The *Hamdam* continues to take interest in the Hedjaz affairs. Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk contributes another article to the paper in which he enumerates the misdeeds of the Sharif and remarks that owing to his greed he does not even hesitate to exploit his own people. In another article published in the same paper Maulana Zafar-ul-Mulk supports the Sharif's action in the matter of the Holy Carpet and insinuates that Great Britain had a hand in organising the Egyptian medical mission, which the Sharif was shrewd enough to detect. In a signed article to the same paper Sheikh Mushir Husain Qidwai exhorts the Musalmans to pay greater attention to the Hedjaz affairs and suggests that Maulana Abdul Bari, Sheikh Shaukat Ali and other Musalmans who can gain the confidence of the Arabs should proceed to the Hedjaz and should draw up a practical programme after negotiating with the Sharif.

The *Hamdam* is gratified that the Sharif, in spite of his previous attitude towards the national and religious affairs of the Musalmans, has expressed his readiness to observe the 16th November as the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* day, and remarks that it is the day when the national spirit of the Musalmans will be tested. The *Medina* hopes that entire Muslim India will observe the day and will make vigorous efforts to emancipate the holy land. It is the duty of the Musalmans to hold demonstrations to give vent to their national sentiments and show to the world that they are not prepared to recede an inch from their demands. In another article the same paper remarks that the Muslim demand for the emancipation of *Jazirat-ul-Arab* is not based upon any political right but it is the last testament of their holy Prophet which they wish to carry out. The *Al Bureed* exhorts the Musalmans to observe the 16th of November as the first day of the commencement of their struggle through which they will carry out the last testament of their holy Prophet and get the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* freed from the Jews and the Christians. The *Rahnuma* ridicules the Central Khilafat Committee for requesting Amir Feisal and Amir Abdullah to observe *Jazirat-ul-Arab* day and wonders why the committee did not request their father, the Sharif of Mecca himself, to support the demand for the emancipation of *Jazirat-ul-Arab*.

The Imperial Conference.

The *Leader* regrets that extremist organs have been busy in deprecating the results of the labours of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Imperial Conference and says that the fact appears to be that those who advocated the boycott of the Imperial Conference and condemned him for not accepting their short-sighted advice have found that, against their expectations, he has succeeded by skilful and masterly resort to constitutional modes of action, which they have been trying to run down. An admission of his success would imply an admission of the efficacy of constitutional action and of the unsoundness of the advice they offered, and hence efforts are being made to prove that less than nothing has been achieved. The intelligent public, however, ought not to be deceived by such interested misrepresentation. The *Independence*, which has been ridiculing Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, admits that he has left no stone unturned in advocating the case of Indians and demanding for them equality at the hands of white settlers in the various Dominions and says that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has not only been able to establish his reputation among the representatives of the Empire for his fearless and strong advocacy of the cause of Indians but has to a large extent restored the confidence of his countrymen, which had during his long association with the Government of India at a time of unusual excitement and trial been widely shaken. But in spite of all his labours he has been able to achieve nothing. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's attack on General Smuts was well deserved. Referring to the General's statement that the Kenya colonists are there to foster European civilisation, the *Leader* in a contributed article says: Its ideals have been writ large over the history of the world through four years of devastating war and five years of devastating peace. They are the ideals of grab and greed tempered by the sword of Mustapha Kemal. A Hindu peasant in his mud hovel follows much more truly and honestly the teaching of him who died on the Cross than do all statesmen (God save the mark!) of Europe, America and South Africa put together. The *Medina*, while praising the speech of Dr. Sapru for its lucidity and comprehensiveness, regrets that the question of *swaraj* has been thrown in the background. If the Moderates succeed in securing these rights they will become the true slaves of British Imperialism. So long as India does not become a Republic, like America and Turkey, the country will never be able to shake off its poverty. We regard these speeches as the forerunner of a state which will ever keep India completely under subjugation and slavery. The *Hamdard* pays a tribute to Dr. Sapru and the Maharaja of Alwar and hopes that Dr. Sapru's learned and forcible speech will go a long way in securing the sympathy of the Conference for India's demands. The *Oudh Akhbar* interprets it as a success of Dr. Sapru that some famous British statesmen gave valuable help to him and the Secretary of State for India himself supported the cause of the Indians. The *Aj* condemns as mendicant the method adopted by the Liberals in the matter of securing the redress of the Kenya wrongs and takes Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to task for rushing in where his great chief, Mr. Srinivas Sastri, failed. Referring to the adoption in the Imperial Conference of the resolution in favour of preference within the British Empire, the *Vartman* remarks that this attempt represents a new conspiracy on the part of the Imperial Government and the Dominions for plundering India. This policy, if given effect to, will greatly aggravate the situation in India and the only means of escaping from this economic crisis and this commercial conspiracy is the boycott of foreign goods and particularly the complete boycott of British goods. The *Aj* remarks that now that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has failed in his constitutional agitation to get the Kenya settlement altered, the Congress should take up the matter in its hands and a meeting of the Congress Working Committee should be convened without delay to consider the question of adopting a policy of reprisals in the matter. The same paper says that by rejecting the resolution regarding the boycott of the Empire Exhibition the United Provinces Legislative Council has swallowed the Kenya insult for which it has received its praise from Lord Reading.

The Viceroy's tour.

The *Medina* regards the *hartal* in Lucknow on the occasion of the Viceroy's visit as a clear indication of the fact that the country is sick of his repressive policy and remarks that, unlike his other speeches, his Darbar speech was not full of threats but of friendly advice. The *Haqiqat* describes the visit as a sort of compulsory taxation on the Taluqdars of Oudh and remarks that if the Viceroy had seen the sights in the Chowk and Aminabad he would have realised how far the people of Lucknow were gratified at his visit. The complete *hartal* in Lucknow will remain the only monument of his visit. The *Hindustani* criticises the Viceroy's speech

at the Allahabad High Court and remarks that it needs no mention to what extent injustice and tyranny have been meted out in his régime and in what ways the Akalis are being oppressed. The *Shakti* holds that though the Viceroy was accorded a warm reception by Taluqdars, Ji Hazurs and other official protéges at Lucknow and Allahabad the general public was opposed to his visit and boycotted it by observing *hartal*.

The Khilafat Committees.

Sheikh Mushir Husain Qidwai in a letter to the *Hamdam* deplores the absence of any practical programme amongst the Musalmans and points out that the Khilafat organisation has not so much to do with politics as with religion. If the Khilafat Committees are allowed to exist they must chalk out a practical programme to check the renegation of the Muslim Rajputs and to emancipate the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* from non-Muslim influence. The *Medina* invites the attention of the Musalmans to the Ali brothers' message and remarks that the Khilafat Committees are the only associations which can safeguard the interests of the Musalmans and their perfect organisation was never so necessary as it is now. The *Hamdard* remarks that Maulana Shaukat Ali in attempting to revive the activities of the Khilafat Committee for the collection of funds will do well to remember the fate of the subscriptions in the past and the views expressed by the country thereon. The *Rahnuma* says that the recent changes in the constitution of the Turkish Government have rendered the Khilafat question more intricate and have afforded an opportunity to the enemies of Turkey for ridiculing the Khilafat. The *Jammait-ul-Ulema* will do well to realise its duty and remove any misunderstanding that may be created thereby.

The Akali agitation.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* praises the Congress leaders for their sympathy with the Akalis and says that the sympathy of the Congress with the Akali struggle would mean the disciplined readiness of non-Sikh volunteers who, when occasion arises, would offer *satyagraha*, even as the Sikhs offered *satyagraha*, at Guru-ka-Bagh. The thousands of political prisoners in the jails also prove that the spirit of sacrifice is come to stay in the land and is but waiting for an outlet to serve the country. Such an outlet is now available in the Sikh struggle. The outlet will certainly not be lost sight of. The *Hamdam* apprehends that the repressive policy of the Government will only result in exciting the peaceful element and giving rise to disturbances and warns the Government that if it fails to change its policy the present calm and peaceful atmosphere will vanish and the nationalists will be obliged to oppose the Government side by side with their Akali brethren. The *Vikram* says that by sending the Akalis to jail in large numbers the Government may succeed in temporarily quieting the agitation but after a time it is sure to raise its head again with greater force. The mistakes of the Government are to be welcomed as adding to the strength of our agitation. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* opines that when the Akali agitation is altogether non-violent, Government has no justification to suppress it. The Punjab Government's attack on the non-violent agitation of the Sikhs means an encroachment upon the public life of the country which the people will resist to the best of their power. The *Swadesh* holds that the Akalis will score a victory this time also which will not only secure the emancipation of the Sikhs but of the whole country provided other communities take a lesson from the sufferings of the Sikhs and join the struggle.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* praises the Ali brothers for their speeches at Amritsar and says: It was almost the voice of Gandhi that spoke from Shaukat Ali when he proclaimed, with that directness and force born of sincerity, that if a Hindu should molest his mother or his sister he would forgive him. But what Shaukat Ali thinks today his co-religionists are very likely to think tomorrow. There are no two Muslims in India or anywhere in the Islamic world who can speak with greater authority on religion and politics than the famous Ali brothers, whose name would go down the history of India. They have risen to the occasion at a crisis in the relations between the two great communities in the land. The *Al Bureed* remarks that in the presence of the *Shuddhi* and the *Sangathan* movements, which are distinctly anti-Muslim in character, it is impossible for the Musalmans to open their arms and embrace the enemies of their religion. The Musalmans tolerated every thing for the sake of unity but the Hindus left no stone unturned to cut their throats. Writing in a similar strain the *Medina* regrets that the Muslim leaders have not yet realised the necessity of a Muslim organisation and remarks that the unity between the two communities is now rather difficult. If seven crores of

Musalmans are organised entire Asia can be emancipated. The *Aligarh Gazette* accuses the Akalis of forcible interference in the Muslim religion and relates the case of a village in the Sheikhupur district of the Punjab where the Akalis, in spite of repeated representations, would not allow the Musalmans to enter the mosque. The *Zulqarnain* condemns the deplorable attitude adopted by the advocates of the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements and cites a case in the Farrukhabad district where a woman was done to death for refusing to become *shudh*. The *Hamdam* regrets that Swami Shraddhanand, in spite of his declaration in the Delhi Congress, is still busy in his anti-Muslim activities. Would Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand realise the extent to which they have trampled upon the national movement and retarded the progress of the country towards *swaraj*. According to the *Al Bashir* the root-cause of the present tension is the hatred created amongst the Hindus by the exaggerated account of the Multan and the Malabar disturbances. The present state of affairs is extremely injurious to the cause of Indian emancipation and liberal-minded persons of both the communites should exert themselves to get the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements stopped by all possible means. The *Anand* warns the Hindus against the activities of a clique of Muhammadans which it says has come into existence to seduce Hindu boys and women and convert them to Islam. The *Abhyudaya* resents the refusal of the Begum of Bhopal to allow the use of the state band in the *Dasehra* festival and her statement that the Hindus could not erect any temple in the state or institute any new fair pertaining to idolatry and asks whether the Begum Sahiba wants to compel Hindu Rajas and Maharajas to issue orders prohibiting the erection of mosques within their states. The *Anand* points out that the system of separate communal representation has only widened the gulf between Hindus and Muhammadans and made them indifferent to the interests of each other and urges that while the minorities should be definitely allowed a fixed proportion of representation, their election should take place only through general electorates.

The Public Services Commission.

Commenting on the evidence of Mr. Roy before the Public Services Commission, the *Pioneer* remarks that he may be said to have accurately and fairly voiced the opinion of moderate politicians. It does not, however, agree with him in respect of the rapid Indianisation of Services which must lead not merely to a loss of efficiency but in all probability to an actual administrative breakdown. It also questions whether the masses and moreover the men with a substantial stake in the country who do not enter the political arena would view with equanimity the rapid disappearance of the British official. The *Leader* says that a more unsuitable time could not have been selected for beginning the enquiry in the United Provinces, as many prominent politicians will be busy with election. Referring to Lord Lee's opening speech, in which he describes the Commission as an independent and impartial tribunal, the paper says that these observations cannot appeal to the veriest tyro in politics in India, for he knows that the King-Emperor is a constitutional ruler, and that the real master is the British Cabinet. If the recommendations are to result in the further increase of expenditure on their maintenance, it is bound to add to the existing burden of taxation and to resultant dissatisfaction. It advises the members of the Commission to keep this aspect of the question prominently in mind and to see that in removing the grievances of the highly-paid services they do not add to the grievances of the poverty-stricken people of this country. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is gratified at the evidence of Mr. Roy, specially with regard to the Hindu-Muslim question and says that the bubble on which the Craddocks might have hoped to sail to their goal of British indispensability in India was burst, not by a professional politician in the sense that the term might be applied to Indian political leaders but by a journalist and a student of affairs. Indians want Europeans, not as masters but as servants. The spirit of service is lacking : it is the spirit of the mercenary that is predominant. It does not agree with Mr. Roy on the question of pay and says that it would be unnatural to expect an Indian and a European, both doing the same work,—invariably the Indian doing his better—drawing different salary. The *Independence* is sceptic as to the result of the recommendations of the Services Commission and says that while giving one appointment to an Indian, they will increase the salary and improve the conditions of service of a thousand civilians. Perhaps the present move may be to introduce an Indian standard of salary for Indian civilians under the Government of India and a European standard for the Europeans recruited by the Secretary of State for India. The *Jhansi Samachar* deplores that as a result of the recommendations of the Civil Service Commission the wealth of the

country will be unnecessarily wasted in satisfying the greed of the civilians at the cost of the poor Indian tax-payer, although they never discharge their duty by this country and always serve their and their own country's interests. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the only object of appointing the Commission is to increase the emoluments of the European Civil Servants and to tempt them to join and retain the Indian Services. The report of the Commission will be favourable to the Europeans no matter how great a burden is thrown on the Indian Exchequer and to what extent new taxes are imposed upon the Indians.

Arms Act rules.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that one resounding note of the Government resolution on the new Arms Act rules is suspicion of the people. The restrictions will always apply against honest people: the dacoit, the assassin, and the anarchist has not yet been known to desist from his fell deed simply because he could not procure firearms: he has always got them.

Bolshevism.

The *Medina* says that Persia and Afghanistan are afraid of British Imperialism and they are well aware of the fact that the object of the Bolsheviks is simply to gain political supremacy, while Western Powers aim at territorial aggrandisement. They have now to choose between the two and they know that Bolshevism is a lesser evil than the destructive Western Imperialism. Great Britain by its policy during the last fifteen years has lost the confidence of Islamic countries, and if it entertains any good will towards Afghanistan and Persia it will have to undergo great sacrifices to prove it. It will have to evacuate the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*, protect the Muslim states from the Red menace and give freedom to India. The *Hamdam* discredits the general rumour that the Bolsheviks are on the lookout for an opportunity to launch an attack upon India and remarks that it is far from the truth to assert that Islamic countries are under Bolshevik influence and will help them in their attack. The *Najat* remarks that the outburst of anti-British feelings in Persia is sufficient proof of Bolshevik activities in that country. As regards their sinister designs against India the paper says that nothing is far from the Bolsheviks who have a standing army of six lakhs and forty thousand. Their preparations should serve as a lesson to the advocates of territorial aggrandisement and the enemies of liberty.

Political propaganda.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer, who recently devoted several columns of the *Independence* in praising the young Egyptians has this week given the message of Mazzini and Garibaldi to what he depicts in bold headlines as "Callousness of Indian Youths." After describing the efforts of the Italian patriots in uniting the divided people the writer says: Our young men in the Universities have ample food for thought in Italy's noble fight for independence, but the fight that India is putting up under her God-given guide, Mahatma Gandhi, is even nobler, for it is a clean fight, a bloodless fight, the weapons used being *Ahimsa* and Passive Resistance. The *Charkha* flag, which is magnificently floating in the heavens, invites them to service. Will they not come and serve? Our leading men have been addressing them repeatedly. Will they not respond? Courage is wealth of youth. If courage goes, all goes. In another article he says: The converse proposition also holds good. It is by the non-cooperation of the people of India that the work of *swaraj* is being carried on and it is essential for the early achievement of complete *swaraj* that there should be continued non-cooperation. One Harsh Deva Oli writing in the *Shakti* says that attempts are being made in Kumaun to revive the evils of coolie *bardaish* as it is proposed to demand them from the people who move down from Kali Kumaun to Tarai Bhabar. He points out that it is impossible that the Kumaunese should put up with this humiliating treatment any longer. It means a challenge to them to have resort to *satyagraha* and the Congress Committees of Kumaun will do well to prepare the people for this struggle. The *Vartman* protests against the recruitment of coolies for emigration to Mauritius and condemns the methods of recruiting agents. If Mauritius really provides lucrative employment, why does not the British Government send fourteen lakhs of its unemployed to that island. The same paper says that Lord Reading is guilty of estranging the relations between India and England for ever and of practising illegal excesses upon the citizens of the British Empire. He also cannot escape the charge of being instrumental in creating discontent and anarchy in the country by the imprisonment of the Mahatma. If he does not give up his absurd and irresponsible policy and release Mahatma Gandhi soon all the leaders of the country will be up against him and give him a crushing defeat.

The *Shakti* urges selfless workers to devote themselves to village organisation without which the attainment of *swaraj* is impossible. The same paper remarks that it is no use passing resolutions in favour of complete independence when the Indians are divided among themselves and are not ready to pay the price for liberty. They should realise that soul-force and non-cooperation alone can make them really independent.

Council elections.

The *Anand Pracharak* remarks that the *Swaraj* party has put forward quite incapable and inexperienced candidates to contest against the most capable persons and hopes that the people in the best interests of the country will not only refuse to help them but oppose them strongly. The *Ittihad* resents the preparations of the *Swaraj* party to wreck the Reforms and says that the *Swarajists* seek election for personal distinction only, and hopes that owing to the anti-Congress sentiments rapidly spreading among the masses they will not be able to carry away the palm. One Kanti Chandra Dikshit, M.A., writing in the *Vikram*, regrets the abuse of Councils by the Liberals and appeals to the voters to return only true nationalists to the Councils this time. The *Aj* hopes that the policy of obstruction advocated by the *Swaraj* party will succeed in wrecking the Councils which cannot be mended and appeals to the voters to return to the Councils only the nominees of the *Swaraj* party.

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UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Turkish Republic.

THE *Aj* welcomes the establishment of a Republic in Turkey as putting an end to the theocracy which was the cause of the downfall of Turkey and as relieving the Khalifa of the burden of administration in order to enable him to devote particular attention to the protection and progress of religion. The *Bharat Jivan* congratulates the young Turks on their heroic efforts leading to their emancipation from the clutches of the Western devils. The Turkish Republic will prove a strong bulwark to protect Asia from the encroachments of Europe.

The Hedjaz affairs.

The observance of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* day on November 16 has directed attention towards the Hedjaz affairs. The *Independence* advises the Hindus to join their Muslim compatriots in their agitation for the freedom of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. In the great struggle to free Turkey from the shackles of an unnatural treaty, Hindu India was one with Muslim India; and it shall never be said that Hindus lacked enthusiasm now because of certain recent incidents which are best forgotten. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that a satisfactory solution of the question of the freedom of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* will permanently remove all danger of unrest in the Near East. It advises the Arabian States to follow the example of Yemen in sending a deputation to the Angora Assembly to restore the happy relations which formerly existed between the Turks and the Arabs. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Musalmans of no other part of the world except India are realising their duties and responsibilities in respect of the Khilafat question and even Egypt has failed to raise its voice for the emancipation of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The Musalmans should change their present attitude of distrust towards the Khilafat Committees, and if they have the emancipation of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* at heart they should prepare themselves for further sacrifices and subscribe at least five lakhs of rupees towards the fund. The *Aligarh Gazette* on the other hand sees no justification for starting the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* fund and remarks that the Khilafat fund was collected for a definite object though it was grossly misused. The *Jazirat-ul-Arab* fund has no such objective as the Arabs are neither fighting with any Power nor are they in need of our help.

The Imperial Conference.

The *Leader* pays a tribute to the work of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru at the Imperial Conference and says: By his able advocacy, diplomatic skill, indefatigable efforts and courageous independence, he has changed the atmosphere in India's favour and has shaken the foundations of the Kenya decisions. Further sustained efforts in well-directed channels will be needed to secure the fruition of his efforts. The *Hamdam* is dissatisfied with the result and remarks that such Conferences are quite useless for India. The speeches of General Smuts and the Duke of Devonshire show that India was hitherto labouring under a delusion regarding the equal right of citizenship within the British Empire. The *Oudh Akhbar* is sanguine that General Smuts will take a lesson from the sympathetic attitude of the British statesmen and will give up his anti-Indian policy. The *Hindustani* is gratified to learn from the speech of Dr. Sapru that Lord Reading fully represented the sentiments of the Indians regarding the Kenya decision and hopes that he will persist in his efforts till equal rights of citizenship are granted to India within the British Empire. The *Kartavya* holds that Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was not successful in his mission in the Imperial Conference and that his resolution regarding the formation of a committee to investigate the possibilities in the Colonies to give effect to the "equality resolution" will never be carried out, and even if carried out, will produce no substantial results. It contends that the only means of securing equality of treatment for Indians within the British Empire lies in their completely boycotting British goods. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* similarly thinks Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's mission to be a total failure inasmuch as the question of the equal treatment of Indians has been indefinitely postponed and the wrongs of Indian residents in Kenya have remained unredressed. It asks the Moderates whether they will still continue to labour under a delusion or join the non-cooperators in a vigorous and sustained agitation to compel the British

Government to pay heed to the Indian demands. The *Aj* points out that the little assurance which Sir Sapru got from the Colonial Secretary in the Imperial Conference was due to the threat of the Government of India that in case the problem of domiciled Indians was not satisfactorily solved Indians would boycott the goods manufactured in the British Empire, and urges that the boycott propaganda, which has already softened the attitude of the British Cabinet to some extent, should be preached in every nook and corner of the country including the Indian States. The *Vartman* remarks that the praise showered on Sir Sapru by the Liberals for securing an assurance from the Colonial Secretary to consider his proposal regarding the equality resolution is a clever device to evade the translation of their threat of the boycott of British goods into action and that the Liberals indulged in this tall talk simply to gain the confidence of the voters.

Elections in England.

There is a diversity of opinion as to the real issue before the British electorate. The *Leader* thinks that the British foreign policy with reference to France is really the issue with which they are faced and not the issue of Protection versus Free Trade which is merely a stalking horse. If Britain is not prepared to face this issue then it means that France will remain the master of Europe, for the next generation at least, and Britain will be at her mercy. Referring to the difficult situation which the British Government has to deal with, the paper says: Whichever party succeeds to the legacy of trouble will be faced with grave international and domestic problems, and the party which suffers defeat will be fortunate indeed in the existing circumstances. The *Pioneer* says that there has been a growing conviction among the British people that French militarism is the gravest danger that confronts Europe today, and in the face of this danger any attempt to alleviate the problem of unemployment by a protective tariff seems foredoomed to failure. The *Anand* remarks that the Indians will by all means welcome the downfall of the Conservatives and the restoration of Liberals to power in the coming elections, seeing that this will mean the abandonment of the reactionary policy of the Conservative diehards against India in favour of the old Liberal policy of Lord Morley and Mr. Montagu.

The Viceroy's tour.

The *Bharat Jivan* says that though the bureaucracy may think of strengthening the prestige of British rule by holding *darbars* yet these costly gatherings prove most unpleasant to the people when they see that far from doing any good they only go to impoverish them. These *darbars* can only be welcomed if they indirectly lead to the opening of the eyes of the people to accelerate the progress of the country, as was the case in Lord Curzon's time. The *Jhansi Samachar* opines that there is no justification for holding *darbars*, specially in the existing financial stringency, when the legislative bodies exist as common meeting ground between the rulers and the ruled. Such *darbars* only reduce the representative system of administration in the country into a farce.

The Akali agitation.

The Indian press continues to be sympathetic towards the Akalis. The *Independence* says that the Congress would be committing suicide if it, in any way, stands aside from the Sikhs at this supreme moment. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the Government may be justified in repressing the Akalis on political grounds but that it can certainly lay no claim that justice is on its side. Professions of justice only betray its hypocrisy in all its nakedness. The fate of Nabha may seize any Indian State hereafter and hence the question of Nabha is not a question of Akalis alone but of the whole of India. If all Indians join the Akalis in their struggle the Government is sure to climb down provided the campaign is conducted without the least violence and in an organised manner, so as to afford no excuse to the bureaucracy to have recourse to arms. The *Vikram* holds that the Akali agitation affects the whole of India and urges the Congress to devise plans to help the Akalis. It remarks that if the Akalis are suppressed, other Indian communities will also come in for repression in their turn and thus the political life of the country will be strangled. The *Hamdard* is the only exception which justifies the action taken by the Government against the Akalis whose activities are in no way beneficial to the country. They had rendered the task of maintaining law and order impossible and it was extremely necessary for the Government to resort to repressive measures to check the growing agitation in the Punjab.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Commenting on the Hindu-Muslim dissensions the *Pioneer* says: The leaders of the two communities are obviously incapable of controlling the fanaticism of the rank and file, and a heavy responsibility rests on those who for political reasons

have weakened respect for constituted authority instead of devoting their efforts to educating their followers in doctrines of mutual toleration and forbearance. The *Al Bashir* is dissatisfied with the Congress leaders for not attending to the crying need of Hindu-Muslim unity, shattered to pieces by the *Shuddhi* and the *Sangathan* movements, on which was raised the whole structure of Mr Gandhi's non-cooperation programme. The *Millat* deplores the present situation in the country brought about by those very persons who were once great advocates of unity and lovers of peace. The Muslim leaders are still harping upon the old theme regardless of the attacks made against their religion and cruelties perpetrated upon their brethren. The *Hamdam* strongly protests against the action of the Punjab Musalmans in allowing the barefooted Akalis to sit in the mosque and condemns such unity for the sake of which the Musalmans have often to do things which their religion does not permit. The *Bir Hindu* exhorts the Congressmen to support the *Sangathan* movement and remarks that an organised Hindu community will be of an immense value to the Congress and will bring about true unity between the two communities. It will help the national cause and render the repetition of communal disturbances impossible. Mr. Abdullah Yusuf of Kasmandi in a signed article to the *Hamdam* points out the necessity of a Muslim News Agency and remarks that the thing which is causing the greatest harm to the Musalmans is the absence of propaganda amongst them. The Associated Press, which is the most powerful weapon that can be wielded against the Musalmans is entirely in the hands of the Hindus and is responsible for the cruel treatment meted out to the Musalmans in connection with the recent disturbances. The *Shia College News* complains against the Hindus for resorting to the economic boycott of the Musalmans and indulging in all sorts of diplomatic tricks with a view to strengthening their own position and influence with the Government and depriving the Muhammadans of all such advantages. A correspondent in the *Desh Bhakta* contends that the Muhammadans appear to be desirous of cutting off all relations with the Hindus as is evident from their aggressiveness in all communal and religious disturbances and says that if it is so the Hindus should wake up and become self-reliant and have no dealings with the Muhammadans.

The Public Services Commission.

The *Pioneer* points out that grave anxiety exists among the British members of the Imperial Services lest the forthcoming General Election and the preoccupations of Home politics to which it may give rise will result in further delay before effect is given to the recommendations of the Commission. Should these fears be realised, a considerable exodus of British officials may possibly take place next March when the final decision has to be made whether to remain in the Service or to accept the alternative of retiring on a proportionate pension. The Indian press suspects that the Commission has been sent out for the benefit of the European servants only. The *Hamdam* is not sanguine that the Commission will in any way prove beneficial to the Indians and remarks that it will only enhance the salaries of the English officers the burden of which will fall on the Indian tax-payers. It is possible that the Commission may recommend the increase in the proportion of the Indians in the lower grade but that will not be of much benefit to the country. The *Leader* deprecates the examination of Civil Services' witness *in camera* and says that it fails to understand the real grievances of the civilian. He has not taken the public into confidence and it is to be strongly deprecated that this signal opportunity of putting his cards on the table has not been availed of. It emphasises the necessity of re-examination of the whole question of Indian Reforms and not tinkering with it piecemeal as the question of services is closely connected with India's political future. There is and there can be no permanent half-way house between autocracy and democracy. Either stand by the Reforms and its inevitable developments, or scrap them and face the consequences of such diehardism. It will thus be clear that the examination of the new constitution with a view to its proper expansion was what was needed and not the Lee Commission with its narrow terms of reference. It cannot disguise the misgiving which has been aroused by the characterisation of Lord Lee of the Services' grievances as "urgent and important," that the Commission's recommendations regarding the Services may be immediately given effect to and those in respect of Indianisation may be relegated to the care of the red tape. In another article it says that Indians are not opposed to the recruitment of Europeans and to their being treated fairly, but they want that the power of recruitment and the control of Services should be transferred to the Government of India and the Indian Legislature from the Secretary of State. Unless bureaucracy is brought under the control, directly or indirectly, of democracy, the former will continue to thwart the latter, and the resultant strife can never promote the cause of good

government not of racial harmony. It is thus only that the atmosphere of distrust can be cleared and the task of the higher Services rendered easier. The question is not so much racial as political and economic. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* expresses surprise at the tone and tenor of the representation of the European Officers' Association before the Royal Commission at Allahabad and says that the entire performance has been highly coloured and debasingly exaggerated. If these are the kind of people who have to be maintained in India by payment of high salary and extraordinary allowances so that India may be governed, the glamour of the British connection must vanish even among those who still have faith in it after Kenya. The only attribute in the European officers' memorandum which can be admired is the frankness with which racial arrogance is assumed. After this representation it is madness for Lord Lee to expect that a racial touch would not be imparted to the proceedings. It is a shameful confession, from such adventurers, or, as Mr. Roy called them, trade unionists; the attack on Indian officers shamelessly insinuated throughout the representation will be treated with the contempt that it deserves. From every word breathes the proud spirit that chafes under the lash of the Indian Minister or Indian Member. The exhibition of selfishness and greed that comes from the United Provinces European Association is simply shocking. It has for ever cleft asunder the European and Indian zone of the Services and we should be surprised, indeed, if the European officer, who has set his signature to it, can look into the eyes of his Indian co-worker tomorrow. In a leaderate the paper says that after the evidence of the United Provinces Imperial Service officers, they must be set apart as the enemies of Indian aspirations. Will the Liberals at least now realise, when they are down in the dust and their very ears are about to be stopped with it, that when the country spurns them it is because they have been coquetting with the authors of the United Provinces officers' statement before the Commission? In a leading article headed "Racial Arrogance" the *Independence* says that there is nothing in the representation of the European officers of the United Provinces which the Nationalist was not aware, but it is the first time that the wolf has shown itself from amidst the lamb's clothing. It regrets that greed has blurred the vision of Britishers who have been in our midst, eaten our salt, and partaken of our hospitality. It makes a present of the bureaucracy as it has emerged after yesterday's representation before the Lee Commission to the Liberal, and wish him all happiness and domestic felicity with such a partner. It regrets that Indian officers also would read it, and reading would still have to work under or with those who have not hesitated to ascribe inefficiency to them. Men would do many things for money but we never thought that for an increase of their emoluments any educated set of men would have thought it necessary to condemn the capacity of officers with whom they work and to whose faithful service they owe a great deal.

The Congress.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that if the Working Committee of the Congress cannot find a quorum over such an important question as sympathy with the Sikhs, then there is something very rotten, indeed, in the state of Denmark. In another place it says that the Indian National Congress built up with laborious efforts by a generation of great men, died at Delhi when it passed a resolution sympathising with the Nabha Ruler who had abdicated. The Muslim press is unanimous in condemning the ultimatum of Swami Shraddhanand to the Congress to sever its connection with the Khilafat Committee and *Jammait-ul-Ulema*. The *Al Khalil* remarks that according to Swami Shraddhanand no true Musalman should be allowed to remain in the Congress and that the Congress has got no status or power as against the *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* and that its very existence depends upon them. The *Al Bureed* says that Swami Shraddhanand, by eliminating the Musalmans from the Congress, wishes to see it as an association of only Hindu leaders and reduced to its previous status when it remained impotent against the Government for about 35 years. The paper advises the Congress to issue an effective statement to prevent any groundless suspicion or fear which may be created thereby. The *Rahnuma* takes Swami Shraddhanand to task for wounding the religious susceptibilities of the Musalmans and indulging in misrepresentations and remarks that he wants only those Musalmans to remain in the Congress who have no consideration for their religion.

Bolshevism.

The *Mansur* does not believe Reuter's reports regarding the Bolshevik activities in Persia and Afghanistan and remarks that such reports are simply designed to harass the Musalmans. The *Vartman* remarks that the Bolsheviks have a great hand in fanning the flames of revolutionin German States and prophesies that as a signal of

this revolution the German Republic will be permanently dismembered and the different States will proclaim themselves as independent States which cannot but create estrangement between France and England. The *Leader* resents the efforts of certain reactionary papers in England against the cause of Indian Reforms. Criticising the attitude of the *Daily Telegraph* the paper says: The fact seems to be that the diehards are only awaiting for a suitable opportunity for emphasising their demand for the withdrawal of the Reforms and substituting in their place a régime of undiluted and undisguised autocracy. The Indian extremists are only strengthening their hands, but they do not care for the consequences of their policy. It reminds the *Daily Telegraph* that political extremism cannot be treated by the withdrawal of concessions.

The elections.

The extremist press is elated over the success of the *Swarajists* in Bombay and elsewhere at the cost of the Liberals and the *Independence* expects that a similar support will be given to the *Swarajists* in the United Provinces. It remarks that suffering in this world shall never go in vain, the *Swarajists* proving it by the enthusiasm and love with which they are received. In another article it quotes from the statement of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the *Review of Reviews* that he admitted full share of responsibility in the condemnation of Gandhi and says that coming as the confession does, during the election war in India, the voters can decide for themselves whether they mean to give their vote to men who are in league with those w[illegible]put the Mahatma in jail. If the people vote for the Liberals, the fault will not be that of the innocents who do not know the whole truth about the Mahatma's imprisonment, but of the defective publicity organisation of the Nationalists. The *Leader*, on the other hand, regrets the defeat of prominent Liberals in Bombay and in a leading article it supports their creed and says: They may experience a setback at the polls, and in fact they have suffered a rout in the Bombay Presidency, but this reversion to the policy of political action through the Councils on the part of a large section of the Congressmen is their greatest triumph. They care much more for the victory of their principles than of their party and these are winning. They cannot abandon their profound convictions and their policy and principles in order merely to gain popularity. They will bide their time, for they are sure that with the restoration of political equilibrium they will be better appreciated. The paper blames the Government for weakening their position by the certification of the Salt Tax and the Kenya decision. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the defeat of the Liberals means only one thing—that the people trust the *Swarajist*, the Nationalist, and the non-cooperator. Those belonging to the non-cooperation movement, who might have lost faith in this, may now take heart and work. Their victory is the work of *khaddar* and the jail. The Liberal discomfiture is complete. But then the Liberals may not feel very dissatisfied with the result, for after all, the appointments may go to them. In another article the paper says. The Council is no attraction to the *Swarajist*. He goes there only as the vanguard of destruction, for annihilating the Council bauble. If he succeeds, he has the mandate from the voters to do what he considers necessary. And if he fails, he goes back again to his place of work, the village and the town, the platform, the press and the jail. To him his career is ready made and clear. He has taken the political cross, and is waiting to be crucified. The *Al Bashir* remarks that there was no use getting other people to sign the *Swaraj* party pledge when really able men of the party were not available on account of having served long sentences of imprisonment. Such other men though they may be elected by signing the *Swaraj* party pledge are sure to non-cooperate with the party inside the Council, thus bringing further disgrace on the Congress. The *Hamdam* says that the *Swarajists'* attempts to capture the local majority Councils have hitherto met with little success. The *Vartman* takes a pessimistic view of the chances of success of the *Swaraj* party in the provincial Councils but hopes that it may be able to have an upper hand in the Legislative Assembly. It apprehends that a political storm will seize the country in case Government refuses to give effect to the *Swaraj* party's resolution in the Assembly urging the release of Mahatma Gandhi. The *Aj* condemns the tactics of the Liberals in the matter of Council elections and particularly their plea that Council entry is against non-cooperation or Mahatma Gandhi's principles and warns them not to try to derive any unjust advantage from the name of the Congress or its leader, Mahatma Gandhi. The *Surya* contends that the *Swarajists* are neither the true followers of Mahatma Gandhi nor of the Congress and warns the voters not to give their votes in their favour, as most of them have no qualification beyond wearing *khaddar* and having been in

jail for some time. The *Anand* says that the *Swaraj* party has become so blind by party prejudices that it has concentrated all its energy on discrediting and defeating Liberal candidates while keeping silent over the Conservative zamindar candidates, although they can never be expected to help it in the attainment of *Swaraj*. The *Garhwali* complains that the Commissioner of Kumaun and the Deputy Commissioner of Garhwal are exercising undue pressure on the voters to return Thakur Jodh Singh Negi to the Council.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 1st December, 1923.

Turkish affairs.

COMMENTING on the new régime in Turkey the *Pioneer* says that at the present time the country is undergoing all the troubles and difficulties of the transitional period and remarks that it is impossible to sweep away the traditions of centuries by the enactment of a law or to impose at a moment's notice a democratic government on a people who have no conception of any but monarchial rule. Referring to Fethi Bey's statement with regard to Khilafat, the paper infers that the Khilafat agitation in India has not created a favourable impression upon those who are most closely affected. The *Leader* says that the statement of Fethi Bey that Musalmans outside Turkey have absolutely nothing to do with the appointment of the Khalifa must upset the plans of those who wanted that the Khalifa should be appointed by the representatives of the entire Muslim world. It thinks that the Turks have acted wisely in deciding not to surrender their right. The Turks are very jealous of their hard-won independence and do not want any interference from outside in their internal affairs. Perhaps the pan-Islamic cry of unity of Islam appeals to them the least, and Indian Musalmans ought to take notice of this hard fact. The *Hamdam*, on the other hand, is sceptical about the truth of the statement and warns its Muslim readers to await authentic information upon the subject. The *Haqiqat* remarks that the election of Ismet Pasha as the President of the Cabinet is a hopeful sign for the Muslim world whose interests are bound up with Turkey. With the advent of a new era in Turkey the prestige of the Khalifa has been considerably affected and he has been reduced to the position of a mere spiritual leader. The change is neither satisfactory to the Muslim world nor to the Khalifa himself, and a conference of the Muslim world should at once be convened to define the Khalifa's prestige and power. The *Medina* challenges the authority of the Turks to effect any change in the Khilafat institution and regrets that the Khalifa has been reduced to the position of a Pope of Rome. Kemal Pasha and his Assembly can no longer be regarded as trustees of Islamic injunctions if they render the Khilafat impotent. The *Hamdam* exhorts the Indian Muslims to readily respond to the appeal issued by Kemal Pasha for the relief of Turks domiciled in Greece who stand in urgent need of repatriation. It is beyond the financial resources of poor Turkey to restore the territories devastated by the Greeks to their former state and the Muslim world should therefore stretch a helping hand towards her.

Indians in the Colonies.

In commenting upon the Kenya Immigration Bill the *Leader* fears that the very elastic and vague provisions are intended to shut out or very severely restrict the immigration of Indians. This would be quite in keeping with the anti-Indian policy underlying the Kenya decision. The "interests" of natives are only trotted out at every step to find a plausible excuse for keeping out Indians. On the other hand the *Pioneer* is of opinion that its provisions, though certainly drastic, cannot be said to be open to any criticism on the score of racial disabilities or discrimination. There does not appear to be anything in its provisions which ought to offend Indian susceptibilities.

Hedjaz affairs.

The *Oudh Akhbar* attributes the Sharif's readiness to observe the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* day to the disappointment caused by the Turkish Treaty. He joined the Indian Muslims in their demand simply because his expectations regarding the emancipation of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* were falsified. The *Al Khalil* in a communicated article regrets the absence of a proper line of action on the part of the Musalmans to bring about the freedom of Arabia, and remarks that the emancipation of British possessions outside India will go a long way to bring about her emancipation also. The *Najat* says that the Sharif by concluding an agreement with Great Britain has strangled himself with his own hands. The agreement is not likely to live long as the entire Arabia is opposed to it. The *Aligarh Gazette* in a communicated article warns the Musalmans not to subscribe a single pice towards the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* fund which has been started by the Ali brothers to befool the simple-minded Musalmans and

remarks that it will meet the same fate as that of the Khilafat fund. It asks the Ali brothers as to how they will be able to emancipate the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. Will they utilise the fund in constructing ships and raising armies to crush the influence and prestige of Europe?

The Imperial Conference.

The *Swadesh* says that though Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has accomplished nothing in the Imperial Conference he has certainly damped the enthusiasm of the people for the boycott of British goods by noising it abroad that he made Herculean efforts and achieved marvellous success in improving the position of Indians in the Colonies. Such liberal tactics only mislead the people and make them relax their national struggle to their incalculable injury.

The Akali agitation.

In spite of the pre-occupation of the papers in connection with the Civil Services Commission and the general elections they continue to take interest in the Akali agitation. The *Independence* rebukes the Congress Working Committee for its inability to hold its meeting at Amritsar for want of a quorum and remarks: The Akalis are the vanguard of the Indian independence movement and need the guidance and the moral support of the Congress. Their failure to convene the meeting actually shows what an imbecile group of men managed to creep to power owing to the chaos that had come into the Congress. The best explanation that the members can give is to resign their membership of the Working Committee and make room for men of action. The *Aj* is gratified at the decision of the Working Committee of the Congress to give help to the Akalis in their struggle against the bureaucracy and remarks that by this action the Congress has discharged its supreme duty by the country. The *Vikram* supports the appeal of the Congress *Satyagraha* Committee to the people to become members of the Akali Dal and warns that great discrimination should be exercised in the enlistment of members, only such persons being taken who realise the importance of self-sacrifice and non-violence and would under no circumstances deviate from this path. The *Bir Hindu* exhorts the Hindus to stand by the side of the Akalis instead of assuming the rôle of a silent spectator, and remarks that it will encourage the Akalis who will help the Hindus in turn if a similar trouble overtakes them and the bureaucracy finding itself opposed by twenty-two crores instead of by only a few lakhs will soon lay down its arms. The *Mashriq* in a communicated article remarks that the Akali movement is in reality a revolutionary one and has nothing to do with religion. Those who are desirous of religious reforms and progress should have nothing to do with politics and the Government is justified in declaring the movement as unlawful and in resorting to repressive measures to put down the agitation.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The English papers have very little this week on the Hindu-Muslim relations but the vernacular papers continue to focus attention on the communal dissensions. The *Desh Bhakta* complains that the Muslim papers in general freely indulge in arbitrary and unjustifiable attacks on Hindus and publish articles calculated to inflame the Muslim feeling against them. The *Prem* publishes a communication from "Raja" Mahendra Pratap urging that instead of bridging the gulf dividing the Hindus and the Muhammadans we should strive to fill up that gulf altogether by removing ignorance and communal selfishness from both the communities by means of a propaganda inculcating in them the spirit of love, cosmopolitanism and universal brotherhood. Referring to the murder of a *Shuddhi* worker in the Punjab by Muhammadans the *Arya Mitra* remarks that such murders cannot stop the *Shuddhi* movement but will only aggravate the bitterness of feeling between Hindus and Muhammadans, which cannot but further complicate the situation in the country. The Muhammadan leaders will do well to restrain such fanatics if they have the interests of the country at heart. In another article the same paper holds the Muhammadans responsible for the existing strained relations between Hindus and Muhammadans and asks the Muslim leaders to restrain those mullas who foment communal hatred in the name of religion. The Hindus and Muhammadans should both realise that their mutual good will alone can be a means of their salvation. The *Arya Patra* remarks that the real object of the Palestine mission is not to collect funds for the repair of the Aqsra mosque but to spread pan-Islamism and link together the Muslims of different countries, so that the standard of Islam may be unfurled in India when the opportunity comes. The Hindus will then have to witness the scene of the days of Timur and therefore they should remain on their guard against these activities of the Musalmans. The *Talligh* regrets that the Musalmans, in spite of the hostile activities of their

neighbours, have yet failed to realise their religious duties. It would have a very salutary effect on the Muslim public if the Muslim States had openly given help to the Muslim proselytising missions and thereby saved the Muslim Rajputs from renegation. The Hindu Government servants are taking unlawful advantage of their position and influence and in spite of the Government order to the contrary are taking active part in the *Shuddhi* movement. The *Al Khalil* regrets the recent speeches of the Ali brothers and remarks that the Muslim leaders who still harp upon the Hindu-Muslim unity are under an illusion. They no longer command the confidence of the Muslim public. The *Rahnuma* protests against the action of the Musalmans in disregarding the injunctions of Islam and allowing the Akalis, who do not permit the Musalmans to call *azan* in the village mosque, to enter the mosque with dirty feet and remarks that this soul-distressing sight of the Hindu-Muslim unity is the result of the conduct of the Ali brothers and other enthusiasts of the same way of thinking.

The Public Services Commission.

The *Pioneer* characterises the memorandum submitted to the Public Services Commission by the United Provinces Civil Service Association of European Government servants as a lucid and forceful presentation of their case. After drawing attention to the vituperative comments of certain extremist papers and their hatred of the British, the paper says that it is obvious to every unbiassed observer that, quite apart from the financial embarrassment and anxieties of the British official under post-war conditions, the persistent vilification of the European members of the Services diminishes whatever attractions service in India may still possess and affects adversely the recruitment of the right type of officer in England. Indian papers are united in their disapproval of the claims put forward by the Civil Service Association. The *Leader* says that their argument for the redress of grievances is based on nothing except revolt against the natural and inevitable results of the constitutional changes that have been brought about. Referring to the proposal of super-officers, the paper says that at a time when we are sincerely anxious to see commissionerships disppear, the creation of these super-district officers need not be seriously considered. The proposal is a preposterous one. The matter of fact is that the European is anxious to preserve and create more lucrative and comfortable jobs for himself. Referring to the demand for an interim report to give the Services relief the paper protests strongly against the proposal and says that the conclusions of the Commission must be given effect to as a whole and the higher ranks should be given no relief as they are being paid sufficiently. In another article the paper says: If every step taken to introduce reform and economy in the various departments of Government is to be construed as constituting a service grievance, because it affects the vested interests of the superior services, then such a grievance ought not to be seriously entertained. The interests of the country and not of the Services should be considered paramount, but if the former are subordinated to the latter then we may assure the members of the superior services that their life will become increasingly uncomfortable and their task increasingly difficult in this country. The paper congratulates Mr. Mackenzie on the excellent evidence which he gave before the Commission and appreciates his breadth of outlook and his courage in expressing views which may probably make him unpopular with other European officers in the service. If there were more such officers in the higher services, the cooperation of Europeans and Indians in the country would be less difficult. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* thinks that the evidence before the Commission by the Provincial Services' representative has given a real conception of the feelings of Indians employed in this country. There is no trace in it of revenge or bitterness against those who sweepingly characterised them as inefficient. The evidence of the Provincial Service officers is dignified and responsible, as befitting the great character and capacity of that Service, just as the evidence of the Imperial Service officers was both hasty, irresponsible and ambitious. The paper hopes that the Lee Commission in seeking to assuage the dissatisfaction of the countrymen of the President, would not drive to despair the children of the soil in the service who spoke with such restraint and good sense. Referring to Mr. Dalal's evidence the paper says that he has shown considerable courage in proclaiming his own conclusions, which are, unfortunately, not at all complimentary to Indians. His evidence would be received with intense regret, and even dismay, by Indians who love their country and have no doubt about their fitness for *swaraj*. It considers it particularly unfortunate that Mr. Dalal should have condemned Indian students going to England. Referring to the evidence on behalf of the Indian Medical Service, the paper says that the claims of the Indian Medical Service, if acceded to, would simply amount to the perpetration of a scandal in the existing state of the

country and its finances. We want every available pie for the extension of medical relief, and when we have excellent material in the Indian doctor, to throw money on foreign stuff is an abuse of authority. In its opinion, the only justification for the Indian Medical Service is military requirements; the sooner that service is separated altogether and is replaced by a purely civil medical service the better. The *Anand* expresses surprise at the views expressed by the European Civilians before the Public Services Commission and remarks that they are entirely opposed to the interests of Indians and only aim at keeping intact the supremacy of the Europeans. In view of the demand from Indian political parties for control over the bureaucracy, it is impossible that the Civilians can remain autocrats for ever. The *Hamdam* does not agree with the demands of the Europeans and remarks that the statement that his family may at any time fall a prey to mob violence is very much exaggerated. Barring the solitary case of Lakhimpur, nowhere were Europeans assaulted even in the days when the non-cooperation movement was in full swing. The *Oudh Akhbar* hopes that owing to the presence of the Indian members in the Commission the grievances of the Indians will not be ignored. It suggests that 50 per cent. of the higher posts in the executive line should be reserved for Indians and 75 per cent. in the Judicial service as Indians can administer justice better than Europeans. In another article the same paper says that if the Europeans regard the Indians incapable, then instead of asking for their removal they should help them to become efficient.

The elections.

Referring to the electioneering activities the *Leader* remarks with satisfaction that in no quarter does any one hear the voice of the boycott of the Councils, and a large number of those who advocated it are now actively working to secure the election of their favourite candidates. Thus the futility of their boycott is fully admitted. It charges the *Swarajists* with inconsistency and asks if these men who have changed their colours can be trusted to do what they say now. They made promises in the past which they have not been able to fulfil. The electors should not be misled by their catchwords and their flamboyant manifestoes and frothy utterances, but should only vote for men belonging to the party whose policy has been vindicated by the course of events, namely, the Liberals and other Progressives who believe in their principles and policy. In another article the paper says: Despite the occasional protestations of loyalty to the teachings of the great apostle of non-cooperation, to all intents and purposes the *Swarajists* have definitely cut off their moorings from the Gandhian programme. Referring to the results in other provinces the paper says that so far as the capturing of the local Council is concerned, it is evident that the *Swarajists'* boast is not going to be fulfilled. It is likely that they will be strongly represented in the Legislative Assembly, but their strength will not be known until the election results of all the provinces are known. The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, on the other hand, is elated at the success of the *Swarajists* and says that the defeat of Sir Surendranath Banerjee must come as a great blow to the Liberal prestige. Sir Surendranath's ignoble career finds a fitting end: he unceremoniously kicked the ladder which raised him: he now finds himself grovelling underneath it. It confidently looks forward to the defeat of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in these provinces. The *Aj* remarks that Mr. C. R Dass' opposition to the candidature of his own brother Mr. S. R. Dass, a much abler man than the *Swarajist* candidate, demonstrates his impartiality and firm adherence to his principles. Mr. C. R. Dass' action is a magnificent example of the performance of his duty by a true leader and deserves to be followed by others including Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The same paper takes Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to task for supporting a number of Liberal candidates on the score of learning and ability but making an exception in the case of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, who is surely much abler than his rival, Pandit Krishna Kant Malaviya. The *Abhyudaya* replying to the charge points out that Mr. C. Y. Chintamani was not supported by Pandit Malaviya because he had a hand in the repressive policy of Government and that he maintained his connection with the Government in spite of the highhandedness and repression practised by it. The *Navayug*, a new Hindi daily of Agra, points out that the defeat of the *Swaraj* party in the elections will seriously affect the prestige and reputation of the Congress and urges that no-changers will therefore do well to support the candidates of the *Swaraj* party. The same paper says that the victory of the *Swaraj* party over the Liberals in the election in the Bombay Presidency shows that there is still life among the people and that the non-cooperation movement is not dead. The Liberals occupy a very unenviable position today, being shunned alike by the people and the Government. The *Aj* points out that

the Liberals' defeat in Bombay shows unmistakably that even the existing restricted electorates are against cooperation, to say nothing of the general public. It also indicates that the electorates are swayed more by considerations of political views and principles of the candidates than their abilities. The *Dehati* exhorts the voters not to be swayed by any considerations whatsoever and to vote for *Swarajists* who are out either to mend or end the Councils. They should by no means support the Liberals who stood by the officials in the repression of the non-cooperators and bartered the liberty of the country for high paid officer. Similarly the *Bharatiya Lokmat* charges the Liberals with treachery to the country and the zamindars with callous apathy to their tenants and urges the voters not to vote in their favour, but to support the *Swarajist* candidates, if they want to end or mend the irresponsible bureaucracy and are anxious not to tighten the bonds of slavery enchaining their motherland. The *Shakti* says that the Liberals having misused their powers in the legislative bodies have no justification to claim the support of the people in the current elections and urges that the *Swarajists* should be given a chance this time as they appear earnest about converting the autocratic bureaucracy into a responsible government so as to render its oppression of the people impossible. The *Jhansi Samachar* and the *Surya*, on the other hand, support the Liberals against the *Swarajists* pointing out that the latter seek election with a view to destroy the Councils but that their destruction will cause serious injury to the people who have urgent problems to be solved, which cannot wait for the ever-receding *swaraj* of the nationalists. The *Mansur* does not approve the activities of the Musalmans to enter the Council in the presence of the Ulemas' *fatwa*, and remarks that it does not become a Musalman to take an oath of allegiance on entering the Council. The *Mashriq* is dissatisfied with the *Swarajist* candidates and remarks that the Musalmans should return such candidates to the Council as can give effective replies to men like Pandit Malaviya. The Muslim public should help only such candidates who are not puppets in the hands of the Hindus and who can truly represent their community. The *Medina* points out that the first duty of the *Swarajists* after entering the Councils will be to get Mahatma Gandhi released and remarks that it will be highly treacherous on their part if after capturing the Councils they give up the idea of wrecking them and adopt the attitude of responsive cooperation. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the advocates of non-cooperation were themselves responsible for its failure and even now they do not appear to have profited by their past experiences considering that they are nominating for the Councils inexperienced youths who are likely to deal a further blow to the movement.

Arms Act Rules.

The *Hamdard* welcomes the new Arms Act Rules, saying that they provide much greater facilities for obtaining licences and remove the difficulties experienced in getting them renewed. It however urges that a further reduction should be made in the licence fees which should not be regarded as a source of income and that honorary officers and title-holders should not remain deprived of the privileges they enjoyed formerly in the matter of keeping arms. The *Bharat Jiwan*, on the other hand, contends that barring a few concessions under the new Arms Act Rules, the difficulties in the way of keeping arms in this country have not been removed. Thieves, dacoits and bad characters can still obtain and keep any number of arms, while respectable people have to surmount many difficulties before they can hope to keep arms. It urges that political views of applicants for arms licences should not be allowed to stand in their way of obtaining them and that the police should have nothing to do with inquiries in connection with the granting of licences.

Bolshevism.

The *Vikram* says that the more the British try to frustrate the Bolshevik designs and their propaganda the more it is gaining in strength, and in spite of the scrupulous care of the British to check the growth of Bolshevik activities, England allows herself to become a means of helping those activities. The *Najat* asserts that the warlike preparations of Bolshevik Russia are against Great Britain and are in reply to the ultimatum given to them by Lord Curzon in May last. They want to spread their influence from the frontiers of India to those of Germany and it will be rather difficult for Great Britain, which is showing such a keen interest in German affairs, to save itself from being embroiled in a war.

LUCKNOW:
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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 8th December, 1923.

The European situation.

THE *Indian World*, a newly started weekly from Jhansi, discussing the present situation says: Europe has shown that with all her vaunts of unique civilisation, her pride of broadminded nationalism, organisation of armoury and fanfaronade of race superiority, when differences occur, she is always ready to give vent to the instinct of wild savagery, and blood becomes the deciding factor. Asia has been the herald of peace to the world; the deliverance of the present disordered world depends upon another Messiah who will rise again from the consecrated soil of Asia and preach the doctrines of peace and forbearance with an energy more vigorous, voice more potent and personality more dominating than the *One* whose faith is professed more than practised by the civilisation of the present world.

The Khilafat.

The *Anand* says that the statement of the Turks that the Muhammadans of the other parts of the world have nothing to do with the election of the Khalifa must open the eyes of Indian Muhammadans who should realise that the Turks for whom they made so many sacrifices do not at all care for their religious feelings and that they will do well to give up their pan-Islamic views and look upon India as their mother country. The *Surya* also writes in a similar strain and says that it is a well-deserved slap on the face of Indian Muhammadans, who, while adopting an antagonistic attitude towards their own countrymen, the Hindus, built all their hopes on a foreign people who dislike their interference in their affairs.

Turkish affairs.

The statement of Fethi Bey has roused hostile comments in the Muslim press, which is generally sceptical about the truth of the statement. The *Medina* challenges his authority to issue any such statement as he no longer occupies any responsible position. The *Hamdam* describes Reuter's report as a piece of anti-Turkish propaganda and urges upon the Central Khilafat Committee to find out the truth. It is the duty of the Ulema to see if the present arrangement is in accordance with Islamic injunctions. The *Al Khalil* remarks that the Musalmans should not be swayed by the British Press comments on the decision of the Turkish Government, as it has in fact saved the Musalmans of different countries from the possibility of a split amongst themselves over the Khilafat question. The *Oudh Akhbar* protests against the statement and asks whether it would be the same Khilafat for which the Indian Musalmans are agitating so vehemently and even after the Turkish treaty are whole-heartedly trying for the freedom of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The *Iqdam* is gratified at the reconstruction of Turkey and urges the Indian Musalmans to respond whole-heartedly to Mustafa Kemal Pasha's appeal for funds. Deploring the banishment of Shia divines, the treatment meted out to the Hajis and the action of the Sharif in returning the Holy Carpet, the *Najat* exhorts the Musalmans to turn out the Jews and the Christians from the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. The *Aligarh Gazette* is gratified that the Ali brothers miserably failed to collect any money for the *Jazirat-ul-Arab* fund and advises the Musalmans to demand the publication of the accounts of whatever sum may have been collected.

Palestine and Britain.

The *Medina* remarks that the rejection by the Palestine Arabs of the terms offered to them on behalf of Great Britain must have taught the British Cabinet and the League of Nations how difficult it is to go against the sentiments of the people. It is only the British lust for territorial aggrandisement that so much importance is being assigned to Palestine. In another article the same paper insinuates that the Palestine Mission is a political move on the part of the British Imperialists.

Elections in England.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* notes with satisfaction the success achieved by Labour candidates in the recent general election in England and says that if the Conservatives are completely thrown over, it would be welcome to India and on the whole would be good for Britain also. Indians eagerly await a purely Labour Government as the last chance of reviving the fast fading faith in British justice which is an alarming feature of political feeling in this country, and which finds constant expression in the demand for complete independence in Congress circles. The

Hamdam apprehends that the Muslim world will be confronted with fresh difficulties if Mr. Lloyd George again becomes Premier as a result of the Liberal party's success and remarks that the Turks are justified in declaring that they would change their foreign policy if he comes into power again.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Pioneer* supports the contention of the European settlers in Kenya that people who treat men of the lower classes in their own country as outcastes and untouchables have no right to denounce European settlers in a British Colony for denying these people privileges which their own countrymen deny them. That is a very different thing from saying that Indians in the Colonies ought to be treated as helots. The *Hamdam* holds pessimistic views regarding the settlement of the Colonial question according to the wishes of the Indians and remarks that in face of the high-handed and obstinate attitude of the whites it is idle to expect that British statesmen will pay attention to the legitimate grievances of the Indians.

The Akali agitation.

The *Haqiqat* says that the steps taken by the Government against the Akalis amount to a challenge to the united nation and warns the former that if it persists in its obstinate attitude a reign of anarchy and disorder will prevail throughout the country. The Akalis are justified in their demands and their struggle will serve as a moral lesson for the whole country. The *Hamdam* protests against the policy of "ruthless repression" pursued against the Sikhs and remarks that a failure to settle the dispute amicably will be fraught with serious consequences for the Government. The *Anand* notes with satisfaction the formation of the Akali Defence Committee and the fact that the non-cooperators themselves have abandoned their suicidal policy of boycotting law courts. The *Swadesh* says that the doings of the Punjab authorities constitute an attack on the very elementary rights of speech, writing and association among the people and the Congress leaders have rightly accepted the challenge by their decision to help the Akalis. The Government will either have to withdraw its proclamation against the Akali "dal" or proclaim the Congress also to be an unlawful association. In either case a new awakening will be created in the country. The Government is measuring the strength of the people and the latter should be prepared to give a trial of their strength in right earnest. The *Bharat Jiwan* approves of the Congress decision to help the Akalis and remarks that the whole of India is indebted to them for their brave and peaceful stand against the Government and that every lover of the country should be ready to render every help to them in case Government takes any further step against them and they decide to have recourse to *satyagraha*. The *Vartman* holds that the Congress help and the decision of the Amritsar Musalmans to assist the Akalis by forming *jathas* will undoubtedly strengthen and intensify the Akali agitation. The example of the Amritsar Musalmans will be emulated by other communities also and the followers of all creeds in India will be seen in the form of *jathas*. The Punjab Government will be then confronted with a very serious situation. The bureaucracy will be discomfited and the Akalis will emerge victorious. It is high time the bureaucracy realised the fate awaiting it and mended its ways.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Tabligh* regrets that the Muslim leaders are still harping upon unity and acousing the Musalmans of creating disturbances while the Hindus are openly organising themselves against them and remarks that *swaraj* cannot be obtained unless *shuddhi* is stopped. The *Durbar* resents the practice of the Hindu press to vilify and use disparaging remarks against the past Muslim Rulers and remarks that the treatment meted out by the Hindus to the Gonds and Bhils shows that the Hindu Rajas were equally tyrannical. The *Chhatri* complains that a tract likely to incite the Musalmans to murder Swami Shraddhanand has been published at Meerut and remarks that it is impossible to maintain peace and order in India unless District Officers take full notice of such things. Regretting the anti-Hindu attitude of the Musalmans the *Ariyavarta* protests against the conviction of the two Hindus at Jhansi by the Magistrate simply on the evidence of the police inspector and remarks that these convictions have caused great indignation amongst the Hindus who are preparing to adopt *satyagraha* against the Musalmans and play up musical instruments before the mosque. The *Kartavya* refers to the interference with Hindu religious processions at Jhansi and Nagpur and deplores that the Hindu leaders altogether ignore religious questions from political considerations with the result that the Muhammadans taking advantage of this weakness are trying to establish their religious supremacy under the very flag of the Congress. No doubt the Hindu-Muslim unity and the attainment of *swaraj* are desirable things, but the Hindu

leaders should also see how their religious rights are being trampled upon. The Muhammadans have bid farewell to the spirit of forbearance and toleration since the partial success of the Khilafat movement and want even the followers of other religions to conform to their own religious laws. They should realise that if they were to respect the religious feelings of others, there would be no disturbances. The *Navayuga* remarks that as Muhammadans cannot emigrate to Arabia and Turkey, they will have to suffer the consequences of their actions in tightening the bonds of slavery on India. They will therefore do well to live at peace with other Indian communities, realising that the Hindu-Muhammadan dissensions only prove a source of gratification and strength to a third party. The *Nyaya* asks in view of the fresh Hindu-Muhammadan dissensions at Nagpur whether the Muhammadans do not want to respect the religious sentiments of others at all and whether they desire to destroy Hindu culture and substitute in its place Arab civilisation. Such an attempt on their part would not only be ridiculous but is foredoomed to utter failure. They will have to remain at peace with the Hindus and respect their religious sentiments, otherwise, despite the support of any great Power, they cannot live peacefully in this country. The *Desh Bhakta* points out that it is the ill-treatment of untouchables by the Hindus which drives them into the hands of Muhammadans and to inflict atrocities on Hindus afterwards on the occasions of religious disturbance to avenge their previous wrongs. It remarks that the Hindus should push on the *shuddhi* and *sangathan* movements and patronise the untouchables by allowing them to follow the trades generally practised by Muhammadans and to make them realise that disputes with Hindus will be detrimental to their own interests.

The Public Services Commission.

The proceedings of the Public Services Commission continue to engage attention and the Indian papers are unanimous in disapproving of the demands presented by the European Services. The *Leader* says that the Royal Commission is likely to make confusion worse confounded. The economic grievances of the services could have been expeditiously dealt with by a departmental committee, but the wiseacres at the India Office wanted to disturb a hornet's nest and so they have sent out a Royal Commission. The difficulty is principally due to the incapacity of a large number of European officials, especially the older ones who have had a purely bureaucratic training, to adjust themselves to the changed circumstances. The paper is gratified that the memorandum submitted by the United Provinces Civil Service Association voiced the nationalist demand for the stoppage of recruitment in England, and it warmly congratulates the representatives of the Association on the independent manner in which they gave their evidence before the Commission and unlike some other witnesses did not compromise the national claim. Both the memorandum and the oral evidence showed the working of the spirit of the times, which has permeated the services and the Association's evidence is a happy augury of the future of self-government in the country. This ought very much to strengthen the hands of those who desire the abolition of the control of the Secretary of State. Commenting on the demands of the European Services the paper says that the terms and conditions on which Europeans, according to the memorandum, can be made even moderately comfortable are so onerous that to meet them would mean the financial ruin of the country and make the burden of administration intolerable. The *Hindustani* says that the demands of the Civilians are enough to open the eyes of the advocates of Reforms. The Civilians want to rule over the country like Nawabs and keep it ever under slavery; and the Commission appears to have been appointed for the purpose of benefiting them and strengthening their position. The *Haqiqat* remarks that the acceptance of their demands will create a great burden on the Indian Exchequer and prove ruinous to the Reforms. The *Oudh Akhbar* congratulates the Provincial Civil Service Association for its reasonable and comprehensive statement and remarks that its objection against recruitment of Europeans in future is not based on any ill-will but simply on the desire to enable Indians to join the services in larger numbers, which is quite in keeping with the Reforms. In another article the same paper supports the views expressed by Rai Bahadur Man Singh, Superintendent of Police, and remarks that if the Government cannot maintain equality of status among its different grades of servants, it is a mere sham to talk about equal rights of citizenship in Kenya and elsewhere. The *Bharat Jivan* maintains that, despite any professions to the contrary, the object of the Royal Public Services Commission is to promote the interests of Civilians and other Europeans in the superior services. The *Nyaya* wishes success to the efforts of the Commission in getting the already high salaries of the Civilians and

other Europeans in the superior services raised at the expense of the poor and overburdened Indian tax-payer, inasmuch as further taxation may create a revulsion of feeling in the public mind and the Indian may make a firm determination to get rid of their subjection.

The elections.

The *Leader* continues to support the Liberals in their electioneering campaign and still expects that a large number of them will be returned. Advocating Mr. Chintamani's cause the paper says: If he is not returned it will be a disgrace to his constituency, and a misfortune to the province and the country, say what his narrowminded detractors may. On the other hand, the *Independence* says: It would be a disgrace to these provinces and would seriously reflect on our national conceptions of self-respect to return a man charged by a revered leader like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya with supporting a policy of repression. It asserts that the elections are fought by the *Swarajists* on the clearly proclaimed ground: "Smash the Councils and kill dyarchy." The extremist papers are jubilant over the defeat of the Liberals in Bengal and elsewhere. The *Independence* is gratified that the defeat of the leading Independents, Liberals and other effete Moderates in the elections puts an end perhaps for good to that type of national demoralisation extremely perverted in its nature and which is mainly responsible for India's present serfdom to foreign domination, and purges and purifies once more Indian Nationalism. In another article headed "End of Liberalism," the paper refers to the story of the bat which wanted to be counted among beasts as well as among birds and says that similar fate awaits these political bats known as Liberals. In an appeal to the voters, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says: It is a sin against the Motherland to support any child of the soil who has been detected in the dirty trick of working with the bureaucrats against the brave and selfless patriots. In another article the paper says that signs are that the Liberals would fare as bad here as in other provinces and hopes that voters would choose not certainly the man associated with the arrest and the prosecution of the Nehrus and the thousands of brave followers of Gandhi. Every vote given to him would be for a man who acquiesced in repression in these provinces. Commenting on the defeat of Sir Surendranath Banerjee the *Pioneer* says: No man living has worked more strenuously in the past in the Nationalist cause than Sir Surendranath Banerjee and he has played a notable part in bringing about constitutional reform in India. But since he became a Minister he has been virulently attacked, and his defeat is hailed as "an object lesson to supporters of bureaucracy." The *Leader* notes with satisfaction that on the whole restrained comments have been made on the defeat of Sir Surendranath Banerjee. The parliamentary history of England shows that there are violent swings of popular likes and dislikes. The real point is the victory of the policy of parliamentary action and the defeat of that of direct action. The *Swarajist* members will be better able to appreciate the work done by the Liberals when they acquire experience inside the Councils and are brought face to face with hard facts. The *Azad* commends Lala Lajpat Rai's views that the *Swaraj* party can better safeguard the interests of the country by cooperating with the zamindars and other parties inside the Council and remarks that patriotism and political sagacity do not admit of pursuing a destructive policy. The *Iqdam* asks the *Swarajist* candidates whether they would forego the allowance sanctioned to the members in view of their declared principles of refusing to accept the Government grants-in-aid for educational institutions. The *Ariyavarta* asserts that in the event of the *Swarajists'* success it will be difficult for the bureaucracy to trample any more upon the rights of the Indians and when the forces working for *swaraj* outside the Council combine with those inside, no earthly power will be able to check them from achieving it. The *Hamdam* complains that the *Swarajists* are taking advantage of the ignorance of the masses and are identifying themselves with the Congress. It regrets the activities of the Khilafat and the Congress volunteers in this connection and warns the voters not to be led away by such tactics. The *Najat*, on the other hand, regards the *Swarajist* candidates as the true representatives of the country and exhorts the electors to vote for them only as they are well aware of the tactics of the enemies of the country and can effectively deal with them in the Councils. In another article the same paper remarks that the masses are with the non-cooperators and if they are guided in the real sense and the *Swarajists* command a majority in the Council, the bureaucracy will find it difficult to stand against them. The *Vartman* publishes a letter from Pandit Gauri Shankar Misra regretting the use of the name of the Congress in their electioneering campaigns by several *Swarajist* candidates and warning them against such an objectionable course. The *Surya* holds that the *Swarajist* victory in Bombay is in reality no victory of the *Swaraj*

party seeing that while the *Swaraj* party declares its avowed aim to be the destruction of the Councils, the Bombay *Swarajists* will adopt the policy of responsive cooperation in the Provincial Council. It maintains that the *Swaraj* party as a whole will not aim at the destruction of the Councils after elections and will have to regret that blinded by party prejudices it deprived itself of the cooperation of capable liberal leaders. Pandit Murli Manohar Dikshit writing in the *Bhartiya Lokmat* urges the voters not to vote in favour of Zamindar or Moderate candidates as they either identify themselves with the officials or only serve their selfish ends. They should support only the *Swarajist* candidates who are out to wreck the Councils for the good of the country. The *Shakti* urges that as the Liberals and Zamindars will only be used by officials to perpetuate the slavery of the country, they should not be returned to the Councils and that the *Swaraj* party has the first and the last claim on their votes for their efforts to emancipate the country and establish responsible government in it. The *Anand*, the *Surya* and the *Jhansi Samachar* continue to espouse the cause of the Liberals, pointing out that the destruction of the Councils will only strengthen the bureaucracy, that the *Swarajists* will do nothing beyond indulging in rowdyism in the Councils and that the liberties of the people can be widened and protected by Liberals alone by constitutional means.

The next Legislative Assembly.

The *Anand* says that Government will have to face a very strong opposition in the next Legislative Assembly and if the Viceroy makes too much use of his certification powers, he will render the Assembly a laughing stock of the world. It is because of the illiberal policy of the Government that people have lost faith in it and have not returned those persons to the Assembly who cooperated with it during the last three years. Government will have to remedy this situation not by repression but by meeting the wishes of the people, otherwise further complications will arise and it will be very difficult to maintain peace in the country.

Bolshevism.

The Muslim press views with alarm the Bolshevist activities in Muslim countries. The *Medina* remarks that the attitude now adopted by the Russians against the Muslim States forebodes a great peril. All their previous favours and concessions were the prologue of their cunning policy of domination and any alliance between the Soviet Government and Turkey is now impossible. The *Hamdam* regrets that the Government did not give any military help to the Muslim States of Central Asia against the Bolsheviks and observes that a vigorous anti-Bolshevik propaganda in Afghanistan and Persia by the Government is now essential for the peace and tranquillity of India. Commenting upon the Bolshevik menace the *Hindustani* justifies the apprehensions entertained by the Anglo-Indian press and remarks that the poison of Bolshevik ideas has permeated every country longing for liberty. The *Ariya Patra* ascribes the rise in the price of cotton to its increased consumption in the manufacture of high class gun-powder and remarks that what India requires is not gun-powder but cheap cloth. It hopes that the well-wishers of the country and the advocates of Congress will exert themselves in saving India from this new famine. The *Hindi Kesari* publishes a poem in which the writer "Bahadur" sermonises that the day the country espouses the cause of *satyagraha* the deceitful will be wiped off immediately and it will become happy. The *Vartman* remarks that India is a prison in which thirty crores of Indians are imprisoned. They are kicked and insulted at every step and yet like dumb cattle they are resigned to their lot. Out of these thirty crores there are not even ten lakhs of Indians who would be prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their country's freedom. The *Nyaya* deplores the present slackness in the national struggle, despite the Kenya wrong and the repression of the Akalis and exhorts the people not to relax their efforts until they have attained *swaraj* by means of non-violent non-cooperation. The bureaucracy should be made to realise that freedom's battle once begun cannot be stopped until victory is achieved. One Vishwadat writing in the *Prem* suggests that as a counter-move to the bureaucratic policy the Nationalists and the Congress should erect monuments to commemorate national heroes like Maharajas Ranjit Singh and Dalip Singh, Emperor Bahadur Shah, Sirajuddowla, the Rani of Jhansi, Nana Sahab and Tantia Topi. If their monuments are not allowed to be raised in public places they may at least be erected in private parks and gardens. Commenting upon the frontier situation the *Najat* remarks that the British Government during its rule of 150 years did not treat its subjects in a way that they may become its supporters in its trouble. Beyond draining the economic, physical and mental resources of the people the

Government cared little for their prosperity. Unless it softens the hearts of the frontier people with love and kindness no amount of money forcibly transferred from the Indian pockets to the tribesmen will suffice to subdue them and the campaigns will continue as ever.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.



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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

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The Khilafat.

THE publication of the Aga Khan's letter with regard to the position of the Khalifa has revived interest in Turkish affairs and the papers sympathise with the difficult task the Nationalist Turks have before them. The *Leader* does not agree with the Aga Khan and asks whether the creation of an Islamic Pope in Turkey would be a source of strength to her national solidarity and freedom. No one can blame the Turks if they take a page out of the history of Christendom and pause to contemplate over some of the worst consequences that emanated from Popish hegemony in Europe. The *Hamdam* sympathetically remarks that the services of the Turks in the cause of their country and religion fully entitle them to hold the Khilafat institution in their own hands and suggests that a Khilafat deputation should be sent to Angora so that the Musalmans may be perfectly satisfied regarding the position and prestige of the Khalifa under the new constitution.

Palestine and Britain.

The *Mashriq* strongly refutes the allegation of the Hindu press that the object of the mission is to spread pan-Islamism in India and remarks that what the Hindu press really wants is to create a suspicion in the mind of the Government against the Musalmans. Jamadar Gulzar Ali in an article contributed to the *Rahnuma* alleges that the members of the deputation are the protéges of the Sharif and warns the Musalmans not to waste their money by subscribing towards the fund and thereby filling the pockets of swindlers.

Elections in England.

The press in general appreciates the difficulty created by the balance of parties in the new Parliament and blames the Conservatives for the result of the general elections. The *Leader* says that the Conservatives must stew in the juice prepared by their egregious leader. If they form a Government it will have a short and inglorious existence and there will probably be another general election in a few months. But if it again results in not returning a single party with a majority over the combined strength of the other parties, the party system will probably be reduced to a farce. The *Aj* regards the return of the Conservatives in majority to the new Parliament as indicative of the fact that public opinion in Britain does not favour any real change in the British foreign policy.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

The *Tabligh* protests against the action of a section of the Hindu press in fanning the fire of communal hatred by vilifying the Muslim rulers and deplores that while the Hindus of every shade of opinion are wholeheartedly supporting the *shuddhi* movement the well-to-do Musalmans are passing their lives in ease and comfort and doing nothing to counteract the Arya Samajists' activities. In an open letter addressed to Maulana Shaukat Ali, published in the *Zulqarnain*, Shah Itrat Husain writes that the Musalmans have suffered considerable losses owing to the political unity between the two communities. The unity can be successful only when it is unconditional. The *Al Bureed* asks the Hindus if they want the Musalmans to support such a *swaraj* an example of which is being furnished at Jhansi. The *Hamdam* dwells upon the necessity of a separate communal organisation and remarks that the present attitude of the Hindus should make the Musalmans realise the necessity of the revival of the Muslim League. Maulana Abdul Bari in a lengthy letter to the *Al Khalil* lays stress on a separate organisation for the Musalmans and asks them, in the interests of the country, to adopt an attitude of tolerance towards the Hindus and to improve their economic conditions. The *Anand* says that the Muhammadans are responsible for the serious strained relations between Hindus and Muhammadans at Nagpur, for they forcibly interfere with the Hindu religious processions in an altogether unjustified manner and asks the Central Provinces Government to act more prudently and save the Hindu temples from being desecrated.

The Congress.

The *Vartman* apprehends that at Cocanada the *Swaraj* party will endeavour to capture the Congress and thereby kill non-cooperation. It warns the people against the tactics of the *Swaraj* party and asserts that it is through *satyagraha* alone that Mahatma

Gandhi can be released and *swaraj* attained. It is to be hoped that the Cocanada Congress will announce this in clear and unequivocal terms and brave Indian youths must prepare themselves from even now to practise *satyagraha* at the gates of the Yarwada jail. The *Kartavya* urges the next Congress to adopt the goal of complete independence and to reaffirm non-violent non-cooperation as the means for its attainment. The next Congress programme should be such as may revive non-cooperation, reinspire enthusiasm among the people, advance them on the road to *swaraj* and keep the leaders united in the national struggle. The *Navayug* emphasises the need of the Cocanada Congress providing a programme as may enable the different political parties to combine in all matters other than those in which they hold divergent views, otherwise the non-cooperation movement will be completely killed and the present slackness in the national struggle prolonged. The *Anand* opines that most probably the *Swaraj* party will capture the Congress in its next session as the no-changers have been rapidly losing their hold over the country for some time past and urges that a new programme should be placed before the country by the Cocanada Congress so that the Congress may not fall in public estimation.

Indian independence.

The *Oudh Akhbar* describes the resolution of complete independence recently passed by the United Provinces Congress as a change in the Congress ideal and remarks that the kind of *swaraj* which they want for India is not only impracticable but impossible. They cannot overawe the Government by passing such resolutions. The *Vartman* remarks that the passage of resolutions regarding complete independence at the Provincial Conference and the Cawnpore District Conference demonstrates that the Indian public will not have for its goal anything short of complete independence, whether the leaders approve of it or not. It emphatically urges that in the Cocanada Congress complete independence must be fixed as the goal of the Congress and all must apply themselves heart and soul to its attainment. The *Kartavya* exhorts the Indians to knit themselves into a solid nation and organise themselves fully for the attainment of complete independence which alone can remove all their political and economic sufferings. The *Aj*, on the other hand, holds that in all probability India will be loyal to the British Empire and will be content with its position as an important part of it, if the British give up their false notion of superiority, mix with Indians freely and on familiar terms and consider it their duty to promote the interests of Indians.

The Public Services Commission.

Commenting on the demands presented by the Bombay European Government Servants' Association, the *Leader* asks whether the members of the European Services are to be immune from criticism in the press and the legislature? If the cost of meeting the demands of other European Services were included the total would probably be several times the amount demanded by the Bombay Indian Civil Service Association. In a leading article headed "Can India pay more to the Services?" it says that the country is suffering from the after effects of the war, and what is needed is a little patience and self-denial on the part of the European Services. Let not the Indian attitude in the matter be misunderstood and misinterpreted. A way out of the difficulty can be found by accelerating the rate of Indianisation and reducing the European cadre, and out of the savings thus effected the reduced number of Europeans can be paid on a more generous scale. But when they demand higher salaries and also compensation for loss of prospects owing to decrease in the number of reserved superior posts they make the solution of the problem almost impossible. They cannot have it both ways. The *Pioneer*, on the other hand, says that the cost to India of the British official who has rendered her such great services is small compared with the toll levied by the usurer, but the suffering caused by usury is never mentioned in the speeches of the revolutionaries. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* styles the representation by the Central Provinces Civilians as sensational and says that the opinion of the Central Provinces Civilians was such that it almost awoke the old Partition of Bengal spirit of the sleeping Bengal tiger, chloroformed all along by official obligations. Mr. Basu will not have done his duty by his country by "blowing up" the Mitchell report. He ought to blow up the obstructionists to the progress of his country and countrymen. In another article headed "The New Civilian Vision" the paper says that from amidst the shameless scrambling for money that comes from the Civilians appearing before the Public Services Commission, we turn with real pleasure to the considered views of Sir William Vincent. It is dangerous, indeed, if the Civilians now ruling India and who will, thanks to the vision of the "steel frame" may long rule over us—should get into the habit of the Central Provinces

Civilian and look upon Indians as their natural enemy. The voice of experience and wisdom from Sir William comes, therefore, very timely indeed . . . No one questions that Britain has done great work for India : the complaint is that having placed India on its legs, the legs are being deliberately enchained . . . Britain is proud of her work. Well she may be. India in her present mood is not prepared to be gushing about the blessings of the telegraph and railways and university education. If Britain wants that her work should be appreciated and acknowledged, then the political craving of an awakened people ought to be satisfied. This is not being done. And, unless this is done, the gratitude to which Britain is undoubtedly entitled will not be expressed . . . What we want the Civilian to realise is to stand by India in her march to self-government instead of hampering it at the first sight of trouble and difficulty. They are displaying their narrow mind when they beat their breast before Lord Lee. We wish that they would imbibe the new spirit of Sir William Vincent and profit by his experience and vision. The *Independence* is happy that the Nagpur Civilians have spoken out and regrets that the document was not fully discussed for it would have given us a grand shower bath of privileged racial feeling. The *Hamdam* says that the statements of the European Civil Servants betray a sense of uneasiness over the loss of prestige under the new constitution as they are loth to remain under the subordination of the Indian Ministers and Executive Councillors. Any fresh taxation to meet their demands will cause greater agitation and aggravate popular unrest and thus make their position all the worse. The *Oudh Akhbar* protests against creating any burden on the Indian Finance simply for the comfort and ease of a section of Civil Servants and hopes that Lord Lee will abstain from conceding to any demand which goes to make India insolvent. Commenting upon the evidence of Mr. Dalal, the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, the *Mashriq* remarks that no better or truer evidence than that could be given. Experience has proved that Indians are not fit for responsible posts. The *Navayug* says that the Public Services Commission can do no good to India and that the blood of the country will continue to be drained unless the people get up and put an end to this process. In the opinion of the *Jhansi Samachar* this Commission will not only entail increased burden on India in these days of financial stringency as the result of its own cost and the contemplated increase in the salaries of the Europeans in the superior services, but will also have a hand in determining the future political status of the country. The demand of the Civilians to be kept under the exclusive control of the Secretary of State and not that of the Indian Legislature shows that they are averse to the subordination of Indians and thus opposed to *swaraj* in this country. The *Anand* remarks that owing to the awakening of political consciousness among Indians the British officer cannot resume his old autocratic position. He should develop the capacity of harmonious cooperation with the Indians. It is he who can promote good will between India and England by his sympathetic attitude towards Indians. Those officers who lack adaptibility must make room for others who are better suited to work in the changed Indian atmosphere.

The elections.

Attention for the moment centres round the result of elections. The papers with a few exceptions are jubilant over the defeat of the Liberals. The *Leader* deplores the defeat of the Liberals and takes consolation from the fact that the number of *Swarajists* in the United Provinces Council will be smaller than that in the Bengal and Bombay Legislative Councils. They have no leader of outstanding personality and they are not therefore likely to be an effective force. If the Progressives in the Council are able to form a compact centre party, they will wield great influence. It will take some time before the various elements crystallise into well-defined groups, but it is clear that the *Swarajists* will not be in a position to act effectively and will have to fall back upon the cooperation of the Progressives in fighting reactionary forces. The *Swarajists* in spite of their undoubted popularity have been unable to sustain the claim, so far as the elections to the local Councils in the various provinces are concerned, that they represent the nation. In another article it says that the constitution of the new United Provinces Council will be distinctly worse than that of the last, in spite of the presence of a number of *Swarajist* stalwarts, many of whom are dark horses and have never given any evidence of special aptitude for the line of work inside the Council. It points out the lack of leaders among the *Swarajists* and asks : the soldiers will be there but where is the general who will lead them to battle? The *Pioneer* says : Both in Bombay and in Bengal the *Swarajists* will be in a position to carry out obstructionist tactics with some prospect of success if they elect to do so. Such tactics, however, will inevitably recoil upon their own heads. Commenting on the rout of the Liberals the paper remarks : This is

usually the fate of politicians who follow a vacillating policy when courage and consistency are demanded. The Liberals while claiming to be Moderates, have too often been quite ready to resort to the language and the tactics of the Extremists in assailing Government. They expected apparently to enjoy the best of both political worlds and they have failed to secure a place in either. The non-cooperators are boasting of the feats they will perform when the Legislatures meet. A rude awakening is in store for them. In a leading article headed "Downfall of Gokaran Nath" the *Indian Daily Telegraph* rejoices at the defeat of Pandit Gokaran Nath Misra and says that his miserable collapse must forcefully bring to his alert mind the dreaded truth that, in the eyes of the country, it is a sin to be a Liberal. The *Independence* says that the electors have indelibly affixed their black mark on his political career. In another article the paper says that Liberal and quasi-Liberal candidates whom Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya backed with surprising inconsistency are going to the wilderness one after another speaks volumes on armchair politics as contrasted with the handling of live problems. Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer in the course of an article thanking his voters says: They knew my qualifications which was nothing else than my rebellion against foreign rule in India. There is nothing surprising in a non-cooperator or a nationalist working for me, for he has suffered for the cause the foundations of which the sage of Yarwada laid broad and deep. The *Oudh Akhbar* says that the defeat of Sir Surendra Nath should serve as a warning to the Liberals. They have failed to secure seats in the Council simply on account of their cooperation with the Government. Writing in a similar strain the *Hamdam* holds the Liberals responsible for the failure of the non-cooperation movement and accuses them of disgracing their own countrymen by supporting the repressive policy of the Government. Commenting upon the Governor of Bengal's speech at St. Andrew's dinner the same paper is gratified that he regards the *Swarajists'* entry into the Council as beneficial to the country and hopes that his speech will encourage the *Swarajists*. The *Arya Varta* ascribes the defeat of the Liberal party to its cooperation with the bureaucracy and remarks that a friend of an alien Government can never be a true servant and representative of the country. The *Al Bashir* takes the *Swaraj* party to task for being afraid of Pandit Malaviya who in spite of being a *Swarajist* candidate is supporting the Liberals and remarks that it is ridiculous to expect that a party which is too weak to manage its own internal affairs will ever be able to oppose the Government successfully within the Councils. In another article the same paper expresses its surprise that the Muslim candidates in spite of the *Ulema's fatwa* are trying to enter the Council by signing the pledge of the *Swaraj* party and asks them as to what position they will take when there is any question in the Council adverse to Muslim interests but beneficial to the country from the *Swarajists'* point of view. The *Azad* says that though the Liberals have been defeated, the principles for which they stood have triumphed as the very persons who had boycotted the Councils are now eager to enter into them. The *Najat* remarks that the repeated exercise of the power of certification against the *Swarajist* will expose the hollowness of the Reforms and discredit the Government in the eyes of the White nations who consider the English people as great exponents of liberty. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* doubts that the *Swaraj* party will prove true to its avowed principles of wrecking the Councils and thinks that it will step into the shoes of the Liberals. The *Swaraj* party is responsible for spreading party feeling among the Hindus and causing internal dissensions amongst the Musalmans. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* opines that the victory of the *Swarajists* over the Liberals is the outcome of the latter cooperating with the bureaucracy in utter disregard of the wishes of the public and that the Liberals have no longer any place in the country. The *Aj* says that the downfall of Dr. Paranjpye and Sir Surendra Nath conclusively proves that even the small restricted number of Indian voters is not satisfied with the Ministers' cooperation with the Government. The Liberals gloated over the so-called failure of the non-cooperation movement and missed no opportunity to belittle its leaders and indeed their discomfiture is the fitting result of their conduct. The defeat of Sir Surendra Nath must have also brought home to the bureaucracy that the people can no longer be duped by its policy of winning over influential leaders to its side. The *Abhyudaya* remarks that the superiority of the principles of the *Swarajists* over those of the Liberals has been vindicated by the former's defeat over the latter. The *Anand* holds that the success of the *Swarajists* in the elections has been due to their organised efforts and that the failure of the Liberals does not argue defectiveness in their principles, but only the lack of organisation among them. The *Surya* contends that the *Swarajist* victory over the Liberals is not due to the hatred of the latter by the general public,

as alleged by *Swarajists*, but to the low level of its intellectuality and its eagerness to follow any leader who promised it early emancipation from poverty and other existing evils. It is certain that the emotional spell which the people are labouring under will be dispelled in course of time and then will they know whether to trust the Liberals or the *Swarajists*. The *Vartman* thinks that the name of the Congress and the tri-coloured national flag have contributed in no inconsiderable measure to the *Swarajists'* success. It remarks that the country is eagerly waiting to see the attitude the *Swaraj* party adopts in regard to the Congress after the elections. If it confines its activities to the Councils only it must cease to be a part of the Congress. It can continue its existence only if it will join the Congress and the no-changers in carrying on a vigorous agitation outside the Councils also. The same paper remarks that the one great good which the victory of the *Swaraj* party has undoubtedly done is that it has proved that the Moderates have no supporters among the people. The only way for them to escape extinction is to organise themselves on the lines of the Liberal party of England and to frame their political programme in consultation with the people. They should become members of the Congress also and take a vow to serve the country honestly and sincerely. The *Vikram* continues to exhort the voters to return the *Swarajists* to the Councils as they are going to remove the yoke of an alien Government, accelerate the speed of progress, attack the enemy from inside its own fortress and finally to mend or end the Councils.

The United Provinces' Ministers.

The *Leader* regrets the absence of the Liberals from the new Council and says that the raw recruits who have taken their place will be no match for the experienced officials and enterprising and resourceful die-hards on the other side. It expresses its great concern at the position of the Ministers in the new Councils and says: If the present Ministers are allowed to continue in office, with the strong backing they are likely to have from the reinforced conservative element, all the good work done by the ex-Liberal Ministers, who have been subjected to a great deal of malicious, misinformed and interested attacks, may be undone. This may be a cause for rejoicing to the enemies (official and non-official) of the Liberals, but it can only cause deep regret to those who have the good of the province at heart. The *Indian Daily Telegraph*, on the other hand, eulogises the work done by the present Ministers and says that there is no reason why His Excellency should be concerned with the Ministry, as he has already two tried representative landed magnates, who have undoubtedly earned popular appreciation during the short period they have worked. No repression mars their path: theirs is even a progressive record. Sir Harcourt Butler deliberately angled for professional politicians of the reform school with a view, we take it, to earn the distinction of having worked the Great Experiment. Instead of appointing landholders as Ministers, as the party in power, he whistled for politicians who, it must be confessed to the credit of the astute statesman, readily played into his hands, even to the extent of making repression a success—with the result that at the polls they have been beaten thoroughly. His Excellency Sir William Marris did not make any such mistake: he has betrayed as yet no glamour for the politician. With the landholders majority in the Council, and with the splendid popular record of the Ministers no question arises of any change in the Ministry in the United Provinces.

Bolshevism.

The *Medina* is apprehensive of Bolshevik activities in Persia, and remarks that the Bolsheviks are a menace to the Muslims. The Muslim papers are wrong in trying to minimise the gravity of the danger by discrediting the reports of their propaganda in Muslim countries. The Musalmans should be prepared to vigorously oppose the Bolshevik activities which are likely to create fresh difficulties for them. The *Vartman* remarks that signs are not wanting that with the reappearance of Lenin in the field of action there will be a great stir and commotion all over Europe and Asia. The efforts made by him to win over Afghanistan to his side are so mysterious that they have puzzled and perplexed the British statesmen. He is having recourse to such tricks on the frontier to test the strength of the Indian forces as have misled Lord Reading to hold military demonstrations there. In Russia universal military service has been enforced. All this is being done for the emancipation of the poor and toiling masses who are practically starving in this so-called era of civilisation. The appearance of Lenin in the next great war will help the world very materially in its emancipation.

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ZAFAR OMAR,
Publicity Officer, United Provinces.

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NOTE ON THE PRESS.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

For the week ending the 23rd December, 1923.

Anglo-Afghan relations.

REFERRING to the reports of the strained relations between Afghanistan and Britain, the *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that the situation is serious and calls for wise handling. Of the loyalty of India there can be no doubt except for those who are accustomed to cast aspersions on Indians for political purposes. As regards the Asiatic Power struggling for self-existence and intense with patriotic fervour, the sympathy of Indian India will naturally flow to Afghanistan unless they are fully taken into confidence. The paper is surprised that India should be kept in the dark and suddenly be immersed in the deepest anxiety. It hopes that the Government of India will lose no time in taking the public into the fullest confidence. The *Leader* hopes that matters will not develop further and that the friendly relations between the two countries will soon be re-established. The *Pioneer* says that the British are desirous that Afghanistan should be prosperous and independent. The possession of British friendship by Afghanistan must depend on the attitude of the Amir and his Government towards British subjects and the officers, civil and military, of the Government of India. There is not the slightest foundation for the preposterous statement attributed to Mahmud Tarzi that Great Britain has malevolent designs on Afghanistan. The *Hamdam* considers that the British demands in respect of the arrest of muderers should not have gone beyond friendly representations. It is not advisable that retribution should be exacted from Kabul for the misdeeds of a few outlaws and to embroil India in a disastrous war. It does not believe that the Government of India contemplate the invasion of Afghan territory, at a time when the internal situation in the country is far from satisfactory.

Turkish affairs.

Sheikh Mushir Husain Kidwai writing in the *Indian Daily Telegraph* advises his co-religionists to leave the Turks alone for a little while and give them an opportunity to consolidate themselves internally. The *Rahnuma* strongly supports the idea of sending a Khilafat deputation to Angora so that the Indian Musalmans may be fully apprised of the power and prestige of the Khalifa under the new constitution and of the real opinion in Turkey regarding the question of the *Jazirat-ul-Arab*. In another article the same paper remarks that a conspiracy is on foot against the Angora Government and the enemies of Islam are doing their utmost to create difficulties for the Turks. It urges upon the Indian Musalmans not to take any hasty action which may be damaging to the Turkish interests. The *Mansur* bitterly criticises General Harrington's views that the Turks are unfit to rule and remarks that by expressing such opinions he is deceiving his own nation. The brilliant successes of the Turks have established their superiority and the peace of Europe now lies in recognising the Turkish Republic. In a signed article to the *Hamdam* Sheikh Mushir Husain Qidwai remarks that the agitation which the Musalmans of India are carrying on for Turkey cannot in any way benefit the Turks. When England failed to annihilate Turkey by other means, she now wants to befriend her not only to have control over the Musalmans of India but to ward off the Bolshevik danger as well. The future of India is linked with the future of Turkey and if India continues to remain a tool in the hands of others the safety of entire Asia will be jeopardised.

British elections.

Dwelling upon the effect on India of the general elections in England the *Hamdam* resents the policy of repression pursued in India by Lord Peel and Lord Winterton to crush the national movements and remarks that the Indians are eager to hear the good news of their exit from the Cabinet and the formation of a new Ministry by Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, the true friend and well-wisher of India. The *Medina* apprehends that if the Liberal party succeeds the Musalmans will again find themselves confronted with the old situation and remarks that the success of the Labour party is in fact the success of the Turkish foreign policy. The *Azad* says that the régime of Lord Peel was quite unfavourable for India and wishes that the charge of the India Office should now be given to some more sympathetic person. The *Aj* remarks that though the Conservative party will continue to hold the

reins of power in the new Parliament it will not be able to enforce the policy of protection owing to the opposition of the Liberal and the Labour parties. The *Anand* says that owing to the dominant position of the Liberal and the Labour parties in the new Parliament this is the most suitable time for the Indians to carry their agitation into England for the protection of their interests by the Parliament, specially in view of the propaganda of the Civilians and their powerful Conservative friends for increase of their pay and against the Indianisation of the superior services in this country.

Indians in the Colonies.

The *Indian Daily Telegraph* says that it goes without saying that if the White Australian policy or the disenfranchisement of Indians in Canada or Kenya had not been bigottedly followed, Empire trade, especially with India, would surely have had better development. The consequence of prejudice against Indians is that trade is marred. The *Vartman* holds that while the African laws had already practically murdered all the rights of the Indian residents, the failure of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the Imperial Conference and the obstinacy of General Smuts have increased the power of the Europeans all the more. Hitherto they considered the Indian residents to be slaves but now they regard them as worse than beasts. The *Kartavya* urges the Mombasa Congress to support the Cocanada Congress in adopting complete independence as the goal of the Indian National struggle and in pushing on the boycott of British goods so as to exercise pressure on the Labour party in England to compel the British Government to alter the Kenya decision and grant *swaraj* to India.

Hindu-Muslim relations.

Hindu-Muslim relations continue to engage the attention of the Indian press. Commenting on Lala Lajpat Rai's views on the Hindu-Muslim relations, the *Leader* says that all the remedies suggested by him will be ineffective. It is the growth of a common national consciousness alone which can solve the problem. The fault lies mainly with the educated section of both the communities, the members of which generally in spite of their tall talk of unity and patriotism, are still swayed by strong communal feelings on critical occasions. The *Chattri* accuses the Muslim leaders of trying to gain supremacy over the Hindus by inciting them to violence and remarks that the Muslim leaders in setting the Akalis against the Government have their own axe to grind. The *Agra Akhbar* in a communicated article takes to task the Muslim leaders for praising the sacrifices of the Akalis and inciting the Musalmans to fight side by side with them. This is a political agitation and the Musalmans cannot be expected to help the Akalis who always opposed Islam. The *Arya Patra* blames the Musalmans for serving their own ends in the name of Hindu-Muslim unity and leaving the Hindus in the lurch when the Khilafat question was settled. The Musalmans are protesting against the *Sangathan* movement and decrying the Hindus as the enemies of the country. Without accelerating the pace of the *Shuddhi* movement and reclaiming the seventy millions of the untouchables it is idle to expect that the *Sangathan* movement will ever succeed. The *Al Bureed* remarks that the presence of two Congressmen with the Hindu procession at Nagpur inciting the Hindus to violence is a regrettable blot on the Congress. If real unity is desired *Shuddhi* and *Sangathan* movements should be stopped at once. The *Tabligh* says that Pandit Malaviya and Swami Shraddhanand are bent upon destroying Hindu-Muslim unity and want to annihilate Islam by giving a religious complexion to their political intrigues. When they could not oppose a handful of Muslim conquerors it is absurd to think that they will be able to drive away seven crores of Musalmans. The *Mansur* resents the activities of the Hindu Maha Sabha in sending preachers to Kashmir who are defaming the past Muslim rulers and attributing the spread of Islam in Kashmir to their oppressions and remarks that the Arya Samajists having suffered discomfiture at Agra are now enlisting the support of the Hindu Rajas and carrying on their proselytising activities in their territories.

Congress affairs.

The *Hindustani* suggests that in the next session of the Congress a scheme for launching civil disobedience should be chalked out, as in the absence of any such programme the forward march of the country is impossible; and that in order to improve the relations between the two communities all such movements which tend to cause communal tension should at once be stopped. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* opines that as a result of the Kenya decision and the ill-treatment of Indians in the Colonies the Cocanada Congress should proclaim complete independence as the goal of the national struggle and the people should be prepared to suffer all sorts of hardships and

sacrifice in its attainment. It is time the struggle was started in right earnest and the warriors arrayed themselves in the battlefield for the white revolution. The *Vartman* remarks that the failure of the Cocanada Congress to place a common programme of action before the people will increase their indifference towards the national agitation and inevitably delay the advent of *swaraj*. The *Navayug* says that the future Congress programme should be such as to enable the people to organise themselves and be ready to start the *satyagraha* campaign. If no definite common programme is adopted at the Cocanada Congress, the non-cooperation movement will be killed and replaced by anarchism which will spell disaster to the country. The *Kartavya* urges the pro-changers and no-changers at the Coconada Congress not to dissipate the energies of the Congress in mutual wranglings, but to devote themselves to the organisation of the people, the fulfilment of the constructive programme, so as to prepare the people for mass civil disobedience without which *swaraj* cannot be attained.

The Punjab political conference.

Commenting on the proceedings of the Punjab political conference the *Leader* says: It is idle to deny that the rousing effects of Mr. Gandhi's movement were felt in the remotest corners of the country, and though the programme of action associated with it has failed, yet the masses have become imbued with a new political consciousness. The rural areas are throbbing with new life, and there are now a larger number of political workers in humble stations of life living and moving among the people, who are fired with a missionary spirit. The paper is gratified that Lala Lajpat Rai and many other non-cooperators have admitted the futility of the policy of filling the jails. The *Oudh Akhbar* remarks that the presidential speech of Lala Lajpat Rai was unique for its importance and sincerity and at a time when all sorts of accusations are being hurled against the *Swarajists*, it will go a long way to improve the situation. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* does not find anything interesting in the speech. To merge the *Sangathan* movement into the National Congress will mean the complete annihilation of religious and social propaganda. *Sangathan* is dearer to the Hindus than the Congress and if they act upon the advice of Lala Lajpat Rai they will not only be unable to obtain *swaraj* but will be deprived of their spiritual qualities as well. The *Al Bureed* is surprised that even Lala Lajpat Rai could not keep himself free from the communal spirit prevailing in the Punjab and had nothing to say for the poor Musalmans who are victims of unjustifiable oppressions on the part of the Hindus. The *Aj* says that Lala Lajpat Rai's speech at the Punjab Provincial Political Congress will serve as a beacon-light when the crying need of the hour is to knit together the divergent forces in the country into one organised compact and to take to action. Lalaji is right when he says that it is impossible to raise the question of triple boycott again. We should, as advised by him, recommence our work from the Bardoli programme. It is necessary for us, therefore, to concentrate all our energies on starting civil disobedience and reorganising the Congress.

The Public Services Commission.

The *Leader* commenting on the evidence given on behalf of the European Services before the Public Services Commission says that it shows the spirit of hostility they entertain towards the constitutional changes that have been introduced and how incapable they are of sympathising with India's aspirations for freedom. Their demands if acceded to will only tend to perpetuate the existing irresponsible and extravagant bureaucratic system and the domination of the European services, and to increase the volume of popular discontent. In another article the paper warmly congratulates Mr. Slocock, the Commissioner of Jubbulpore, on the thoughtful, fairminded and unprejudiced view expressed on the services question. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* derives consolation from the dispersion of the Services Commission for the X'mas week and says: For a few days we shall not have the sickening display of racial arrogance from the Lee Commission. Absolutely nothing new has been known by the appointment of the Commission. It is the same old old story again, only the wail of despair is rising higher and higher. The *Mansur* says that Sir George Lloyd has exaggerated the difficulties of the Civil Servants in India. Nothing can justify the increase of the European Civil Servants' salaries simply for their comfort and ease at the cost of Indian progress. The *Hamdam* is surprised that the Central Provinces Civil Servants' Association was bold enough to assert that India did not want the concessions granted to it under the declaration of August 1917 and remarks that it amounts to deliberately throwing dust into the eyes. The *Bhartiya Lokmat* remarks that if the demands of the Civilians and other Europeans in the superior services for increase of pay are accepted by the Public Services Commission, India will have to face a

very serious financial situation. The demand of Europeans to be freed of the control of Indian Ministers lays bare their autocracy in its utter nakedness. The *Anand* points out that the opposition of Civilians and other Europeans in the superior services to the Indianisation of the services is altogether against the spirit of the Reforms, the proclamation of the King-Emperor in 1917, and the aspirations of the Indians. Such an attitude on their part is altogether incomprehensible. They only offend Indian public opinion by expressing their unwillingness to serve under Indian Ministers. In another article the same paper commends the views recently expressed by Sir William Vincent in England regarding the political aspirations of Indians and says that the British Government will do well to act upon them to eliminate the growing anti-British feeling in this country. The Civilians too who are opposing the Indian aspirations before the Lee Commission should realise that they can never bring back the old days of autocracy. They may be able to secure increase of their pay through the efforts of the European members of the Lee Commission but this will only result in the growth of bitterness and ill-feeling against them. The *Hindi Kesari* considers the demands of Civilians for increase of pay to be preposterous.

The Swaraj party.

The success of the *Swarajists* in the recent elections has been received with mixed feelings. According to the *Pioneer* their success is not without its piquancy, and a "certain liveliness" may be anticipated in the Legislative Assembly and in those of the Provincial Legislatures in which the *Swaraj* party will now have a considerable following. The paper deprecates the preposterous demands put forward by the Bengal *Swarajists* and says that no Provincial Government could accept them since they run counter to the provisions of the Government of India Act, which can only be modified by the British Parliament. It looks for obstructionist tactics on their part. They may not succeed in their aims, since in no Council will they have an overwhelming majority. But if they do, the inevitable result will be the destruction of the existing Reforms and the creation of a condition of affairs which will gravely disappoint every educated Indian who is anxious for the steady advance of his country towards the goal of responsible government. The *Leader* blames the *Swarajists* for having adopted unfair tactics in fighting the elections, but thinks that the *Swarajists* in the Assembly have the field practically clear for them. If they successfully fight the bureaucracy from within and achieve self-government by their methods of obstruction and destruction, the Liberals who also ardently want *swaraj* in the quickest possible time, would bless them. The paper generally commends the action of the Governor of Bengal in inviting Mr. C. R. Das to form a *Swarajist* Ministry. It says that Lord Lytton has placed himself in the right by his courageous offer. Its rejection, though it may not exactly place Mr. C. R. Das's party in the wrong, will, at all events, give the *Swarajists* no handle for saying that it was the Governor's policy which compelled them to remain in opposition and to adopt a policy of obstruction. The *Independence* while congratulating the Governor of Bengal expresses gratitude to the President of the *Swaraj* party for not having come to a rash decision. Commenting on the Viceroy's reference to the *Swaraj* party the *Advocate* says: We are sure the people of the country will not be consoled by these Viceregal lullabies, but press forward their claim both in the Assembly and outside by a vigorous prosecution of the ever-increasing non-cooperation campaign. The *Garhwali* says that the *Swarajists* will have to rue their mistake in not allowing prominent Liberal leaders to enter the Councils. Their common goal being the attainment of *Swaraj*, undue advantage should not have been attached to party considerations. It remarks that the *Swarajists* will do well not to wreck the Councils, but to make the best use of them in their struggle. Sincere cooperation between Indians and Europeans and not their mutual hostilities can serve the best interests of both India and England. The *Vikram* contends that the unparalleled victory of the *Swaraj* party in the elections sounds the death-knell of Liberalism or constitutionalism in Indian politics and demonstrates that the spirit of non-cooperation has permeated the masses who desire the elimination of British rule from India, with the quickest possible speed.

The elections.

While the *Leader* attributes the defeat of the Liberals at the polls to organised "vilification" by the *Swarajists* the *Pioneer* says that the rout of the Liberals in the United Provinces elections may be taken as a proof of the unpopularity of the party of the constitutionalists. Indeed, to stand as a Liberal was in most cases to court defeat. The *Independence*, which is gratified at the result of the elections, pays a tribute to Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's ability and ascribes his defeat to Liberal unpopularity.

It sees in him the hope of separating the goats from the sheep and says: If the Liberals turn over a new leaf and show better political character than their Ministers and Executive Councillors, they can make themselves useful in the future, as they were in the pre-reformed past. The *Navayug* remarks that either the *Swarajists* will be able to destroy the Councils, or realising their mistake they will reconcentrate all their energies on the constructive programme of the Congress. They will by no means cooperate with the Government. The *Tohfa-i-Hind* does not believe that the *Swarajists* will ever be able to achieve their object by entering the Councils and remarks that their electioneering campaign has left a deep blot on their morality and righteousness. The *Garhwali* reads in the victory of Mr. Mukindi Lal over Babu Jodhsingh in Garhwal the ascendancy of public opinion over the Wyndham-Acton combination and the condemnation of their policy of *divide et impera* which has caused dissatisfaction throughout the Garhwal district. The non-cooperation movement, it says, owes its existence to the officers of the type of Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Acton. The *Jhansi Samachar* asks the Liberals and the *Swarajists* not to attach too much importance to their respective defeat and victory in the elections but to make united efforts to advance the progress of their country. The *Anand* maintains that the Liberals have no reason to be disheartened at their defeat in the elections, seeing that the reversion of the *Swarajists* to the constitutional path can be claimed by them as a triumph of their own cause, policy and principles. The *Bharat Jiwan* says that the *Swarajists* should not be over-flushed at their victory and should do nothing to forfeit public sympathy which has contributed so materially to their success. If they fail to discharge their responsibilities properly they too will be overthrown like the Liberals by the awakening public. If they succeed in advancing the country even by one step towards the goal of liberty they will be covered with glory, otherwise they are sure to be made the target of universal ridicule. The *Utsah* welcomes the defeat of the Liberals as doing away with too many political parties in the country, which only distracted the attention of the people from the pursuit of one steady goal. If the Liberals rejoin the Congress they will only strengthen the popular cause. Their absorption into the Government party can little affect the destiny of the country. The *Paigham* of Fyzabad accuses the Liberals of treachery towards the nation and attributes their defeat to the loss of public confidence and esteem. The *Rahnuma* remarks that the United Provinces Council consists of able and patriotic representatives and if the *Swaraj* party acts with foresight and statesmanship beneficial results can be achieved. Doubting the *Swaraj* party's success to wreck the reforms the *Zulqarnain* remarks that the impracticable principles of non-cooperation are now being superseded by a desire to introduce reforms in the system of administration from within the Council. The *Hindustani* attributes the keenly contested elections in India to the general awakening by Mr. Gandhi's movement and remarks that the selfish activities of the Liberals have led to their downfall. The *Hamdam* remarks that the success of the *Swaraj* party was due to the fact that most of the rival candidates belonged to the Liberal party. It is the Liberals and not the zamindars or the title-holders whom the public now regards as cooperators with the Government.

The Viceroy's speech.

Referring to the Viceroy's Calcutta speech in which he warned the country against undue precipitancy, the *Leader* says: One looks in vain in his last utterance for any recognition that besides political expedience even administrative convenience demands early constitutional advance. If all that the country need expect from his Government in the near future are pious hopes and platitudinous homilies against undue precipitancy and rash action coupled with a greater load on the tax-payer to placate the services for their loss of power, we can assure His Excellency disappointment awaits him and his Government. They will find no section of Indian opinion satisfied with a continuance of the *status quo*. "Stirrings of this nature in the people" do not merely need "sympathy." They demand respect and early action. The Viceroy and his Government would be well advised to take full note of these stirrings instead of wasting their ingenuity in delaying tactics. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is glad that His Excellency the Viceroy referred in his Calcutta speech to the new constitution that has been created by the presence of *Swarajists* pledged to press their demands in a spirit of hostility, as opposed to the spirit of compromise and co-operation that marked the last Council. It says that the Viceroy could not have expressed himself less obnoxiously to the large class of Indian Nationalists, but words will never satisfy the Nationalists, specially when mingled with the expression of sympathy, we come across a justification of the Salt

Tax and admiration for the Imperial Conference. There is only one way of conciliating the *Swarajists* and that is by giving *swaraj*, not by patronising platitudes which only irritate.

The U. P. Ministers.

The *Leader* persists in advocating the ousting of the Zamindar Ministers. In a leading article it challenges the majority of the landlords and says: "A fresh opportunity has been offered to Sir William Marris to show his liberalism by appointing more progressive and more capable Ministers." In its appeal to the *Swarajists* the paper says: "If both the present Ministers are allowed to remain in office it would be a sad commentary on the *Swarajists* victory at the polls and their public spirit. The continuance of the present Ministers in office will proclaim not their victory but their defeat. It urges the *Swarajists* to form an alliance with the Progressives in order that the tenure of the Conservative Ministry may be rendered impossible. It commends Lala Sita Ram for appointment as Minister. The *Indian Daily Telegraph* is gratified at the reappointment of the Ministers and says: After the severe beating which the Liberals got at the polls, they still counted on a change of Ministers so that they might, in peace, carry out their intrigues; even here they have been disappointed.

Political propaganda.

Commenting upon the rowdyism displayed in England in connection with the recent elections the *Nejat* remarks that such incidents should serve as a lesson to those who are enamoured of British manners and try to imitate them. Such shortcomings are ignored elsewhere but in India they are held as a proof of the Indians' incapability to rule the country. If after 150 years of British rule the Indians are still incapable then nothing can be expected from it. Organisation and sacrifices can only bring about emancipation. In another article the same paper holds that during the British rule India has made no satisfactory progress and attributes the chief cause of India's poverty to the export of grain and big salaries of the Europeans. The only remedy against it is that we should exert ourselves to achieve freedom. Pandit Ram Prasad Misra, Secretary, District Congress Committee, Cawnpore, writing in the *Utsah* asks the people not to cease their activities with the end of the election fight, but to push forward the non-cooperation movement, for the release of Mahatma Gandhi and the attainment of *swaraj*. The *Aj* points out the need for the early establishment of the contemplated Asiatic League, which it hopes will tend to solve the question of racial or colour discrimination. It notes with gratification that the idea of the Asiatic League is steadily gaining strength and has already become the subject of public discussion in China, Turkey and Japan.

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